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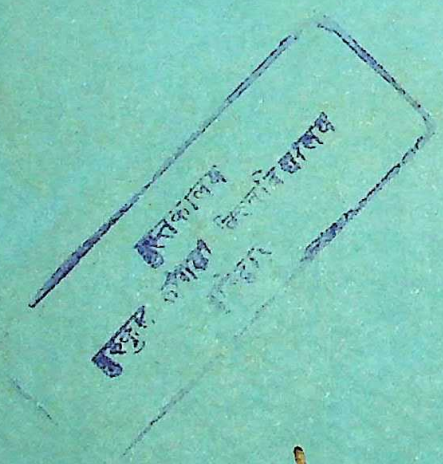
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पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या . September 1910
पुस्तक संख्या . to December
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No. 45

THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

SEPTEMBER, 1910

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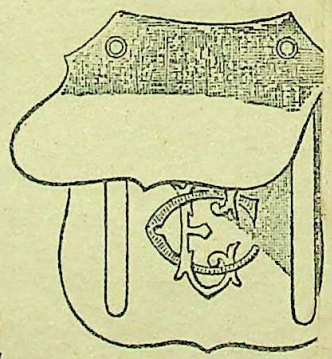


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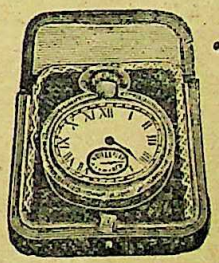
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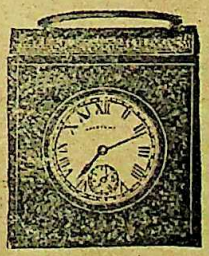
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"—So all was lost!"
A Messenger reporting to a King, from a durbar scene in Cave Two at Ajanta.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. VIII
No. 3

SEPTEMBER, 1910

WHOLE
No. 45

THE MEDIÆVAL PERIOD OF MUNDARI HISTORY

[From the 16th to the 18th Century, A.D.]

When the int'rest of State wrought the general woe,
The stranger a friend, and the native a foe.
—*Drennan.*

AS the distinctive feature of the second Epoch of Mundari History is the breaking up of Munda democracy by the rise of a Raja, the most remarkable feature of the Third Epoch is the introduction of a horde of strangers and the creation by the Raja of a class of middlemen and the consequent revolution n the communal system in the majority of Mundari villages. In the second period, as we have seen, the Raja was content with limited supplies for his household and his court from the various villages, and with military services in time of need. His position appears to have been no more than that of a feudal overlord and leader of the people. Thus things went on till we come down to the Third Epoch of which for the first time we possess materials more tangible and reliable than mere traditions and conjectures. These materials consist of a few contemporary records in Mahomedan chronicles. The late Professor Blochmann in an article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1871, gave extracts from two Persian works, the 'Akbar namah' and the 'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri'. These accounts tell us that Kokrah, * as Chotanagpur proper appears to have been called by the Mahomedan writers, maintained its independence of Moslem suzerainty till about the thirtieth year of the great Akbar's reign. In the year 1585, A. D., Shabaz Khan Kambu, we are told, sent a detachment thither and the then Raja was reduced to the position of a Malguzar or tributary. In the reign of Jehangir, again, the Muhammadan governors of Behar, we are told, frequently sent detachments into Kokrah of which the then ruling chief was Durjan Sal. As the roads were fortified and the jungles impenetrable, the Muhammadan governors had hitherto been generally satisfied with a tribute of two or three diamonds. But now Ibrahim Khan Fathe-Jang, the then Governor of Behar, under special instructions from Jehangir invaded Kokrah, defeated the Raja, deprived him of his family diamonds, and carried away twenty-three elephants to boot. This was about the year 1616 A.D.

From the chronicle of the Chotanagpur Raj-family we learn that Durjan Sal, the forty-sixth king, after he had been defeated, captured and taken to Delhi, was kept in duress in the Gwalior fort for a period of twelve years, at the end of which his success in distinguishing a real from a false diamond was rewarded with his release and restoration to his former dignity. Henceforth he was to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 6,000. The generous Durjan Sal further begged of the Emperor to release a number of other Rajas who had been his companions in prison, and his prayer was granted. Before this, village Khukra in Pargana Khukra was

* Kokrah, or more correctly Khukra, is now the name of a Pargana or fiscal division (in Muhammadan times) round about Ranchi. The name is probably derived from the 'Kurukhs' or Oraons who have formed the bulk of the population of this paragana since the Mundas migrated to the southern and eastern parts of the plateau.

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the head-quarters of the Raj-family. In the Ayeen Akbari, we find Chotanagpur called Khokrah and included in the Subah of Behar. Even to this day fifty-two *bagaichas* (gardens) and fifty-three *pokhras* (tanks) once belonging to the Raj-family are spoken of with admiration by the simple folk of the now obscure village of Khukra, and its neighbouring villages. By the time of Aurangzeb's occupation of the throne of Delhi, the Chotanagpur Raja appears to have removed his seat to the present village of Doisa 30 miles to the south-west of Ranchi. Till then it would appear, the Rajas used to live in insignificant houses. It was after Raja Durjan Sal's return from Delhi, that the construction of the magnificent buildings of which the ruins may still be seen, came to be taken in hand. The story goes that when the released Rajas whose liberation from prison had been procured by Raja Durjan Sal, came to Doisa to pay their respects to their liberator, they were not a little surprised at finding him dwelling in a house not at all suited to his dignity. And, accordingly, on their return home, they sent down architects and masons, marble-slabs and other materials from their own dominions for the construction of a suitable palace in the capital of their 'diamond king.' And thus came to be built the five-storied palace with its water gate and *garh khai* arrangement, the court-house (Kutchery) and its beautiful marble flooring, the nice treasury-house with its winding alleys in which, it is said, the Raja and Rani used to play at hide-and-seek, and the awful prison-cell with its underground dungeons,—which made *Doisa-nagar* famous in its time.* From an old inscription we learn that the architectural activities at Doisa went on till the year 1720 of the Sambat Era corresponding to 1664 A.D.

Besides Khukra and Doisa, Villages Pithoria, Chutia, Palkot, and Bharno claim the honour of having at one time or other formed the seats of the Raj-family now established at Rantu. None of those places however retain any important architectural remains of the ancient royal residence. The temple of Ram and Sita at Chutia, close by the Ranchi railway station, is a comparatively recent structure. The inscription* on the northern wall of the temple shows that it was constructed by one Hari Brahmachari in the Sambat year 1742 corresponding to 1685 A.D. during the rule of Raja Raghu Nath, the fiftieth in descent from Phani Mutuk Rai.† That quaint little temple with its two arched roofs and verandas and the underground stairs leading to the well, appears to be the only object of antiquarian interest within the municipal limits of the present town of Ranchi.

It was during the reign of Raja Raghunath Sahi that a number of other Hindu temples were erected in the country. The picturesque temple of Jagarnathpur, about six miles to the south-west of Ranchi, was built by Thakur Ani Sahi just six years later, in Sambat 1748 or 1691 A.D. This fort-like temple with its solid masonry work, and towering steeple, stands queen-like on the top of a solitary hill, as if presiding over the destinies of the plateau which it overlooks. The annual fair held at the foot of the hill on the occasion of the Rathajatra festival attracts thousands of men and women from all parts of the Chotanagpur Division.

It was in Raja Raghu Nath's time that the stone-temple at village Borea about 5 miles to the north-east of Ranchi came to be constructed. The two inscriptions that may still be seen in that temple tell us that Luchmi Narain Tewary the ancestor of the present Tewaries of Borea had the foundation of this temple of Madan Mohan laid in the Sambat year 1722 (A. D. 1665) during the reign of Raja Raghu Nath and that the building was completed in Sambat 1739 (A. D. 1682) and cost the devout Tewary as much as

* The Mahadeva Mandir (temple of Siva) with its mysetrious traditions and the rest house of Jagarnath made of small red bricks appear to have been built at an earlier date. The rock-temple close by with its unsavoury associations appears to have been built later. The *Dhobi Math* appears to be of a still more recent date.

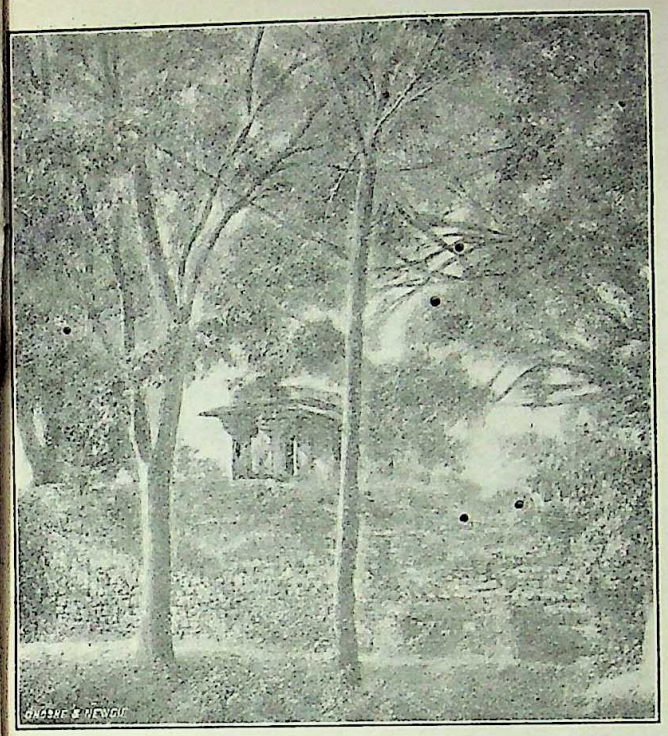
* The Dev-nagari inscription runs as follows:—

सम्वत् करयुगसिन्धु शशी अचर्यतृतीया चन्दवन्नचारी हरि मठ किओ श्रीरघुनाथनरिन्द ।

† It was Raja Madan Rai, the fourth in descent from Raja Fani Mutuk, who is said to have selected Chutia for his capital.

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THE CHUTIA TEMPLE FROM OUTSIDE.

rupees fourteen thousand and one.* The architect was a Hindu named Aniruddha.

Both these inscriptions and another in village Tilmi on a well in the fortress of the Nag-vansi Thakurs of that village, have been described by Mr. Rakhal Dass Haldar in an article in the Asiatic Society's Journal of the year 1871 (A.S.J,XL, p. 108). The Tilmi inscription is in Sanskrit and is dated Sambat 1794 (A.D. 1737) and runs as follows :—

अब्धि धर्म्म जयाचन्द्र सम्वत्सर प्रमोदकः ।
माधवे मासि शुक्ले च तिथौ गुणभृगोःदिनैः ।
प्रतिष्ठा दीर्घकपस्यात्करोत्साह श्रीअकबरः ।
धर्म्मार्थकाममोक्षाय·विष्णवे प्रियते सदा ।

The very interesting Minute of April 1832, written by Mr. Thomason, Deputy Secretary to Government at the time of the Kol Insurrection of 1832, embodies the following synopsis, prepared by Rajah Sital Roy, showing the connection of the Mahamadan Sovereigns with Chotanagpur. "He (Rajah Sital Roy) represented the country to have been first subdued, A. H. 952 (A. D. 1545), in the reign of Akbar Shah, when Rajah Man Sing marched in from Rotas, passed through Paloon (Palamow), and established his authority in the country ; on the disturbances which followed the death of Akbar Shah, the Zemindars regained their independence A. H. 1042 (A. D. 1632). Shah Jehan gave the country Palamow as a Jagheer to Buzurgatmed Cawen, Subadar of Patna, and settled the revenue at Rupees 1,36,000 ; in A. H. 1096 he was turned out and Ibrahim Cawen succeeded ; Beharry Dass, the Fouzdar of Ibrahim Cawen, raised the revenue to 1,60,919, and of this settlement an account is given in which Coira Orissa, or Nagpore, with Currunpoor or Badam, is rated at Rupees 40,505; the rest of the revenue is made up from the other parts of the country.

"In the reign of Mohomed Shah, 1131 F. E. (A. D. 1724), Scabullened Cawen was Subadar. He marched against Rajah Nagbundy Sing, who was then Zemindar of Nagpore, and to whom the Ghatwalls of Palaoon, Ramghur, and Badam were subject. The Subadar had reached the hills, when he was met by Bedman Dass Tacoor, the Raja's agent, and his further progress arrested by payment of a Nuzzeranah of a lakh of Rupees, 4,500 in cash, the rest in diamonds. Tribute was afterwards withheld, and in 1137 F. E. (A. D. 1731) Fughyrul Dowlah, the then Subadar, marched to the foot of the hills by way of Koonda. He met with considerable resistance, and was glad to compromise his claims by receiving rupees 12,000 from the Ghatwall of

* Of the two inscriptions the inscription on the wall of the temple, runs as follows :—

१ श्रीराम सत्य ।
सम्वत सतरसइ वाइस ।
वैशाख सुदि दशमी रजनीश ॥
श्रीरघुनाथ नरेसरीराज ।
लक्ष्मीनारायण ईश्वर मठसाज ।

The second inscription on a black slate runs as follows :—

श्रीमदनमोहन [नमस]ते

अस्ति श्री सम्वत १७२२ समय वैशाख सुदी दशमी १० [सोमा] रके श्रीश्री मदनमोहनक मटदायादल आउ सम्वत १७२५ समय सायन सुदी दशमी १०के दरबाजा श्री कोटरी श्री कायदेयाली टाहायाय से गाइकवकतपीयय ब्राह्मणमारलिकहत्या गुरुमारलिकहत्या ताक हय सुसलमान भय मठदरयाज कारदेयाली ढाहा याय तो शुयर खाय—आखन मारलक श्री पौरक धारा शुयर कहरा डारलक दोषतेहि—सुसलमानक [हय] ते वारि लक्ष्मीनारायण भगवत इ विनति लिखाय राखल हय कारीगर अनिरुद्धक विनति सांच हय ।

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Ramghur on account of the Nagpore Rajah, and 5,000 from the Ghatwall of Paloon. In 1141 (A.D. 1735) Aliverdi Khan with some difficulty enforced this payment, and it was continued afterwards till the British occupied the country."

As for the internal history of the country during the period, we have no written records to guide us. But inferences from established facts enable us to reconstruct this history with a certain degree of certitude.

As the Rajas through marriage with proud and high-born Rajput families like that of Pachete gradually came in contact with the great Aryan world outside their hill-girt plateau, they began to imbibe ideas of worldly grandeur and royal pomp to which hitherto they had been perfect strangers. A change came over the spirit of their regal dreams. And, in course of time, they too, it would seem, chose to have about them a pompous court attended by Brahmans, courtiers, omlahs and servants and all the other parapharnalia of Hindu royalty.

The dazzling splendour which the royal court gradually assumed deeply impressed the simple Mundas occasionally summoned to Doisa or to Khukra to render military service, and their impressions found vent in songs like the following :—

[Jadur]

Sona leka disumea, lipi
Okorem lelada, lipi ?
Rupaleka gamaia, lipi,
Chimaire Chinadam ?
Sona leka disumea, babu
Doinsareing nelada, babu-
Rupaleka gamaia, babu,
Kukuraing Chinada.
Sona leka disumea, lipi,
Mapatanakoa lipi,
Rupaleka gamaia lipiko
Tupuingtana.

[Translation]

O Where's the land that shines like gold ?
Say where such land didst see.
O where the land like silver gleams ?
Say where such land may be.
Ah ! bright as burnished gold the land
In Doisa realm I found.
There gleams the land as silver white,
In Khukra all around.
But in that golden land, my dove,
Oh ! men each other slay !
And in that land of silver, love,
Oh ! deadly arrows fly !

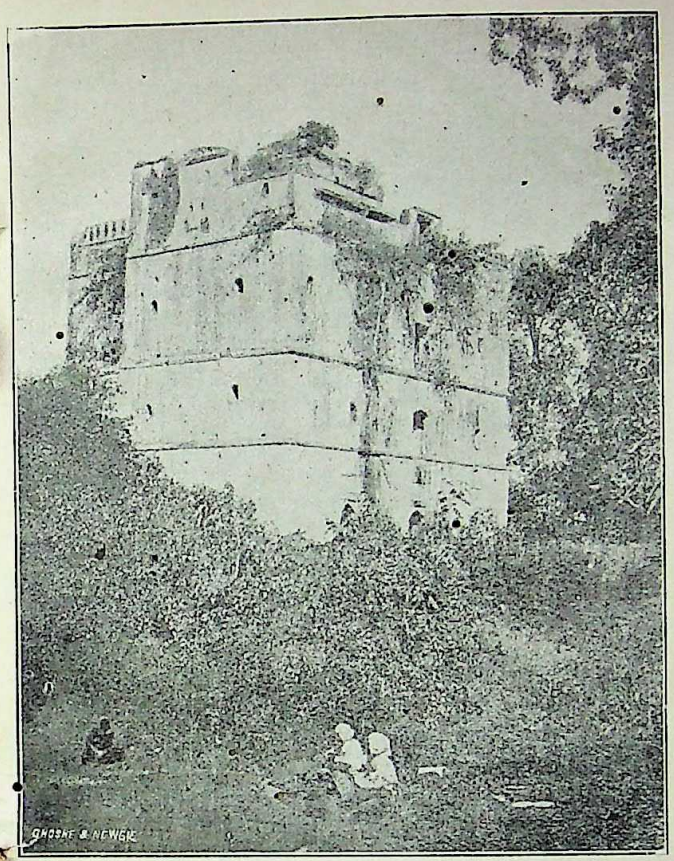
These Brahmans, Rautias* and other courtiers and servants who now flocked to the Raja's place mostly from Behar and the Central Provinces,† had to be provided for. Circumstanced as the Raja then was, what better expedient could he devise, or his advisers suggest than that of making service

* The Rautias, it is said, were invited by the Raja to keep down the Mundas.

† The Biru family claim to be an offshoot of the Orissa Raj family. Their ancestor Hitambar Deo is said to have been one of the ten sons of a Maharaja of Puri. Hitambar, it is said, owing to some dispute about succession to the throne, removed to Sambalpur and obtained a grant of twelve villages from Maharaja Balaram Deo the then Maharaja of Sambalpur. Hitambar's Son Hari Deo in pursuance of a mysterious divine direction left Sambalpur about the year 1557 A.D., and went to Bijadih in Pargana Kesalpur which was then included within the dominions of the Maharaja of Chotanagpur. While here he presented a diamond (one of many diamonds which he recovered from river Mahanuddy under the directions of Shiva) to Raja Bhimcoran, the 29th Maharaja of Chotanagpur who was then living at Khukra-garh. The Maharaja made a Jagir grant of the whole of Pargana Kesalpur to Hari Deo on whom the title of Raja was now conferred, Raja Hari Deo was succeeded by his eldest son Kolha Deo as Jagirdar of Biru. After Raja Kolha Deo came successively Raja Pitambar Deo, Raja Bir Sing Deo, Raja Demo Deo, and Raja Bhim Sing Deo. Bhim Sing and his relatives assisted Raja Durjan Sal when the Mahomedans invaded Khukra, Subal Sing, a nephew of Raja Bhim Sing, was killed in the battle, Bhim Sing and his brother were taken captives to Delhi along with Raja Durjan Sal. And it is said that it was with the help of Bhim Sing that Durjan Sal was able to tell a real from a false diamond and thereby regained his liberty and secured the title of Maharaja. In return for his services Bhim Sing obtained from Maharaja Durjan Sal the title of Raja and a Jagir grant of the entire pargana of Biru in addition to Pargana Kesalpur. Raja Bhim Sing was succeeded by his eldest Son Raja Keso Deo, and Keso Deo by his own eldest son Raja Narain Sing Deo. Raja Narain Sing by his failure to embank the Sankh permanently, incurred the displeasure of the then Maharaja of Chotanagpur, and the latter refused to invest Narian Sing's successor Ram Sing with the title of 'Raja'. Accordingly Ram Sing was called 'Bahera', and a rental of Sicca Rs. 3/5 was henceforth to be paid annually to the Maharaja for the jagir of Parganas Kesalpur and Biru. After Bahera Ram Sing came successively Bahera Balaram Sing, Bahera Gondal Sing, Bahera Dham Sing, Bahera Ghan Sing, Bahera Hari Ram Sing, and Bahera Indarjit Sing. Bahera Indurjit's son Gajraj Sing was given back the old title of Raja by the present Maharaja of Chotanagpur. The present zemindar, the eldest son of Gajraj, is locally known as 'Raja' Hikim Sing, to whom I am indebted for this family history. The local traditions regarding the origin of the Biru family, are perhaps less probable than those regarding the origin of the Sahanis of Gidra and the Baraiks of Pargana Panari.

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PALACE IN THE FORT AT DOISA FROM THE SOUTH.

[From a photograph by the late F. T. Peppe, by the Courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Whitley.]

grants of his rights in a number of villages to these new-comers? This system of jagir-grants was an exotic idea probably imported by these alien adventurers themselves. And thus arose the class of jagirdars under various denominations such as Bhaiyas, Baraiks, Brittias, Pandeys, Jamadars and so forth.

In the beginning, it would appear, the change was imperceptible. The evil fruits that might spring from such imported seeds were not perhaps foreseen by the Raja. As Mr. Rakhal Das Haldar in his account of the village system of Chotanagpur appended to a Resolution of the Bengal Government of the year 1880, writes,—

"It is probable that when he (the Maharaja) gave away villages in this manner, he meant no more than to relinquish his claim to the supplies in favour of the Jagirdar."

The oldest pattah or lease which Mr. Rakhal Das Haldar could discover was dated 1676 A. D. And Mr. Halder, as the then manager of the Maharajah of Chotanagpur, had free access to the archives of the Raja's Sheristah or Record-office. It has been occasionally argued on the strength of the terms of some of these pattahs that the Maharaja must, at the time of granting these jagirs, have possessed absolute proprietary right over the Chotanagpur villages. But a moment's reflection will show that this cannot be a sound view of the matter. The draftsmen and scribes of these documents, as indeed all literate people of the Maharaja's Court, were, and even now mostly are, men from Behar. And these men naturally employed the set forms for such documents they had known in use in their own country.

To return to our account of the disintegration of the ancient land-system of Chotanagpur. The Jagirdar who thus got an inch was determined to take an eel. "The grantee," as Mr. Rakhal Das Haldar, who can by no means be accused of any partiality to the ryot, says, "the grantee could not possibly remain contented with the Maharaja's share of the produce. His natural desire was to grow rich and powerful, within his own sphere at least; and he was not long master of the village before he commenced attacks on the most vulnerable points of the system. The lands held by the raiyats* naturally came first within his grasp. The people could be easily persuaded to believe that as the Maharaja was entitled to supplies from the villages, and the ryots provided the bulk of the supplies, and as the Maharaja had made over these to the grantees, the latter had an absolute right to them. Thus a certain proportion of the produce of the lands held by the ryots was collected by the Jagirdars, the same being gradually commuted into money, and the foreign idea of 'rent' introduced. The Jagirdar's right to such lands came to be recognised also, and hence originated the Rajahs tenure. Out of the Rajhas the grantee took some lands for holding himself; such land came to be known as Manjhihas." In villages that still retained the *Khuntkatti* system, the annual dues levied by the superior landlord on the village community was made up of the rent payable by the

* *i.e.* the *Parja-horoko* or *Etahaturenks* described in our last chapter.

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Parjahoroko or teta-traturenks, the outsiders, who held lands under the *Khuntkatti* groups. As the demands of the foreign landlords went on increasing, the balance required to meet those growing demands was made up by subscriptions or *chandas* from among the *khuntkattidars* themselves.*

It was probably at this period that the Mahto was introduced as a new functionary and gradually a Mahto Khunt was evolved in many villages probably out of the Munda Khunt. The new Jagirdars or thiccadars as they were then called, shrinking perhaps from introducing any officers of their own, sought to conciliate the villagers by allowing a member of their original village-family to manage the affairs of the village in its relation to the new landlords. Even to this day, in the intact Khuntkatti villages of Parganás Sonepur, Tamar and Siri, the Mahto and his Khunt are unknown.

It was in the villages inhabited by the comparatively docile Uraons that the division of the cultivated lands of the village into Bhuinhari, Rajhas and Manjihas appears to have been first introduced. The Mundas, always zealously tenacious of their own institutions and averse to any change, naturally resisted tooth and nail all attempts at a disintegration of their village communes. Their blood boiled with indignation at the sight of these foreigners "whom the Maharaja let loose over the country and who sought to reduce them from their position of village-proprietors to an inferior status. And their fierce hatred of these aliens the Mundas expressed in indignant songs like the following in which the unwelcome strangers are compared to the greedy vulture, ravenous crow, the upstart peacock, and the ominous owl:—

(Jadur)

Notem tirubachi sirmam sangin,
Kokordojanaji marangenjana.
Notemtirubachi sirmam sangin,
Kokordojanaji rajanjana.
Mara dojanaji marangenjana.
Kokordojanaji rajanjana.
Natu natu kauko diguarjana.
Mara dojanaji marangenjana.
Disum disum Kauko kotoarjana.
Natu Mundako nekelatana
Natu natu kauko diguarjana.
Natu Mundako taiurtana.
Disum Buiarko taiurtana
Natu Mundako nekelatana
Borote gegako nekelatana.
Chirite gegako taiurtana.

[Translation.]

Look where thou wilt, dear, wherever eye gazes,
Up to the sky or below to the earth,
(Men of mean blood wilt, than meet in high places,)
Owls pose as lords, dear, the owls of low birth.
Struts the vain peacock in glory of plumage,
Owls pass for lords, dear, the owls of low birth.
Look how the crow rules as *diguar* * each village,
Peacocks are grown great beings on earth.
Rules the vile crow now as Kotwar † all over,
Now hath each village for *diguar* acrow,
Mundas of hamlets now tremble and shiver,
They that were owners of hamlets erenow.
Bhuinhars all over now quake and quiver,
Mundas of hamlets now tremble with fear
Terror supreme now doth reign the land over,
Mundas of hamlets have lost their old cheer.

Long and strenuous must have been the efforts these indignant Mundás made to prevent any breach in the fortress of their village communes. And in the end only the Munda settlements nearer the Uraon country and in closer contact with Uraon settlements, succumbed to the onslaught. The Khuntkatti nature of a number of villages hitherto held by the descendants of the original settlers in common ownership was at length seriously impaired. As the result of this mutilation, the proprietary right of the village community over a large part of the *done* and *tanr* lands of the village was materially affected, the Jagirdar or rather ticcadar (as he was then called) usurping the right to levy a rent on these lands in lieu of the supplies hitherto given as the Raja's dues. These lands now came to be called the Rajhas (or Rajangs literally the share of the Raja), and the Mundás assert that up till the Bhuinhari settlement under Bengal Act II of 1869, these consisted of not more than half the cultivable lands, the other half being still left as the Bhuinhari lands of the descendants of the original settlers, and for this latter no such rent had to be paid. This arrangement gave rise to the expression

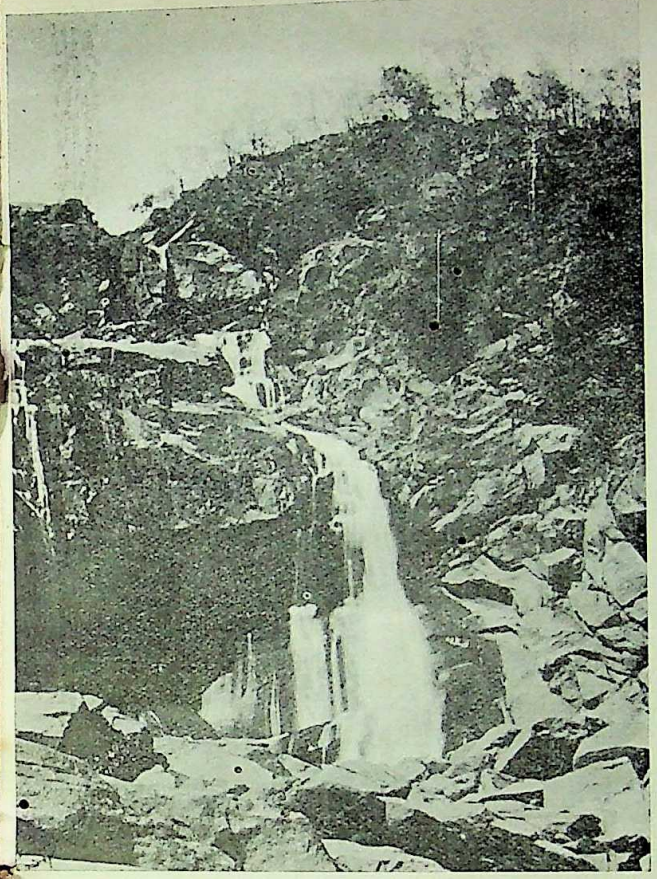
* Thus, from the very nature of the thing, the *chanda* was in earlier years a variable and fluctuating amount, the proportion paid by the different khuntkattidar being determined according to their circumstances. When, in course of time the demands of the inferior landlords came to be fixed, the proportion of the *chandas* to be borne by the different khuntkattidar attained some sort of fixity.

* The *diguar* is a village-watchman or chowkidar.

† The *Kotwar* is a royal officer who keeps guard over a town or village to prevent breaches of the peace, thefts and other like offences.

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HUNDRA-GHAG.

[The first water-fall in the Chotanagpore Division, formed by the river Subarnarekha rushing down a rocky chasm from a height of 320 feet. It is 25 miles east-north-east form Ranchi.] Form a photograph by Mr. P. Kumar.

still in use among the Mundas of what are known as the Bhuinhari pattis*, "adha dam adha kam", meaning "rent is payable only for half the (cultivable) village-lands and for the other half only (feudal) service." Such is the origin of the Rajhas lands† which at first included no more than the lands of the *parjahoroko* or *etahaturenko* (outsiders) described above and was in course of time swelled by the inclusion of portions of lands owned by the Khuntkattidars as well, till at length the total amounted to half the cultivable lands of the village. Out of these *rajhas* lands‡ the Ticcadar or Jagirdar gradually laid hold of some of the finest plots, and began to cultivate them through his own servants, and these came to be known as the *manjhihas* (literally, the share of the manjhi or ticcadar). The waste lands or jungles remained, as before, the common property of the village community. To console the Munda and the Pahan for their loss of status, they were alloted specific plots of rent free lands called respectively Mundai and Pahanai including Dalikatari and Panbhara lands. Whereas the Bhuinhari lands of the Munda and Pahan were heritable tenures, the Mundai, the Pahanai and the Dalikatari lands were to be held during the continuance of the incumbents' services to the village community. As a rule, however, the offices of the Munda and Pahan are hereditary. Thus, the Bhuinhari, as Mr. Rakhal Das Haldar says, is but "the remnant of the old Khuntkatti tenure". The present Bhuinhari villages are, what has been aptly styled 'broken *khuntkatti* villages.

It must have been after a long and painful struggle that the Mundas yielded even so much of the ground as they appear to have done. And thus, by slow degrees, a number of what were originally intact Khuntkatti villages were at length reduced to what are now known as the Bhuinhari villages. But even in the area popularly known as the Bhuinhari area to which operations under Bengal Act II of 1869 were extended, not a few villages succeeded in resisting their conversion from Khuntkatti villages into villages of a lower status. In such villages, the villagers would not allow the landlord to convert any of the village-lands into his rajhas or manjhihas. The Bhuinhari Commissioners had consequently to desist from measuring and preparing any record with respect to such villages. And

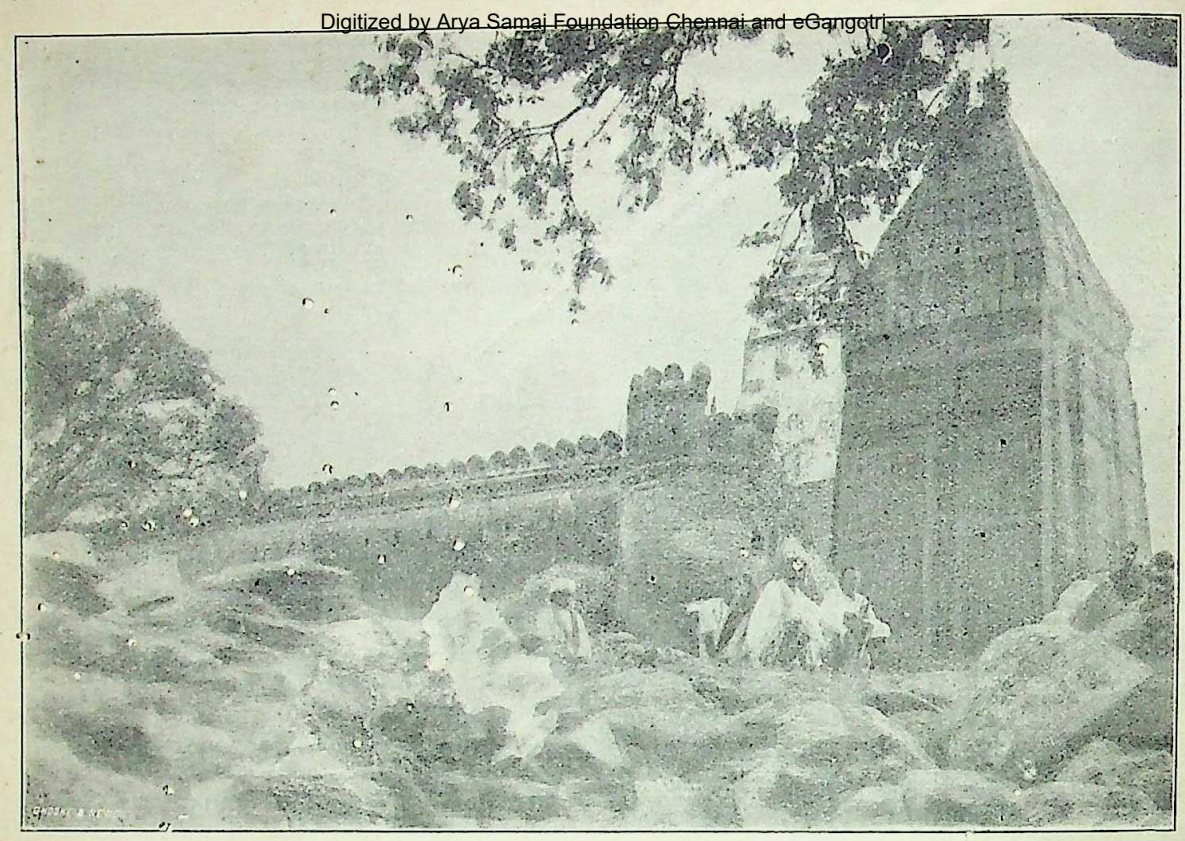
* Bhuinhari pattis in Pergana Sonepur are the Bamni patti, the Sundari patti and the Zirath patti.

† This process of creating *Rajhas* and subsequently subdividing the *rajhas* into *majhias* and *rajhas proper* may still be seen going on in portions of Tamar Pargana. In many Khuntkatti villages there the Raja or his lessors have got hold of a plot or plots of lands and begun by cultivating them *khas* or through tenants and styled such lands rajhas and the name *manjhihas* is yet unknown in such villages. But these *rajhas* lands in Tamar are what would be called *majhas* in the Bhuinhari pattis.

‡ "Out of the *rajhas*," Mr. Rakhal Das Haldar writes, "the grantee took some land or lands for holding himself; such land came to be known as *manjhihas* from '*manjhi*' the headman of a village. As the grantee was mostly a resident proprietor, he required agricultural services from the ryots, and created the *betkheta* out of the *rajhas*." Colonel Dalton, however, adds in a marginal note to the report of Mr. Rakhal Das Haldar, 'or out of his *majhas*.'

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THE JAGARNATHPUR TEMPLE.

the descendants of the original settlers have retained their Kuntkatti rights in the lands of these villages.*

But the majority of the villages in the Bhuinhari area were not so fortunate. And, consequently some of the more unyeilding among the Mundas of these villages appear to have retreated to the jungles further south rather than submit to such ruthless expropriation. Thus, we hear of Gaasi Munda of the Purthi Kili then living in village Hasa, not far off from Khunti, emigrating to the mountainous and jungly tract further to the south-east, and his descendants founded villages all around them, where the Khuntkatti system is still in full vigour. In this way from the furthest north-west of the Ranchi district, the Mundas at length made their way to the furthest south-east.

It was perhaps at this period in the history of the Ranchi district that Hindu Ahirs, Kumhars, Nowas, and a few other low class Hindu castes immigrated into the plateau in the train of the Hindu Jagirdars or at their invitation, just as some low class Mahomedans such as the Jolhas found their way into the country in the train of the Mahomedan troops who invaded Khokra in the 16th century.* The Ghasis, a tribe who earn a precarious livelihood by fishing and begging appear to have come to the country earlier. For, the Mundas tell a story that when Fani Mukut was installed as Raja, the Ghasis asked him "What shall become of us?", and the new Raja replied "Go ye and beg from door to door". And since then, it is said, the Ghasis have lived by begging. This incident is said to have given

* Among these may be mentioned village Bargari, about eighteen miles to the south of Ranchi, and villages Posea and Burju not far off from Khunti, and the majority of villages in Pargana Siri.

* It is not unlikely however that the lower class of the Chotanagpur Mahomedans were originally converts. It appears that a few Mahomedan adventurers who came in the train of the Mogul army or the descendants of such adventurers succeeded in securing Jagir grants from the Maharaja, and it may be to their prosetelysing zeal that the origin of the low class Mahomedans of the Ranchi district has to be traced. Traces of these ancient Mahomedan grantees exist in the names of certain villages such as *Samsera, Rahamsera*, etc.

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rise to the common saying among the Mundas :—

Nagbansi Raja,
Kompat Munda,
Duarsing Ghasi.

The attacks on the land-system of the Mundas and on their rights to the villages that they had themselves established, appear to have commenced in the eighteenth century, and have been in active progress till the present day.

Great as has been the success the Hindus have since achieved in impairing the original land-system of the Mundas, their attempts in making the Mundas converts to their own religious faith appears to have been attended with much less success. Buddhist monks, if they ever worked among them, have left no traces whatsoever of their activities in the Munda country. It is only some Vaisnav preachers who appear to have once chosen the land of the Mundas as the field of their work, and seem to have met with a temporary success.

From the seventeenth Canto of Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita we learn that the great Vaisnav reformer and devotee of Nuddea on his way from Nilachal to Mathura passed through Jharkhand and made conversions among its aboriginal population. Thus we read:—

मथुरा यावार कले आसि झारिखण्ड,
[भिल्ल प्राय लोक ताहे परम पाषण्ड ।]
नाम प्रेम दिया कैल सवार निस्तार ;
चैतन्येर गूढ़लीला वुझे साध्य कार ?
वन देखि भम हय एइ वृन्दावन,
शैल देखि मने हय एइ गोवर्द्धन ।

Again :—

झारि-खण्डे स्थावर जङ्गम आछे यत,
कृष्णनाम दिया कैल प्रेमेते उन्मत्त ।
येइ ग्राम दिया यान, याँहा करेन स्थिति,
से सव ग्रामेर लोकेर हय प्रेम भक्ति ।

Subsequent Vaisnav preachers appear to have made earnest attempts to convert the Mundas. One of them was Binand Das by name whose memory is still preserved in songs he composed in the Mundari language with a view to facilitate the conversion of the Mundas. The elevated ideas expressed in the songs about *pap* and *punya* and about the vanity of earthly enjoyments, the style and composition* and the characteristic mannerisms of Vaisnav poets† in these songs, leave no doubt as to their Hindu origin. Such is the well-known song beginning "Bhatiora pitipiri honortanaking jurijuri"‡. The small number of Bhagats among the Chotonagpur Uraons and the Vaisnavs among the Mundas of Bundu and Tamar Parganas bear testimony to the partial success that attended the efforts of the Vaisnav preachers. And even among the unconverted, Vaisnavism has left its mark on songs and religious festivals. The Karma festival with its 'Lahusa' songs can be clearly traced to Vaisnav influence. Unlike other festivals, the Karma puja is not presided over by the Pahan, no fowl or other animal is sacrificed but only *ghee* and incense are used as in Hindu festivals.

Some Karam songs sung by the Sonepur Mundas who have forgotten even the name of Vaisnavism, appear to have been composed at a time when the influence of Vaisnav teachings had died out but the memory remained. Thus in the following widely known Karam song we hear of the wide-spreading Kadamba (naucleas) tree on the banks of the Jumna associated with the *lilas* of Srikrishna.

Jamuna garha japa, Buru gitil Kadam Suba,
Tiri riri rutu-saritana
Mand sakam chora rera§
Soben haiko nirtana,
Karakom do duar-re dubakana
Landatanae.

* Such as the rhymes at the end and caesura in the middle.

† Such as the characteristic line towards the conclusion of each song—"Binandas Kajitanae," 'Thus saith Binand Das'.

‡ Among other songs of Binand Das may be mentioned those beginning "Hohore Kuri banoama muri," and "Nawa Samay rakabtana" &c.

§ *Mand sakam* is the Mundari name of a fish which looks like a bamboo leaf (the *banspata* fish of Bengal)—*Chora* is the *chang* fish and *rera* is the *magur* fish so common in Bengal.

Among the Mundas of the Panch Pargana one still hears distinctively Vaisnav songs about *Krishna-Lila* in which Bengali words are freely used. As an instance we may cite the following Karam song composed by Budhu Babu, the well-known Munda poet of Tamar Pragana.

Ogo ogo Duti, okotea Brajapati ?
Mage mage bachhar murijan,
Oro gating kae hijua.
Amgodo thorkia.
Nokore letagirijan ?
Nalita Brinda-duti, okotia Brajapati ?
Nidasingi Kurambhitar aege urutan
Dumburleka ji aenagin otang biurtan.
&c. &c. &c.

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[TRANSLATION.]

By Jumna's bank on sandy hill,
There stands a Kadamb tree.
How sweet the flute the air doth fill
With notes of *tiri riri*.
Lo! fish of every size and shape
There move so gay and free,
And there the crab with mouth agape
Doth sit and smile in glee.

In genuine Munda villages, one is sometimes surprised to hear the Munda youngmen and women ending their songs with lusty shouts of "*Radhe-Radhe*". The Mundas as we have found by personal interrogation, have not the remotest idea as to what this exclamation means, all that they know being that it is the customary signal that the song is ended. But every Hindu knows what it means.

In the Panch Parganas, a number of well-to-do Mundas, ambitious of rising in the social scale, have adopted the faith of their more civilised Hindu neighbours, by preference—the Vaisnav form of the religion. And it seems that if ever Hinduism once more earnestly seeks to bring the Mundas into its fold, the Vaisnav sect will have a greater chance of success than any other sect of Hinduism. Some of the comparatively wilder Mundas of the south may perhaps take kindly to the worship of *Sakti*.

Although the bulk of the Mundas have, hitherto rejected Hinduism, clear traces of Hindu influence are observable in many of their social ceremonies and religious festivals. Thus, the *Sindur-dan* or besmearing of vermilion on the foreheads of the bride and bridegroom by each other, the use of *Sasang* or turmeric, in marriages, the fasts and ceremonial ablutions practised in Munda religious festivals, besides some other practises are evidently borrowed from the Hindus.

The root principles of their religious belief and religious ceremonies as also the essential features of their social customs have however remained essentially Mundari.

Such in brief, is a rough and imperfect outline of the early history of the Mundas of Chotanagpore. We have here presented nothing more than the dry skeleton of a subject abounding in living interest. We have included in our hurried survey, a period extending over many centuries. We started, in the first chapter, from a period when the Chotanagpore Plateau was covered over with primeval forests. We have seen in the second chapter the Mundas, hounded down by successive bands of alien enemies, fly from country to country till at length they penetrate the jungles of Jharkhand. In the third chapter, we have seen them clear jungles, establish villages of the partiarchal type, and for the first time break the virgin glebe. And we have seen how the Uraons, a few centuries later and under circumstances not unlike those that brought the Mundas to Chotanagpur followed the lead of their Munda precursors, entered the country from the north-west, settled among these Munda pioneers, adopted their village organisation and *parha* Government, and at length gradually crowded the Mundas out further to the east of the Plateau. And we have seen how at length both Munda and Uraon, in utter ignorance of future consequences, placed a king over their own heads. The more docile Uraons, as we have seen, quietly submitted, though not perhaps without an inward pang, to the evils that followed in the wake of kingship.

But the most striking phenomenon in the Early History of Chotanagpore is the unbending conservatism of the more strong-willed Mundas. We have seen in the present chapter how this remarkably tenacious tribe in their anxiety to protect their sacred birth-right, their ancient village-organisation and land-system—made a gradual tour of the entire country from one end of it to the other. And at every stage of their migrations, we have seen, how the Mundas left behind them indelible sign-posts of their former presence in the names of places and in sepulchral and memorial stones as which exist to this day. Well may the Mundas adopt the words of the poet to their own case and exclaim with legitimate pride—

Tread where we may on Nagpur ground,
From farthest west to wild Tamar;
Or north or south, but still is found,
Some ancient ruin, crath or mound,
To tell of things that were.

SARAT CHANDRA ROY.

* Among the Mundas of pergana Tamar, even the use of "*baran-dala*" as in Hindu marriages has been adopted.

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HISTORY OF AURANGZIB

CHAPTER V.

The War in Central Asia, 1647.

TO the north of Kabul the Hindu Kush mountain range running north-east and the Oxus river flowing eastwards enclose between them two provinces, Balkh and Badakhshan. The eastern half, Badakhshan, is a mere succession of ridges and valleys, with a scanty population and scattered patches of cultivation. The mines of ruby and turquoise which once gave it fame throughout the eastern world now yield very little. It is a province thrust into a forgotten nook of the world, and hemmed in by fierce mountain tribes; the squalor and poverty of its people is equalled only by their ignorance and helplessness.*

Badakhshan.

Balkh is a more open and fertile country. Irrigation canals and numerous streams have given its favoured tracts abundance of agricultural wealth, both of crops and fruits. Its rivers descending from the Hindu Kush form fertile valleys which grow broader and broader as they wind northwards to the Oxus. The hills are mostly bare and arid.† Now and then sandstorms from the western desert sweep over the face of the land.

Balkh.

On the south it is separated from Afghanistan by lofty mountains, wide plateaus, and narrow passes.‡ But its northern boundary, the Oxus river, presents no such natural barrier to an invader, and nomadic hordes from Central Asia have in every age crossed the river and overrun the land. In the southern hills from Kabul to Herat live predatory tribes, the Hazaras and Aimaks,* hungrily watching for a chance to cut off travellers and traders in the passes or to swoop down upon the flourishing hamlets and orchards of the lowlands near the Oxus in the rear of some foreign invader. Against a regular army their hardiness and ferocity were rendered unavailing by their primitive savagery, ignorance, and lack of organisation. But through the southwestern corner, which touched Khurasan, the stream of civilisation has flowed into Balkh. By this path came the Persian, the Greek and the Arab, and each has left his stamp on the culture of the conquered people.†

Placed between two powerful neighbours it has been the fate of Balkh to be the scene of conquest and plunder age after age since the dawn of history; its people have been relieved of masters from the south or west only by fiercer masters from the north; their ancient culture and learning, which boasted of a Hellenistic origin, had been all but trodden out under the iron heels of Chenghiz Khan.‡ Their cities were now in ruin and their wealth destroyed beyond hope of recovery.

Besides the wild robbers of the southern mountains and the tame cultivators of the northern lowlands, there was a third element of the population;—"primitive nomads who occupied tracts of barren steppe land, and drove their flocks from hill to valley and valley to hill, in search of pasture according to season."§

A land of this nature could support but a small population, and was too poor to maintain an army on its own produce. The salaried troops of the king of Balkh numbered only

Its revenue.

* Leyden's *Memoirs of Babar* (ed. 1826), xxix, Wood's *Journey to the Source of the Oxus* lxxv—lxxix, 171, 206, 191.

† Leyden, xxx. *Wood's, Journey* lxvii, 175, 257; Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys*, 208.

‡ For the passes leading northward into Balkh, see Leyden, 139, 199; Wood's *Journey* lxiv; Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnamah*, II. 668—670.

* Wood, 127, Elias & Ross, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Intro. 91, Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia* 263.

† Vambery's *Travels* 233, 239; Elias & Ross, Intro. 82, 107; Skrine & Ross's *Heart of Asia*, 6, 30, 38, 76, 131.

‡ Wood, lxi, lxvii. 155, 162; Vambery's *Travels* 233, 244; Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys*, 207.

§ Elias & Ross, Intro. 31.

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3000 men, and his revenue (including that yielded by Badakhshan) was only 25 *lakhs* of Rupees,—the stipend of a third-rate peer of the Mughal empire, as the Delhi historian has noted with contempt. His chief minister was paid only Rs. 80,000 a year.*

Uzbaks from beyond the Oxus.

Poor as were the resources of the country and tame as were the men of its plains, an invader from the south found it hard to keep hold of his conquest. He had to guard his own communications with the rear over the long and difficult passes of the Hindu Kush. But numberless hordes of savage horsemen, the Mongols and Turkomans, came from beyond the Oxus to oppose him, burning crops and villages, carrying off the loyal peasantry into slavery, hovering round his army on the march, cutting off detachments and stragglers, and when chased maintaining a Parthian fight. Indeed, his camp was ever in a state of siege. On them he could make no successful reprisal, deal no crushing blow which might win for him peace and the growth of revenue. The enemy had "no forts or towns or immovable property, worthy of the name, for an invader to destroy, and no stationary population, left undefended, upon whom he might wreak his vengeance.....Mobility must have been the quality they relied on more than any other, both in attack and retreat, and we find them baffling their enemies more by their movements than by their fighting power."† When reduced to their worst, they fled across the Oxus to their homes. Mughal troops who had served in the Deccan immediately noted that the Uzbaks fought like the Marathas but were far more hardy.‡

Tartar raiders.

Savage and uncouth as the Uzbaks were, they had at least the faith of Islam in common with their foemen from India. But the Turkoman tribes (miscalled Alamans) were worse still. They had not yet accepted the creed of Muhammad, but clung to their old heathenism.§ Plunder was their sole livelihood. In their forays they burnt the Quran, and massacred holy men and children with as little pity as they showed to fighting foemen. In one place, they shut up in a mosque and roasted alive a pious dervish and 400 schoolboys whom he had led in a procession to entreat their mercy. Similar atrocities were committed by them elsewhere. These ferocious robbers were not hampered in their marches by any baggage or provisions; the coarsest food sufficed for them. The deepest rivers they crossed by swimming their horses, in a long line, the bridle of one being fastened to the tail of another, while the saddles, which were mere bundles of sticks could not be damaged by water. The men crossed on rafts made from the reeds that grew plentifully on the river bank. The horses, as hardy as their riders, lived on the wild wormwood of the steppe, and yet covered a hundred miles a day. From Bukhara beyond the Oxus their forays extended to Khurasan, and the well-mounted Persian cavalry could not overtake them.

For many centuries Balkh, with its adjunct of Badakhshan, had been a dependency of Bukhara, and was governed by a viceroy (often a prince of the blood) and garrisoned by the fierce and hardy Scythians from beyond the Oxus.* Early in the seventeenth century, the wise and good Iman Quli Khan, of the Astrakhan-ide dynasty, adorned the throne of Bukhara for 32 years, and when in 1642 age and infirmity induced him to leave his weeping subjects for monastic repose in Medina, his younger brother Nazar Muhammed succeeded to the throne.†

Nazar Muhammad, king of Balkh.

The new Khan had governed the family appanage of Balkh during his brother's reign. As a ruler of Bukhara he was a failure. Its climate disagreed with him after his forty years' residence in the more genial soil of Balkh; his extreme avarice and niggardliness alienated his generals. Yet his ambition led him to annex Khwarizm. The Uzbaks began to hate him for his jealous policy of withdrawing all power from their leaders and doing everything himself. A man without discretion or force of character, he

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 542—543.
† Elias & Ross, Intro. 55.
‡ Abdul Hamid, ii, 705.
§ *Alaman* is a Tartar word meaning 'a predatory expedition' (Vambery, 317.) The historian Abdul Hamid took it to be the *name* of a Tartar tribe, whose manners he describes in II, 619, and 453.

* Skrine & Ross, 160, 192.
† Skrine & Ross, 194—199. Vambery's *History of Bukhara* 304—333; Abdul Hamid, ii; 251—256; Skrine has *Nazir* instead of *Nazar*.

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openly taxed his chiefs with what backbiters had told him about them. The army seethed with discontent at his reduction of their allowances, seizure of pastures, and resumption of grants of rent-free land.*

Provokes rebellion

So the Bukhara troops mutinied and proclaimed as King his eldest son Abdul Aziz, who was in their midst as his father's viceroy, (17 April, 1645). Rebellion immediately broke out in many other parts of his vast and diverse territory, and savage hordes roamed over the country to take advantage of the disorder by plundering. At last the helpless father had to make peace by yielding Trans-oxiana to his rebel son and retaining Balkh and Badakhshan for himself.† But meantime a new combatant had stepped into the arena; Shah Jahan had invaded Badakhshan.

Shah Jahan's desire to conquer Balkh.

It is difficult to see what drew him into the war, unless it was greed of conquest. True, Nazar Mahammad Khan had not been a good neighbour. Eighteen years ago, at the death of Jahangir, he had invaded Afghanistan, besieged Kabul (29 May, 1628) and fled back precipitately at the approach of Mughal troops.‡ But this raid had been forgiven, and since then there had been an exchange of friendly messages and embassies between him and the Emperor of Delhi. Even recently when the Mughal forces were massed in Afghanistan for the siege of Qandahar and Imam Quli had feared lest his country should be invaded by them, Shah Jahan had assured him that he would be left in peace.§ That rebels from Afghanistan were harboured in Balkh‖ could not have been a cause of war, because it has always been recognised among eastern kings as a sacred duty to give asylum to suppliants. The Afghan frontier was exposed to private raids by Nazar Muhammad's subjects, but these could not have extended far, and must have been looked upon as common incidents in that debateable land from time immemorial. The Court historian Abdul Hamid is, therefore, right when he says that Shah Jahan determined to conquer Balkh and Badakhshan, "because they were the heritage of Babar and also lay in the way to Samarqand, the capital of Timur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty." The civil war in Balkh supplied him with an opportunity for carrying out his long-cherished scheme.*

Folly of the attempt.

But if Shah Jahan really hoped to conquer and rule Central Asia with a force from India, we must conclude that the prosperity of his reign and the flattery of his courtiers had turned his head, and that he was dreaming the vainest of vain dreams. The Indian troops detested service in that far-off land of hill and desert, which could supply no rich booty, no fertile fief, and no decent house to live in. The occupation of that poor inhospitable and savage country meant only banishment from home and comfort and ceaseless fight and watching against a tireless and slippery enemy. The finest troops might be worn out and the richest treasury exhausted in the attempt to keep hold of such a country, and no gain either in glory or wealth was to be expected. Poor as the revenue of the new conquest was at the best of times, the Mughals during their two years of occupation could collect only one half and one-fourth respectively of this small sum,† while their war expenses were sixteen times as high!

Invasion of Badakhshan.

A Mughal officer began the war by marching with a force from Ghorband, on the northern frontier of Afghanistan, and capturing the fort of Kahmard (June 1645). But he soon abandoned it to the enemy.‡ Shah Jahan disapproved of both the capture and abandonment as unwise, and turned his immediate attention to the conquest of Badakhshan. A strong reconnoitring force moved rapidly north-east from Kabul across the Hindu Kush and along the Panjshir river basin. On its return after examining the Parwan and Tul passes which led into southern Badakhshan, he sent a large body of sappers to make a road. Rajah Jagat Singh took upon himself the task of conquest, advanced from Kabul

* Abdul Hamid, ii, 435—442.
† *Ibid*, ii, 443—456.
‡ Abdul Hamid, I. A. 206—214.
§ Abdul Hamid, ii, 152.
‖ *Ibid*, ii, 13, 528, 529.

* Abdul Hamid. ii, 482-483.
† Abdul Hamid 542 & 666.
‡ *Ibid*, 457—459.

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(15 Oct. 1645) with a large Rajput contingent, conquered the Khosht district and built a wooden fort between the Sarab and the Andarab. Thence he returned to Afghanistan by the Panjshir valley (4 Nov.).* But the Rajput garrison left by him gallantly held the stockade and beat the Uzbaks back from its walls time after time.

Murad seizes Balkh.

The way being thus cleared, the grand campaign began next summer. In June 1646 Murad Bakhsh, the youngest son of the Emperor, led 50,000 men into southern Badakhshan by the Tul pass. With him went Ali Mardan Khan, the premier noble, a Persian of rare genius and ability who had left the Shah's service to adorn the court of Delhi. Marching by the way of Sarab and Deh-i-Tajikan they reached Narin, whence a detachment under Asalat Khan pushed on and took possession of the fort of Qunduz on the north-eastern border of Balkh (22 June). The Prince met with no opposition and entered the city of Balkh on 2nd July, 1646. The natives gazed with wonder at the Indian army with its huge elephants covered with cloth of gold and silver plates, steeds with bridles set with precious metals, troopers clad in cuirass embossed with gold and gems, endless columns of musketeers and sappers, and gorgeous standards and drums.† Such a display of wealth and pomp they had never seen before. Shah Jahan had written to Nazar Muhammad Khan offering to leave Balkh to him if he remained friendly. The Khan had answered by professing submission. But on Murad's arrival at Balkh he doubted the Emperor's sincerity, feared a stratagem, and at night took his flight from his capital towards Persia. His fabulous wealth, hoarded for so many years and estimated at 70 lakhs of rupees, was mostly plundered by his followers and subjects, and the victorious Mughals seized only 12 lakhs in cash and kind, besides 2500 horses and 300 camels. Asalad Khan and Bahadur Khan went in pursuit, but were too late to capture him.‡

The country was conquered without a blow, but Murad was already sick of it. In his very first letter to the Emperor he begged hard to be recalled, and he continued to press the request ever after, in spite of repeated refusal. Most of his officers were no less eager to return to the pleasant land of Hindustan and escape from the dull and uncongenial soil of Balkh. This news disheartened and distracted the loyal peasantry, and the Mughal soldiers too, got out of hand and took to plundering.*

Murad wants to come away.

The matter soon came to a crisis. The infatuated Prince, then only 22 years of age, wanted to return home without permission, leaving Bahadur Khan in charge. The Mughal army of occupation, left without a supreme leader, would have been placed in a perilous condition. At Shah Jahan's command the *wazir* Sadullah Khan hastened to Balkh (10th August), tried to move Murad from his foolish purpose, and on his refusal removed him from the command. Arrangements were made for the new government; the army was distributed under different generals and stationed at important centres to keep hold of the country. Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan were left in Balkh as joint viceroys, and Qalich Khan in Badakhshan. After 22 days of hard toil, the great *wazir* finished his task and returned to Kabul by a rapid ride of four days only (6 September.)† The Prince had preceded him, but was disgraced, deprived of his rank and government, and forbidden the Court.‡

Arrangements by the Prime Minister.

The Mughal outposts were exposed to attack from the Uzbaks, and many of them lived in a state of siege, fighting frequent but indecisive skirmishes with the enemy. All waited for the arrival of a supreme commander and reinforcements at the end of winter.§

During the recess the Emperor made grand preparations for opening the campaign in the spring of 1647. His sons Shuja and Aurangzib were called up from their provinces, large sums of money were

Preparations for renewing the war.

* *Ibid*, 462—466.
† Abdul Hamid, ii, 483—488, 512—537.
‡ Abdul Hamid, ii, 529—534, 539—541, 548—553.

* Abdul Hamid, ii, 557—559.
† Abdul Hamid, ii, 560—565, 584.
‡ *Ibid*, 579.
§ *Ibid*, 566—571, 614—618, 620—624, 626, 642—657.

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conveyed to Afghanistan, and troops were massed at convenient stations from Peshawar to Kabul, in readiness to move at the first order.*

Aurangzib was in his government in Guzerat when he received his father's letter, dated 4th September 1646, to come away, leaving Shaista Khan, the governor of Malwa, in his place. On 20th January 1647, he arrived at Lahore with his two eldest sons and had audience of the Emperor. Next day the provinces of Balkh and Badakhshan were conferred on him, with 50 lakhs of rupees for his expenses. On 10th February he took his leave with a present of 5 lakhs of rupees, and advanced to Peshawar, where he was to halt for the spring.† Thence he reached Kabul on 3rd April, and set out for the seat of war four days afterwards. Ali Mardan Khan accompanied him as his chief adviser and right-hand man, and no better selection could have been made.‡

Aurangzib appointed viceroy of Balkh.

But from the very beginning Aurangzib was handicapped by the smallness of his fighting force. Last year Murad had marched into Balkh with 50,000 men, but after the conquest a part of the army had been recalled. Of the remaining troops many were in garrison at the various forts or guarding the line of communication with the base in Afghanistan. High officers in full strength held important districts like Taliqan and Qunduz in the east, Rustaq in the north-east, Balkh, Tarmiz on the Oxus, north of Balkh, Maimana in the south-west, and Andkhui in the north-west. Aurangzib wisely kept them at their posts, lest the country should pass out of his control. But this step weakened his own immediate command. Some of the Indian nobles under orders to join him lingered at home or reached no further than Afghanistan. So the Prince had to fight his battles with less than 25,000 men, while the enemy were a nation in arms and outnumbered the Mughals as three to one.§

The force under him.

The enemy's strength.

* Abdul Hamid, 603, 633, 641-642.
† Abdul Hamid, ii, 583, 625—628, 632.
‡ *Ibid*, 670, 671.
§ Abdul Hamid, ii, 702—704, Khafi Khan computes his force at 55,000 and the Uzbak army at 1,20,000 men. (i, 671.)

True they did not fight pitched battles and had a wholesome dread of musketry-fire; but their "Cossak tactics" wore out the Mughals, and their superiority in number enabled them to bear easily a loss ten times as large as the casualties of the invaders. Against these light forayers the small Imperial army could not hope for a crushing victory.*

After leaving Kabul, 7th April 1647, Aurangzib marched by the Shibur Pass and Aq Rabat to Kahmard, which was a half-way depot of the invaders. Thence the road to Balkh runs over a table-land, through which winds the Dehas river with its narrow valley called the Derah-i-Gaz. Here the Uzbaks assembled in force under Qutluq Muhammad to dispute the passage. The Prince sent a reconnoitring force of 500 men under Khalil Beg, who charged the enemy regardless of the odds against him. On hearing of his dangerous plight, the Vanguard, mostly composed of Rajputs, and a force of musketeers, were pushed up. The Uzbaks fled, but only to take post further off (20th May.)†

Aurangzib's march on Balkh.

Next day, Aurangzib led the main army by the eastern bank, while Ali Mardan Khan was sent with the Van across the two upper affluents of the Dehas to dislodge a strong body of the enemy from the hills and ravines that crossed the path.

The front division of the Mughal army, as it issued from a defile, was attacked by the Uzbaks and suffered some loss; but the wings soon

Fight on the way.

* Abdul Hamid, ii, 704, 705.

† Abdul Hamid, ii, 671—673. Aurangzib advanced from Kabul by the *Abdarah* and *Gaz* passes, according to the Persian account. Yule takes *Abdarah* to be the upper valley of the Surkhab, below Zohak (Wood's *Journey*, LXV). This was therefore "the *Shibr* Pass, which was most commonly used by Baber." (Leyden, 139). Aurangzib's stages are thus named: Kabul—(by way of Ghorband) to Aq Rabat (two stages from Kahmard)—Bajgah—the pass of Badar Hamid (?=Baber's "*Madr* on the Khulm road"),—Kishan Deh Khurd—Puni (or Buni) Qara ('which is the beginning of the valley of Gaz')—Balkh He seems to have marched from Kabul northwards to Charikar, thence westwards by way of Ghorband to Zohak and Bamian, next northwards across the Dandan-Shikan Pass to Kahmard or even to Qara Kotal, whence he turned northwest to the mouth of the valley of Gaz (crossing one affluent of the Dehas river on the way). The entire route from Kabul to Balkh city is spoken of as 123 *kos* or 246 miles, (Abd. Ham. ii. 669).

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came up and broke the enemy's centre. The battle now became general. Ali Mardan Khan drove the enemy from the field and from some hillocks behind it, chased them for four miles over broken ground, and returned to camp with some wounded prisoners. This was Aurangzib's first victory in Balkh.

The city of Balkh was reached without further opposition (25th May). Madhu Singh Hada was left in command of the fort, and the leading citizens were detained in custody in Aurangzib's camp to prevent them from making mischief.* Reinforcements in men and money continued to arrive from Kabul, where Shah Jahan himself was present.†

At the head of the Bukhara national defence stood Abdul Aziz Khan, the eldest son and supplanter of the weak king Nazar Muhammad. He now sent another army under Beg Ughli across the Oxus river to Aqcha, 40 miles north-west of Balkh. Here the fugitives from the pass of Gaz, under Qutluq Muhammad, joined the new arrivals.‡

After a three days' halt at Balkh, Aurangzib left his baggage there in charge of his eldest son, and set out with light kit towards Aqcha to meet the assembled Uzbaks. The Imperial army moved with great caution, Bahadur Khan leading the Van, Aurangzib seated on an elephant commanding the Centre which enclosed in its bosom the baggage and camp followers, and Ali Mardan Khan bringing up the Rear. The artillery supported by foot musketeers cleared the line of advance. The Uzbak squadrons charged repeatedly but only to be broken and driven back. They formed again at a safe distance and took advantage of the many canals and gardens of the region to obstruct the Imperialists, who steadily advanced to Timurabad (2nd June).§

March on Aqcha

Hardly had the wearied force of Aurangzib dismounted at their camp here, when the Uzbaks attacked them from all sides. After a harassing fight they succeeded in driving the enemy back in front and right, and Ali Mardan Khan with the rear went in pursuit and plundered the camp of Qutluq Muhammad. But the Mughal left wing was weak in number and its leader Said Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang was an old man in bad health. The enemy quickly discovered this weak spot, and their troops repulsed at other points flocked here to swell the attack. Said Khan sent a detachment of 400 men to hold a stream which skirted the camp and prevent the enemy from crossing it. But a clever ruse of the Uzbaks lured the indiscreet Mughals to the other bank, where they were surrounded and almost exterminated by the mobile enemy. Said Khan sent up reinforcements and at last himself marched out in spite of his illness. But he was wounded and thrown down from his horse, and his two sons were slain with many other soldiers. Just then Aurangzib arrived to succour the hard pressed division. Two furious elephants were driven before him, and his soldiers rushed into the lane that was thus cleared. The enemy were routed and the left wing saved from extinction.*

Incessant fighting with the hovering Uzbaks.

The Second of June was a terrible day for the Imperialists. They had marched from dawn to midday and then got no rest in their camp, but had to fight incessantly till sunset before they could gain the much needed safety and repose. Ali Marden Khan now returned with the victorious Rear. The camp was entrenched and carefully guarded, many of the captains doing patrol duty all night, without dismounting.

Next day the tired soldiers and their chief alike wished to halt. But under Ali Mardan's wise advice they advanced to seize Beg Ughli's base and reap the utmost fruit of their victory. The Uzbaks as usual hovered round the marching army and kept up a running fight. Thanks to their superior mobility, they could attack or retreat as they chose. Leaving screens at safe distances on the Right and Left, their massed troops fell on the Van, but only to be shattered by the Mughal artillery. The same tactics were repeated against the Rear, but with no better success. The march continued, the enemy seizing every disorder

Uzbak Camp captured.

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 673—675, 686—687.
† *Ibid*, 680, 681, 684, 685.
‡ *Ibid*, 686.
§ *Ibid*, 687-688.

* *Ibid*, 688—692; Khafi Khan says that this encounter took place next morning (i. 662).

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or weakness to come closer and gall the Imperialists with showers of arrows. But the Scythian militia were no match for regular troops, and their general's camp at Pashai was seized by Aurangzib, and the peasantry whom they had carried off into captivity were released.*

After two days of march and fighting the Prince could no longer deny his troops a halt. Meantime the baffled enemy slipped away from his front to his rear at Aliábád. Another large army arrived from Bukhara under Prince Subhan Quli, evidently to attack the city of Balkh.†

Retreat to Balkh

The news made Aurangzib beat a retreat from Pashai (5th June) and hasten eastwards to defend the capital. The enemy became more aggressive than before, and at two places penetrated into his camp for a time.‡ Artillery, rockets, and muskets alone could keep their hordes at a safe distance. Next day he turned a little aside to Shaikhabad to release two officers who were invested in a garden. Thence he marched towards Faizabad on the Balkháb river.§

Grand battle with the Uzbaks.

On the 7th the situation grew worse. The Bukhara army put forth a supreme effort. It was now in full strength. Its highest commanders, Abdul Aziz the King, Subhan Quli his brother, and Beg Ughli the Uzbak chieftain, were all present, and directed the attack on three points of the Imperial army. But again musketry and superior discipline gave the Mughals the victory. The retreat continued till the 9th with the usual ineffective molestation from an enemy that lacked fire arms, and whose arrows were powerless except in a close encounter. At last in the evening of the 9th the Bukhara King demanded a parley and sent a friendly message. The Mughals were not molested during the next two days, and they reached Balkh in peace on 11th June.*

Hardships of the Mughals.

This march towards Aqcha and retreat to Balkh had taken up ten days, during which the Mughal army had been a stranger to repose. Day after day a strenuous fight had to be maintained against the tireless and mobile enemy, while hunger raged in the Imperial ranks. The soldiers were ever on the move, and food could be cooked only on the backs of the marching elephants! Bread was sold at one rupee or even two rupees a piece and water was equally dear. Happy were those who could get the necessaries of life even at this price, for there was not enough for all. Such was the condition of the prince's personal following. The lot of the common soldiers may be imagined But in the midst of all this hardship and danger, Aurangzib's firmness of control prevented any slackness or disorder; his watchful eye and active body hastened to the succour of every weak spot, and his wisdom and courage brought the army back to safety.†

Aurangzib's splendid courage.

Evil as was the plight of the Mughal army, the enemy were worse off. Aurangzib's grim tenacity had gained its object. Abdul Aziz now desired to make peace. His hope of crushing Aurangzib had failed. He had personally witnessed a striking proof of the Prince's cool courage; for, one day the hour of evening prayer arrived when the battle was at its hottest; Aurangzib spread his carpet on the field, knelt down and calmly said his prayers, regardless of the strife and din around him. He was then, as during the rest of the campaign, without armour and shield. The Bukhara army gazed on the scene with wonder, and Abdul Aziz in generous admiration, stopped the fight crying, "To fight with such a man is to court one's own ruin."‡

The Bukhara king could no longer pay and keep his vast host together. The hope

* Abdul Hamid, ii, 692—694.

† The following points in Aurangzib's advance from Balkh are mentioned: Yulbugha (near some canals)—Aliabad—Timurabad, 'one *kos* from Fatihabad'—Pashai in the district of Aqcha.

‡ Khafi Khan (i. 668) says that three or four thousand Uzbaks dashed into the Mughal camp, and carried of many camels loaded with baggage and many women and children of the Mughal troops. Ali Mardan Khan recovered only a little of the booty.

§ Abdul Hamid, ii, 694—697.

* Abdul Hamid, ii, 697—701. The following points in Aurangzib's retreat from Pashai are named in the Persian history: Aliabad—digression to Shaikhabad—Faizabad on the Balkhab River—Yanki Ariq—Bridge of Dost Beg (on the Balkhab?)—Naharab or canal—Yandarak—Balkh city.

† Khafi Khan, i, 668 and 669.

‡ *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 531; Abdul Hamid, ii, 704.

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Uzbak army melts away.

of an easy plunder of the Imperialists had brought his men together. That design having failed they were eager to return home. The Turkomans in particular sold their horses to the Imperial army and decamped across the Oxus.*

Overtures of peace.

Abdul Aziz proposed that Balkh should be delivered to his younger brother Subhan Quli, as Shah Jahan had openly offered to restore the country to their father. Aurangzib referred the question to the Emperor, and Abdul Aziz left the neighbourhood of Balkh and from Khulm turned sharply to the north, crossing the Oxus at Aiwanj on inflated skins; his soldiers following his example wherever they could.† The historian Abdul Hamid has blamed Aurangzib for not immediately giving chase and killing or capturing Abdul Aziz.‡ But he has forgotten that the Uzbak war was a national rising and did not depend on any individual leader, even when that leader was a powerful and able prince like Abdul Aziz Khan.

Mughal army sick of Balkh.

The war was now practically over, at least for a season. But a settlement was still far off. Shah Jahan had no doubt decided to give the country back to Nazar Muhammad Khan, but that king must first offer submission and beg pardon before Imperial prestige could be satisfied. Meantime in the Mughal army officers and men alike were sick of their exile and longed to return home. High commanders like Bahadur Khan secretly thwarted Aurangzib, fearing that if they captured the king of Bukhara, the Emperor would annex Transoxiana and leave the Indian troops in permanent garrison there, while the failure of the expedition would lead to their speedy recall home! The country had been devastated by the Turkoman freebooters, the crops burnt, and the peasantry robbed or dragged away. Aurangzib, therefore, wrote to his father that he could do no good by staying there.§

Soon after the Prince's return to Balkh about the middle of June, negotiations had been opened by Nazar Muhammad, then in refuge at Belchiragh.* But three months were wasted in a fruitless exchange of messages and vain attempts to allay the ex-king's suspicions of treachery if he interviewed Aurangzib. He demanded this fort and that as a security and on 13th September sent Qafsh, the Qalmaq chieftain, as his agent to Aurangzib. On the 23rd, he sent his grandsons to the Prince, excusing himself on the ground of illness.†

Nazar Muhammad prolongs negotiations.

With this Aurangzib had to be contented as the winter was fast approaching. The passes of the Hindu Kush would be soon closed by snow. His army was faced with starvation, as grain was selling in Balkh at ten rupees a *maund*. They had no winter quarters in that poor and desolate country.

Already tribes of Turks and Alamans had recrossed the Oxus and begun to cut off small parties of the Mughals. Aurangzib, as his officers urged, had no time to lose; he could not even wait for the Emperor's consent. So, at last, on 1st October, 1647, he formally delivered the city and fort of Balkh to Nazar Muhammad's grandsons. His distant garrisons fell back on him at the rumour of peace, without waiting for his order.‡

Peace patched up.

On 3rd October the Mughal army marched from the plain outside Balkh and began its retreat to Kabul. Ali Mordan Khan and Raja Jai Singh commanded the Right and Left wings, and Bahadur Khan the Rear. The artillery accompanied the Van. The pass of Ghazniyak was crossed slowly and painfully, the enemy harassing them from the rear and boldly falling upon them at their least disorder or difficulty. Ghori was reached on 14th October, the Uzbaks still hanging on the tail of the retreating force. Shah Jahan had wished to retain this fort and Kahmard as the southern gates of Balkh, but his officers refused to stay there.§

Mughals leave Balkh.

Harassed during retreat.

* Abdul Hamid, ii, 701 & 702, 708.
† Abdul Hamid, ii, 700, 706 & 707.
‡ Abdul Hamid, ii, 709.
§ Waris, 3*b*, 4*a*.

* For Nazar Muhammad's adventures in Persia and after his return, see Abdul Hamid, ii, 658—668.
† Waris, 6*b*, 7*a*.
‡ Waris, 7*b*.
§ Waris, 8*a*.

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The retreat continued. The wild hillmen called Hazarahs now took the place of the Uzbaks in harassing and plundering the Mughals. The winter of that year set in very early and with unusual severity.* The Imperialists, encumbered by the duty of transporting 10 lakhs of rupees and lack of porters, toiled slowly and painfully through a narrow and steep pass east of the Surkhab river (21st and 22nd October) and the hardened ice on the Hindu Kush (24th October). South of these mountains lay Afghanistan and safety, and Aurangzib could now hasten in advance to Kabul, which he reached on the 27th.† Ali Mardan Khan too crossed with ease. But the rest of the army, especially the Rajputs under Jai Singh, the treasure-escort under Zulqadar Khan, the stores, and the Camp and Rear under Bahadur Khan, were several days' march behind. They suffered untold hardships from heavy and incessant snowfall for three days together. Men and beasts of burden alike slipped on the snow or lost the narrow track and went rolling down into the depths below. The exhausted camels lay down in the ice never to rise again. The intense cold drove every man away in search of shelter. Zulqadar Khan alone, with a handful of men, guarded his charge on the bare top of the pass for seven days, regardless of snowfall, till the Rear under Bahadur Khan came up and took him away. This last officer's march had been slow as he had constantly to face round and drive back the hillmen who clung to him in the hope of plunder. One night, in the midst of wind and snow, he had to bivouac on the top of the pass, and many benumbed men and beasts of his party perished.* The last of the army reached Kabul on 10th November.†

Sufferings in crossing the Hindu Kush.

The total loss of the Imperial army in crossing the passes was 10,000 lives, about one-half of the number being men, and the rest elephants, horses, camels and other beasts. Much property, too, was left buried under the snow, or flung into the ravines for want of transport. The horrors of the British Retreat from Kabul were anticipated by the Indian mercenaries, who had blindly gone to an unrighteous war at the call of their pay master. Next year when the snow melted it revealed the gruesome spectacle of piles of human bones bordering all the path !‡

Loss of life.

Thus ended Shah Jahan's fatuous war in Balkh,—a war in which the Indian treasury spent four *crores* of rupees in two years and realised from the conquered country a revenue of 22½ *lakhs* only. Not an inch of territory was annexed, no new ruler set up for an old one, and no enemy replaced by an ally on the throne of Balkh. The grain stored in Balkh fort, worth 5 *lakhs*, and the provisions in other forts as well, were all abandoned to the Bukharians, besides Rs. 50,000 in cash presented to Nazar Muhammad's grandsons and Rs. 22,500 to envoys. Five hundred soldiers fell in battle and ten times that number (including camp followers) were slain by cold and snow on the mountains.§ Such is the terrible price that aggressive Imperialism makes India pay for wars across the north-western frontier.

Loss to the treasury.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

* Vambery's *History of Bukhara*, 332.

† Aurangzib returned from Balkh to Kabul by the Ghazniyak—Haibak—Ghori—Ghorband route, which is called in the Persian history the *Khawajak Zaid Road* (Abd. Ham. ii, 669.) He seems to have crossed the Hindu Kush either by the *Kushan Pass*, because "this pass leads under the great peak specially known as that of Hindu Kush", (Wood, lxv.) or, what is more likely, by the Chardarrya or *Kipchak* Pass. (for which see Wood, lxv, and Leyden 139.) The stages on his homeward march from Balkh are thus given:—Ghazniyak Pass—Ghori—Surkhab river—Bek Shahar—Chahar Chashma—Pass of Hindu Kush —Ghorband—Charikar—Kabul. (Waris, 8*a* & *b*.

* Waris, 8*b*, 9*a*.

† Waris, 9*a*.

‡ Vambery's *Bukhara*, 322.

§ Abdul Hamid, ii, 542, 704 ; Waris, 7*b*, 6*b*, 7*a*.

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PRINCE OR PEASANT?

A ROMANCE OF THE HOUSE OF ORANGE

By Dr. Greenwood.

(The following singular and romantic story was told to the writer some years ago by a late diplomatist, who probably knew as much as any man of his time of the secret history of the Courts of Europe; and I reproduce the story as nearly as possible in his own words).

IT was in the early seventies that I made the acquaintance in Paris of the Prince of Orange, whose strange doings were at the time the talk of Europe. A few months earlier, as heir to the throne of the Netherlands, he had occupied a proud position in the world of Royalties, and had been an honoured and feted guest at the greatest Courts of the Continent. Then, when his star was at its zenith he had suddenly and mysteriously renounced his royal rank, turned his back on the splendours of Courts and come to Paris, to fling himself into the lowest dissipations of the French capital.

What was the cause of this tragic transformation none seemed to know. The most plausible explanation was that he had quarrelled with his father, King William III, beyond all hope of reconciliation, and had fled to Paris in disgrace, to find in its allurements forgetfulness of his trouble.

Paris was scandalised daily by the reports of the prince's doings. More than once he was seen reeling, hilariously drunk, through the streets, or lying incapable, the sport of the gamins; he was known to haunt the lowest cabarets, drinking and gambling with the scum of the capital. Not only had he thrown aside every vestige of royal dignity, but he seemed dead to all sense of decency.

To say that his conduct created consternation in France, especially in the highest quarters, is to understate the feeling of disgust and alarm it caused; for all the princes of Europe there was not one on whose life such mighty issues hung. He was heir, not only to the throne of Holland, but also—a much more important matter to France—to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, that buffer state between Germany and France, on which both countries were casting envious eyes. If the Prince of Orange should die before coming to his kingdom, Luxemburg would, beyond all doubt, fall to a German prince and thus strengthen the arm of France's powerful enemy. On the other hand, if the prince survived his father, the Grand Duchy would still remain allied to the Dutch Crown—a vital factor for the balance of power and the peace of Europe.

But King William was still a lusty man, with probably many years of life before him, while his son and heir was burning the candle, not only at both ends but in the mindle; and it seemed humanly certain that his Paris dissipations would bring his career to an early and tragic close.

You can thus understand something of the horror with which France, just recovering from her disastrous war with Germany, watched the headlong plunge to ruin of the young man on whose life so much depended. And it seemed hopeless to try to avert the calamity. Attempts were made, to my knowledge, to stop the prince in his downward career, but, though he would promise to amend his ways and even to make peace with his father, the very next day he was back in the slough again, revelling with his low companions of both sexes.

Probably no heir to a throne ever began his life under brighter conditions of promise than this misguided prince. As a boy he exhibited all the qualities of head and heart which go to the making of a great ruler. He was strikingly handsome and gave promise of exceptional manly beauty; and to these gifts were allied a warmness of heart and a highly sensitive nature which

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undoubtedly were the first cause of his undoing.

The boy craved for affection, but none was given to him by his father from whom he naturally expected it. To all his timid advances King William turned a cold shoulder. The very sight of his son seemed to anger him; and more than once when the boy looked for a smile or a kind word, he was told to "begone." It is little wonder that under such treatment the young prince's affection was frozen at its source. Love gave place to indifference, and in time to a bitter resentment. If he could not find appreciation at home, he would seek it elsewhere; and, as a boy barely in his teens, he would steal out of the palace and wander through the streets of the Hague or in the country around, picking up any acquaintance that came his way; and there was no lack of those who were proud to have the company of the heir to the throne.

He made friends of the sailors and fishermen, went out to sea with them, and hobnobbed with them over their pots of beer. He fell into the company of adventurers of both sexes, learned to gamble and to drink and to be as disreputable as themselves. When news of these escapades came to King William's ears, he was beside himself with rage. He lectured the prince severely on his depraved tastes, punished him, and ordered his governor to keep him under lock and key, if necessary. But this treatment only served to feed the fires of the prince's rebellion. He defied his father and his governor to do their worst; and plunged deeper in the dissipation which he had grown to love.

One day the climax came. The king, furious at some escapade wilder and more disgraceful than any that had preceded it, summoned the prince before him, and poured the vials of his wrath on him. "You should have been the son of a peasant and not of a king," he concluded scathingly, "since your tastes are so degraded."

Stung by the taunt the prince answered, "I wish I had been; for then, at least, I might have had a father who cared a little for me."

At this the King, beside himself with rage, burst into a torrent of abuse, using epithets so degrading that the prince at last exclaimed, "You forget, sire, that the blood of the House of Orange flows in my veins as in yours."

"That is a lie," thundred the King. "*You are no son of mine*"; and then, as if horrified at what he had said, he suddenly checked himself and collapsed trembling into a chair.

But the fatal words had been spoken and could not be recalled. His father had disavowed him, had declared that he was no son of his. This, then, was the secret which explained all—his loveless childhood, the coldness and aversion with which the King had always repelled him. For a time the revelation stunned the prince, and deprived him of all power of speech; but, recovering himself with a great effort, he demanded an explanation of the terrible words—an explanation which the King, probably realising that he had gone too far to retreat, or hoping that the revelation might lead the prince to reform his conduct, at last consented to give.

How the story King William had to tell came to my knowledge I am not at liberty to state; but that it is true I assure you I have the best means of knowing. I will tell it to you just as I heard it; and since the actors in singular drama have long been dead, I cannot see any objection to your making it public.

Queen Sophia, of Holland, had been married twelve years without providing an heir to her husband's throne, when the people of the Netherlands were thrown into a high state of jubilation by the news that she was at last expected to become a mother. Would the child be a girl or a boy, was the question which passed from mouth to mouth; and as the fateful day drew near speculation reached a pitch of almost feverish excitement. The sex of the coming child was, as I have explained, a matter not only of national, but of international concern. If it should be a girl, farewell to the Duchy of Luxemburg which, under the Salic law, could not be inherited by a female, and would thus be lost to Holland for ever, with consequences to the peace of Europe too serious to contemplate. The king himself was even more anxious and excited than his subjects, and for days before the event only left his wife's side to pace restlessly up and down an adjoining

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room, or to snatch a few minutes of disturbed slumber.

When the child was born, a little unexpectedly, the only persons present were the physician and a nurse, who was at once sent to announce the event to the king and to request him to come to the royal bed-chamber. A glance at the doctor's face revealed the truth to his majesty, without a word spoken. The infant was a girl; all his hopes and those of his subjects—nay, of half Europe—were laid in the dust; or if any remained, for the future, they were destroyed by the doctor's announcement that the Queen could never bear another child.

William was distraught. The event now, that he grasped it in its full significance, was worse than all his fears, since hope was dead. He rebelled against the harshness of fate, and all kinds of mad speculations ran riot in his brain. Perhaps, he suggested, he might outlive the Queen, and her successor might provide a male heir to Luxemburg. No, was the doctor's answer; it was much more probable that the Queen would survive him. Would it not be possible then, was the king's next wild proposal, to declare that the child was a boy and to bring her up as a male. But a little consideration showed how impracticable the suggestion was.

At this stage of the king's perplexity the Prime Minister arrived at the palace, and to him his Majesty told his predicament and asked his advice, little dreaming that a solution of the difficulty was at hand. To the alert and daring mind of the Premier a way of escape instantly suggested itself. As he had been walking through the park on his way to the palace he had heard that the wife of one of the lodge-keepers had, a few hours earlier, given birth to a boy. "If your Majesty is agreeable," he said, "it would be a comparatively easy matter to arrange an exchange of infants. The lodge-keeper's boy can be brought to the palace and installed in the royal nursery; and the Queen's daughter can take his place at the lodge."

Inhuman, almost inconceivable, as the proposal was, the king approved it, and it was promptly carried into effect. The physician himself took away the princess and effected the substitution, bringing back the lodge-keeper's child to be brought up in the palace as heir to the throne of Holland and Luxemburg. The few actors in this infamous drama were sworn to secrecy, heavy bribes serving to secure more completely the silence of the nurse and the parents of the boy; while the Queen who knew nothing of the exchange, took to her breast the low-born infant, proud in the knowledge that she had not disappointed a nation's hopes. Fortunately the Royal child only survived the terrible wrong done to her a few days thus reducing materially the risk of discovery; and the lodge-keeper's son grew up to young manhood in absolute ignorance that he was other than the rightful heir to the crown of Holland, until the king, in a moment of ungovernable rage, revealed the secret of his birth.

You may imagine the feelings of the prince as this story was pitilessly unfolded by the man whom he had always regarded as his father. At first he thought that it was a story concocted by the King to reduce him to a becoming state of submission. It was too preposterous to be true—that he who, from his earliest memory, had occupied the proud position of heir to the throne of the Netherlands, and who had moved, in this character, in the most exalted circles of European royalty, should be the son of a lodge-keeper, whose proper position in life was among the humblest of his future subjects. But as the king proceeded and the conviction slowly grew in his dazed mind that this was no made-up tale, but a grave, precise statement of fact, a fierce anger took the place of stupefaction, as he realised the dastardly plot of which he had been the innocent victim.

It was true, then, that he was nobody's son, that the trappings of royalty had been but a mockery, and that he had been made to pose to the world as an impostor such as the world had rarely known. In his bitter resentment he vowed that he would renounce his rank and make a public exposure of the infamous trick that had been practised on him and on the nation; and it was only when the King, realising his danger, implored the prince to spare him this shame that he consented to remain silent.

One thing was clear. He could no longer continue to play the false *role* that had been thrust on him. He would shake the dust of Holland off his feet, and go away anywhere

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where he could hide himself from the world. The King, after trying in vain to shake his resolution, at last consented that he should retire, for a time, at least, into private life; and, with a sufficient allowance, the prince, who was no prince, was allowed to depart to Paris, where he thought he could best hide himself and his troubles.

And this was how the Prince of Orange came to be in Paris, and it is some explanation, if not an excuse, for the life he led there. How that life ended, after years of terrible dissipation, the world knows. Some years before his death Queen Sophia had died: and King William was able to marry again. But his hopes of saving Luxemburg were again doomed to failure. His second Queen had only one child, a daughter who now reigns in his place, and Luxemburg was lost to Holland.

KULU CUSTOMS

EATING and drinking are the primary needs of human life, indeed of all life; and so in giving an account of the customs of any people it is natural to begin with what they eat and drink.

The Kulu peasant takes four meals a day; *nohari*, *kilari*, *do pohori*, and *bayali*. They correspond very nearly in time with the chota haziri, breakfast, tiffin, and dinner of the Anglo-Indian; and in both cases the second and fourth are the most important, while the first and third are light meals. *Nohari* consists of the cold remains of the previous night's dinner and is eaten before the peasant leaves his house to go to his work in the fields. If he has not far to go he returns home for his breakfast at nine or ten but generally the food is cooked and brought to the labourers by the women of the house. *Do pohori* is taken at three o'clock, and unless the house is near, is like *kilari* eaten in the field under the shade of a tree. The last meal, *bayali* is taken at home after the day's work is over. The food consists chiefly of bread or rice, but as these by themselves are rather insipid, something of more distinct flavour called *chokan* is eaten with them. Usually the *chokan* is some green vegetable, or *dal*, or curds; more rarely it is meat. The farmer eats himself and gives to his labourers food produced on his own land; rice, if he owns rice-land, and if not, bread. As the Kulu valley is narrow, the land near the river, or *ropa*, on which rice is grown, is small in extent. Most of the cultivated land is *botla*, and produces wheat or barley or maize, so that for the villager living on the hills rice is a luxury. Besides their food, the workmen receive from the farmer grain for pay, since there is very little cash circulating in the valley. Water is drunk at meals, except on days of festivity when a wine called *lugri*, made from rice, is provided. Tea which has become very common in the neighbouring Kangra Valley is hardly ever taken in Kulu. According to Strabo "the beverage (of the Indians) is made from rice instead of barley, and their food consists for the most part of a rice pottage". The first statement is true in Kulu at the present day, but the second only applies to the owners of the low-lying lands near the Beas, not to the dwellers on the hill-sides.

The clothes of the peasant and his family are still generally made by themselves. He wears a round woollen cap, sometimes made from the wool of his own sheep and sometimes bought from the Lahonlis; a coat without buttons called *cholu* whose chief difference from an ordinary coat is that its body consists of twenty or more longitudinal strips sewn together: and trousers called *sutni*. With these three things the ordinary peasant is contented, and as the *cholu* and *sutni* are like the cap often made from his own wool he need not spend anything on clothes. Those who are better off wear a shirt and sometimes a waistcoat in addition. In place of the *sutni*, knickerbockers called *kach* reaching only to the knees are worn in the summer, but the *sutni* is obligatory at *melas*. The old Kulu costume is

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however falling into disuse. The cap is now often replaced by a turban and the *cholu* by an ordinary coat.

The women's head-dress, *tipu*, is merely a square handkerchief, bound round the forehead and temple and tied in a knot behind. As it is not loose like the *dopatta*, it cannot be drawn over the face. But Kulu women do not care to conceal their faces, even when they wear the *dopatta* as some of them now do. Ideas of modesty vary in different countries. I remember a Kulu friend being very much amused by a Kangra woman pulling her *dopatta* in front of her face when passing us. It seemed to him all the more ridiculous as the lady had reached an age at which she had no longer any reason to fear the too ardent gazes of men. But on the other hand to wear only a *kurta* and *paijama* as women in the plains often do, seems to the Kulu people indecent. Over the *kurta* and *paijama*, the Kulu women throw a *pattu*, that is to say a blanket enveloping the whole body. It looks very hot in the summer but they do not seem to mind it. Indeed a thing which strikes an Englishman is that in the hills both men and women can wear heavier clothing in summer and less clothing in winter than he finds possible. In their own country they seem less sensitive to both heat and cold. But they can not endure change of climate, and people of Seoráj refuse to stay in Sultanpur, the capital, during the hot weather. The poorer village women wear only the *tipu* and *pattu* without any other clothing. In former days it was the custom for unmarried girls to go bare-headed but this rule is no longer always observed. The Kulu dress has, it will be noticed, at least one merit, that both men and women are free from that constant source of annoyance, buttons and studs.

The houses are built of stone roughly hewn, with beams of *khelu* (deodar) wood at regular intervals. The longitudinal beams called *cheol* are connected by transverse beams running from back to front of the wall and by vertical iron or wooden bolts. So that the whole wall is held together as if it were a single block of stone and can resist a severe earthquake. Probably it was for this reason that such a method of building was originally adopted and the traveller who passes through Jhatingri in the Mandi State can see its advantages clearly proved. While the Jhatingri dâk bungalow fell like a pack of cards in the earthquake of 1905 the sarai built in the traditional way is still standing. Outside, the house is generally plastered over and white washed. Most houses have only one storey, but those of the richer villagers have two stories with verandahs of prettily carved woodwork. One of these better houses will contain about six rooms, three above and three below, all very small for the sake of warmth in winter. The peasant does not in Kulu any more than in other countries, believe in the merits of fresh air. Some of the Panjabi tradesmen in the town have chimneys in their houses, but no Kulu peasant has followed their example. Even when he can well afford the additional expense, he does not care to adopt new customs and by so doing incur general disapprobation. The fire is in the middle of the room and the smoke escapes by a small hole in the roof. During the long winter evenings the family and their guests sit round the burning logs, telling stories and spinning wool. As a rule there is no illumination except the firelight, nor do they need any other since no-one reads or writes. But on special occasions a lamp fed, not with the kerosine oil now so common in India, but with some pure vegetable oil, is burnt before the household god. The roofs of the houses are sloping and are made of slate in Kulu, but in Mandi generally of thatch.

Food, clothes, and houses, are things which concern us every day. But each stage of human life has certain customs associated with it, and in trying to describe these, I shall follow the order of time from birth to death. The Kulu child generally makes its entrance into the world with remarkable facility. In one instance, last year, the whole time of parturition did not last more than two hours. The mother who did for herself everything that is usually done by doctor or midwife, was able to get up the next day. It is the custom, however, for her not to leave the room for a period of five or seven days in the case of a girl, and of fifteen days in the case of a boy. During this time she eats only gruel mixed with *ghi*, and is considered

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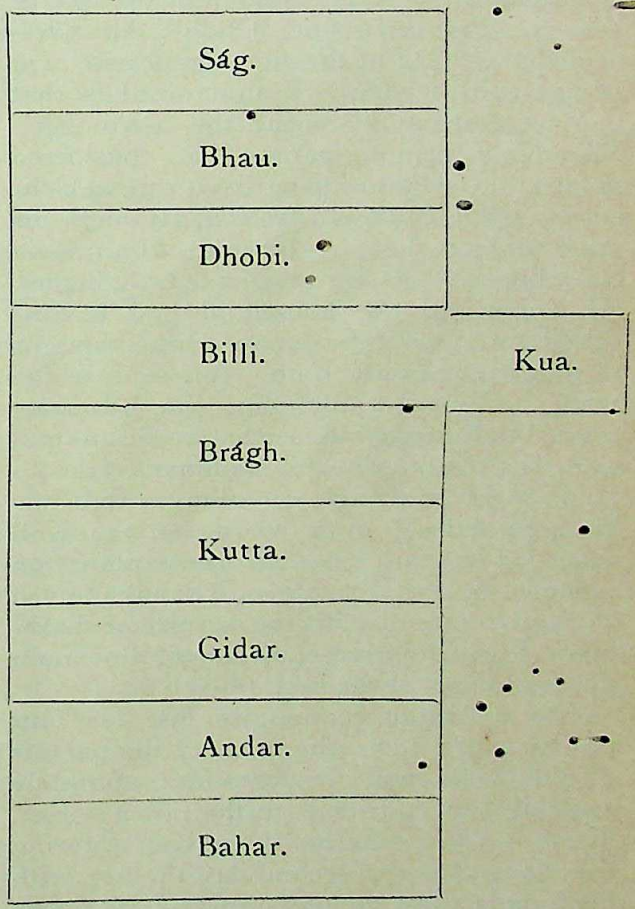
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impure. On the fifteenth day the boy is taken out to see the sun. A bow and arrow are placed in his hands and then put aside for his use when he grows older. In these peaceful times they can of course never be anything but a toy. A large flat cake, kneaded with ghi is divided among friends and visitors in the boy's name. For the purification of the mother a mixture of raisins, barley, *khaili* wood and *bekul* wood, is burnt on a stone. Till then all the members of the household must remain apart from their caste fellows. The child often continues to drink the mother's milk till another is born. Shetu's boy who was born in the year of the earthquake, five years ago, is still unweaned. When it is necessary to wean the child, the powdered bark of a tree called the *dodni*, which has a bitter taste, is placed on the breast.

The naming of the child is often deferred for sometime. Rirku's boy, born a year ago has not been named yet. Some names are chosen from the month in which the child was born, as Basanti, Phagni, Maghnu, Poshu; some from a personal peculiarity as Shetu, white. He has received that name because he has fair hair and blue eyes. Bechara, unfortunate one, seems a very inappropriate name, for its owner, a little boy of four years old, is a singularly happy and cheerful child. But when small he was always ill till he was passed under the root of the *phagra* or wild fig tree, where it grows out from a steep bank. Since then he has been strong and healthy. So far as I can learn there is no special ceremony in connection with naming the child, nor is any book consulted. Masculine names generally end in *u* and feminine in *i*, but Maghnu is a woman's name.

Among the children's games played in Kulu is one called Ság-Samundar, which resembles the English game of hop-scotch. A rectangle is divided as shewn in the diagram into nine compartments called respectively, Ság or Samundar, Bhau, Dhobi, Billi, Brágh, Kutta, Gidar, Andar, Bahar. Billi is much narrower than the others. By the side of Billi is a compartment of roughly semi-circular shape called Kua. The boy places one foot in Andar and the other in Bahar and tries to throw a flat stone in Ság. If he succeeds, he must lop from one compartment to another, omitting Billi, and knock the stone out with his foot. The stone must not come to rest in Billi or on a line, or go out the rectangle by either of the sides. Each of the other compartments is dealt with in the same way, except Andar and Bahar into which the boy, instead of hopping must jump with his feet close together. Last of all he throws the stone into Kua and brings it out through Billi. The same game is played in the Panjab but with other names assigned to the compartments. Other games of children are *goj-moj* or hide-and-seek; and *ore-pore* or odd-and-even. This last consists in guessing whether an odd or even number of the stones of the *Sári* (wild apricot) is held in the land.

THE GAME OF SAG-SAMUNDAR.



The small boy very soon learns to assist in the household work, to look after the cattle or to fetch water. When he is not occupied with these tasks he can play, for it is seldom he is sent to school. There are few schools in Kulu and not

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one in which English is taught. The education given in them, conducted from the very beginning in a foreign language, is adapted to boys who wish afterwards to obtain subordinate clerical appointments in Government offices, but would be useless to the sons of peasants who intend to follow their father's occupation.

Marriage does not take place so early as in the plains. Kishi, Rirku's daughter, who was married last January was fourteen years old though she looked much younger. It is usual for the father of the boy to make the first advances. When he has come to an agreement with the father of the girl, a Brahman is consulted as to a suitable day for the performance of the ceremony. The Brahmans have nothing else to do with the marriage from beginning to end. In his book on the "Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh", Mr. Nesfield says: "One of the first symptoms of a savage tribe becoming Brahmanized is that they have begun to consult the astrologer." The Kulu people cannot be considered savage, but they too have begun to seek the advise of the Brahman *jyotishi*, although in other respects they are not under Brahmanical influence. As yet they have only begun, for sometimes the household god is consulted and not the Brahman. Rirku thought it wiser to consult both. A friend of the writer, a Dhusar tradesman, who has come from the Punjab and settled in Sultanpur, said that the reason why Brahmans take no part in the marriage ceremony is that the villagers belong to a low caste, the Koli caste. That this is not the true explanation is shewn by the fact that in Allahabad even a *chamar* can obtain the service of Brahmans at his marriage, although, no doubt not Brahmans of the best kind.

The marriage ceremonies last for four or five days. On the first day the parents of the bride and bridegroom separately entertain their friends in their own houses. The bride has to bathe three times during the day. On the second day the boy with his friends go to the girl's house. He enters the house, and carries the girl, who is seated on her mother's lap, outside. Before lifting up the girl, he has to pay the mother a rupee, and this is said to be paying her for her milk. When the boy and girl are in the compound outside the house, red marks are placed on their foreheads and they are worshipped as gods. This is called *parona*. After that, they go to the bridegroom's house. He may walk or ride but the girl must be carried on the back of one of her relations. She stops for the night in the house, and the next day, the third, her father goes there with his friends and is feasted by the father of the boy. He returns on the same day, and on the fourth day the girl herself returns accompanied by her husband and his friends. They are again entertained in the house of the girl's father, and then go home, leaving the girl with her father for a year or two longer. Hindu marriage customs, observed in Kulu, as well as in other parts of India, are: tying a thread round the wrists of the boy and girl, walking seven times round the sacred fire, wearing of a sword by the bridegroom.

When the bride is a widow there are no elaborate ceremonies. A stamped agreement between the two parties is written and a feast is given to their friends. Sometimes a wife falls in love with a man who is not her husband. In most parts of the world this gives rise to anger and even bloodshed but in Kulu the affair is generally settled amicably. The husband accepts a sum of money and then gives a written consent to his wife living with the man she has chosen. There may be a little difficulty as to the amount to be paid. Some ten years ago Poshu was going to sell his wife for forty rupees, but his friend Rirku said to him; "Your wife is worth much more than forty rupees; you ought to get at least eighty for her." After some haggling Poshu got the eighty rupees and was so delighted at his good fortune that he passed the night singing and drinking *lugri* with his friends. As far as I can learn eighty rupees is a fair average price for a wife. Naktu paid only forty for his, but that was because she is often possessed by a *bhut*. If the husband is obstinate, the lovers can fly to the neighbouring Mandi State. As a Kulu song puts it:

Mun jana Mandi be
Firangi ki selara lana?

"I will go to Mandi; what can the Englishman do?"* Sometimes two people live

* *Selara* means gum, and *lana* (which must not be confused with the Hindustani *lana)* means to put

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together without either a marriage ceremony or a written agreement. Nor are they blamed on that account for though prostitution is considered as shameful in Kulu as it is in other countries, no importance is attached to the mere absence of certain forms, when the man and woman are united by mutual affection and fidelity. Rirku and Maghnu have lived together for twenty years without marriage and are not any the less respected by their neighbours and caste-fellows. The only difficulty is when the father of the woman is alive, for he cannot eat in his daughter's house. For this reason Bholu and his wife, as she was called, determined to go through the ceremony of marriage as soon as they had collected enough coin and *lugri*. The poor girl however died of puerperal fever before they had completed their preparations. It was a very sad case as her life would probably have been saved if she had been attended by a skilled midwife. In Kulu, it is not necessary as in the plains, for a girl to be married before the age of puberty. She may even have given a child to the man she intends to marry. But she must go to him directly from her father's house. A wife or widow is not allowed to have a formal marriage (*byah*) with another man.

In most cases, the chief occupation of the grown up man in Kulu is agriculture. He is generally the owner of the land he farms. The words Dr. Rhys Davids uses with reference to India in the time of the Buddha would apply to Kulu now: "None of the householders could have been what would now be called rich. On the other hand there was a sufficiency for their simple needs, there was security, there was independence. There were no landlords and no paupers. There was little if any crime." But for "no landlords" we ought to substitute "few landlords." Some of the land is held on what in Europe is called the *metayer* system, and in Kulu *gar*. In this system the grain is divided after the harvest equally between landlord and tenant. The work of the farm is for the most part done by the farmer and his family. They may perhaps, when the farm is larger than usual require the help of outside labourers at harvest time. But there are not, as in England, three classes, landlords, farmers, labourers; for the men who work at times for others have also their own little bits of ground and houses. The peasant in Kulu does not run the risk of being turned out of his home and deprived of all means of livelihood if he offends his employer. Other traditional occupations besides agriculture are tanning leather; stone, metal and wood work. But the highest and lowest castes, the Rajputs and Brahmans on the one hand and the sweepers on the other, are said to have come from Kangra. So too has the *Jhir* or fishing caste.

The chief amusement of men and women in Kulu is the *jacha* or religious festival. Dashra which is held in the large meadow near Sultanpur is the principal of these, but there are others held in different places throughout the valley. Some like those of Bekri and Bhuin are held every year, and some after longer intervals like the Kaika *jacha* which is held every three years. There is very little difference between one *jacha* and another, except that some are more largely attended both by gods and men than others. The women wear their jewels and the men put on their best clothes and hang garlands of flowers from their necks, for one of the most striking features in the character of the Kulu people is their great love of flowers. Men dance round the *rath* of their god while his servants play on their musical instruments. The local residents provide for their friends, who come from a distance, food and lodging and, above all, abundance of *lugri*. In Seoraj, it is still the custom, as it was in Greece in Homeric times, for the women of the house to bathe the guest.* This is done, it need hardly be said, with perfect regard for modesty. In the *jathas* are sung for the first time songs which afterwards become current throughout Kulu. Sometimes they relate incidents of local history which are by this means preserved in popular recollection for many years. The deeds of the first Englishmen who came to Kulu are not forgotten yet. Other songs deal with the old familiar

on, in Hindustani *lagana* or *pahinna*. *Be* exactly corresponds to the Hindustani *ko*.

* We read of Telemachus and Peisistratus the son of Nestor: "Now when the maidens had bathed them, and anointed them with oil, they sat on chairs by Menelaus, son ot Atrens.—"The Odyssey IV; Butcher and Long's translation.

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themes of all poetry. One of these, which is very short, may be given as a specimen of the Kulu language :—

Sebhi phulu ; bhar phulu tulola
Sawan, Bhadon ejasi
Phiri ghiriya
Jawane ek kalola.
All is in bloom ; in full bloom is the rose
The summer months come
And return again,
The flower of youth comes once.

In the daily work of the field, with the occasional diversion of a *jàcha*, the life of the Kulu peasant passes on to its close. When this comes and the last breath has been breathed, the body of the dead man is taken at once to be burned. For the next five days the relations eat only a mid-day meal consisting of bread and *dál*. Before they begin the meal they put aside a portion on a stone outside the house along with some *dhup** for the dead. Crows come to carry off the food, but one crow always comes alone, and in this crow is the departed spirit. On the fifth day, the ceremony called *sundar* takes place. A goat is killed and the flesh is distributed among relations and the poor. It is usual to make presents to distant relations in the name of the dead man and this takes the place of the present to the Brahman given in other parts of India. After *sundar* the household cease to fast. Four years later is *chaburka*, when presents are again made to distant relations.

Something ought to be said about the religion, race and language of the Kulu people, but these are matters which can only be adequately treated by a Sanskrit Scholar, and I must confine myself to a few personal observations. The distinctive features of Hinduism are, it seems to me, three in number; (1) the caste system, (2) the ascendency of the Brahman, (3) the reverence for the cow. Now the first and third of these are as strongly marked in Kulu as anywhere in India, and so the inhabitants may be called Hindu, but the second feature is absent. As has been mentioned already, the services of the Brahman are not required at marriages or funerals. Some years ago a Kulu friend told me that Rajputs were more highly esteemed than Brahmans, and indeed spoke with some contempt of the Brahmans as a begging caste. More recently I had the opportunity of noticing the much greater deference paid to a Rajput of good family than to the Brahman zemindars in the District. In ancient India, the two castes seem to have held the same relative position. Rhys Davids says, "It will sound most amazing to those familiar with Brahmin pretensions (either in modern times in India, or in priestly books such as Manu and the epics) to hear Brahmins spoken of as 'low-born'. Yet that precisely is an epithet applied to them in comparison with the kings and nobles. And it ought to open our eyes as to their relative importance in ancient times".*

The rules of caste about eating and drinking are observed in Kulu, perhaps even more strictly than in the plains, for they are insisted on with quite young children. But the caste-system has not the oppressive features met with in the South of India. There is no caste whose mere presence is considered a pollution. No one, not even a chamar or a sweeper, is excluded from the worship of the village god. Indeed, I am told, any such exclusion would be displeasing to the god for he likes all the people of his village to worship him. It is said that in ancient India "There can have been no such physical repulsion as obtains between the advanced and savage races of to-day" and this is true in Kulu now. There is nothing like the feeling the white man in America entertains towards the negro. The American will not tolerate marriage or even an illict connection with a negro woman. He will not allow the negro to sit at the same table for that would imply equality. But he has no objection to taking-food from a negro's hand, and, in fact, in many American hotels the waiters are Negroes. A Hindu, on the contrary, will not take food from a Musulman, but he does not, in Kulu at least, regard the Musalman as an inferior.

As for the third feature of Hinduism, there is no part of India where the cow is regarded with more affection than in Kulu. Even the Musulmans and Englishmen resident in the valley have too much regard for the feeling of their Hindu neighbours for them to wish to kill a cow.

* This is a herb growing in Lahoul. It gives a smell like incense when burnt.

* Buddhist India, p. 60.

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As I am not a philologist, I cannot say, what relation the Kulu dialect has to the other Indian dialects, but even to the layman it is obvious that some of the words have older forms than the corresponding words in Hindi; for instance, *trai*, three. The terminations *ra re ri* take the place of ká ke, ki, thus: *Rirku ra ghor*=Rirku ka ghar. *Be* is the equivalant of *ko* in Hindi: *ghorabe jana=ghar ko jana.* For the agent case *main* is used, and for the nominative—*haun*: *main likhu*=main ne likha; *haun likhnu*=main likhunga.

The people of Kulu are of lighter complexion than the people of the plains, and sometimes though not often, have fair hair and blue eyes. Their type of features does not differ much from the European. The chief *gur* of Sibji is very like an old Scotch friend of the present writer. All castes resemble one another in features and complexion and so far as I have observed there is no reason to suppose that differences of caste correspond to differences of race. The few Mahommedans settled in the valley have come from other parts of India, mostly from the Panjab. They live on the most friendly terms with their Hindu neighbours, and indeed the strife of race or religion or politics is unknown in Kulu. In the "Imperial Gazetteer of India", Vol. I, p. 295, it is said:

"The *Mongoloid* type of the Himalayas, Nepal, Assam, and Burma, represented by the Kanets of Sapul and Kulu.....The head is broad; complexion dark with a yellowish tinge; hair on face scanty; stature short or below average; nose fine too broad; face characteristically flat, eyelids often oblique."

This does not apply to the Kulu people I have myself seen, whether Kanaits or other castes. They are not in general conspicuously short like the Gurkhas; their faces are not flat and their eyes are not oblique. They differ in features, language and customs from the Lahonlis.

HOMERSHAM COX.

THE ENGLISH WOMAN'S BATTLE FOR THE BALLOT

I.

THE English suffragette today occupies the center of the stage, and the world, no matter how much it may wish to forget her personality, is unable to ignore her presence. She has the loftiest contempt for mere man-made conventions and hesitates not to overstep them if by so doing she stands the remotest chance of advertising her pet propaganda. She is past mistress of the art of agitation. Parliament may come in, Parliament may go out: the dominant party may take up the suffrage bill and then throw it overboard; but she does not propose to give up the fight until she succeeds in her quest for the vote. Even locking her up behind the prison-bars ties her tongue but temporarily, and she wags it with added energy when she is released. She is wedded to her cause, and her patience, perseverance and resourcefulness are inexhaustible.

Devious are the ways of the House of Commons; but everyone who knows aught of parliamentary procedure realizes that, for the present at least, the suffrage bill literally is killed. But this must not be considered a tactic that will dampen the zeal of the suffragette and cause her to relent in her agitation. Indeed, already the "votes for women" campaigners are threatening to organize monster demonstrations. From what they have done in the past, there is reason to conclude that they will carry on the struggle to a successful issue.

You must conjure up before your mind's eye just what the women vote-seekers did during the last general election in order to realize how bitter a battle they are capable of waging.

Imagine the very worst London evening in mid-winter. The sky is overcast with sullen, murky clouds. It dribbles now, and then it pours. A strong wind makes it practically impossible to carry an open umbrella for protection from the drizzle. The slush underfoot is nasty. Everything about you wears the dullest, most woebegone expression. You are walking down Tottenham Court Road grumbling at the

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depressing fog and rain and wind. As you lift your eyes at a street crossing, you see a fairly large crowd of men and women standing at the corner, all evidently unmindful of the miserable weather conditions that are driving you well-nigh mad. You forget your own troubles and look up to find that the center of attraction is a political prator—a woman—dressed in the height of fashion, wearing a large picture hat with a sumptuous supply of trailing ostrich plumes dyed to match a smart tailor-made gown of green serge. This slim, tall young woman who has held a hundred or more people standing for a half hour, despite the wet and slush that is ruining her stylish suit, and her costly feathers and furs, is a suffragette. She is without the parliamentary vote. Not so are the men who, for the most part, constitute her audience. The voteless woman is appealing to the men voters to put the Liberal Government out of power, since this administration has been particularly severe on the fair sex.

The plea she makes rings pathetic. She tells of the sufferings of the 500 odd suffragettes whom the Liberal Government has packed off to jail—of the seventy women who pluckily braved the privations attendant upon the "hunger strike"—of the twenty-five vote-seekers who were forcibly fed by means of a tube inserted through the nostril and throat to the stomach of the incarcerated propagandists who fasted as a protest against being treated the same as felons and forgers instead of political offenders—of the woman who was "frog-marched", head downward, up the prison steps and kicked them down after being "forcibly fed" by the prison doctor. The tall, slim figure garbed in green waxes eloquent. She is visibly moved herself, and she sways her auditors. The emotionally-inclined voters, in her audience, incensed at the cavalier treatment of the Englishwomen fighting for a square deal for their sex, may poll their ballots tomorrow against the party that has been responsible for all these horrors.

But the comely miss in her handsome, tailor-made costume is not there just to work up the emotions of the soft-hearted men voters. No; that is only one of her weapons. Her quiver is full of arrows, some of them calculated to pierce the heart, others the head, of her auditors: and this clever woman uses all of them. From her pathetic plea she suddenly wheels around and passionately starts arguing. You forget the bedraggled ostrich plumes and the dripping fur boa, for now you are confronted by an astute lawyer, a clever politician, if you please.

The orator tells you impressively that the women are in dead earnest in their fight for the parliamentary franchise. They have not taken up the propaganda of "votes for women" as they do the newest fashion in head-gear or clothes; nor do they do awful things calculated to land them in jail, in a mere fit of hysteria. Incarceration, not as a political offender, but as a common criminal, and, in the case of the more ardent suffragettes, the "hunger-strike" and the consequent "forcible feeding", are no jokes, and no woman looks forward to them with avidity. No; the suffragette patiently undergoes these ordeals for the sake of the cause—she wants the vote badly enough to put up with indignities and personal sufferings in her quest for it.

You may choose to disagree with the fair speaker—but you can not shut your eyes to the fact that she is very much in earnest.

And equally zealous and eloquent "votes for women" propagandists you find discoursing to crowds at the next street crossing, and at the next. A score or more of them are concentrating their forces in this district, for tomorrow the electors are to decide between the Conservative and Liberal candidates for the seat in the House of Commons. Standing insecurely on the tail-board of an express wagon, the redoubtable suffragettes, unmindful of the wind and weather, are bravely holding forth, confident in the justice of their cause and buoyed up by the hope that, sooner or later, the present sex-disabilities will be wiped out.

Nor are the activities of the suffrage-seekers confined merely to this particular district of London, or even to that city, during the election. They are pleading their cause before the electors all over the kingdom, mobilizing their forces at the points where election is imminent, for the English, in this day and age, do not elect all their Members of Parliament on one and the same date, but spread their election thin over a period of three or four weeks, thus

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maddeningly prolonging the agony of uncertainty. This makes it necessary for the women vote-seekers to hurry from one point to another in order to keep their case up before the voters to the very last minute.

The general election is over and all the Members now have been chosen for the House of Commons. The Liberal Ministry again is in office ; but it comes to the House minus its backbone. The Liberal majority almost is gone : and the Ministry is in office solely by virtue of the fact that the Irish and Labour M. P.'s are supporting Mr. Asquith and his coadjutors.

The suffragettes and their helpers claim that they have a good deal to do with this crippling of the party in power. The liberals loftily pooh pooh this assertion. Between the two contentions it is hard to decide which is the whole truth. There is no just cause for doubt, however, that the women played a prominent part in cutting down the Liberal majority. Officers of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement declared through the medium of the press that they had received scores of letters from Liberals all over the United Kingdom to the effect that the writers, though opposed to the Conservative programme at the late election, had voted or intended to vote against the Liberal candidates because of the present Government's attitude towards the women's suffrage question. In view of the small majorities by which numbers of Liberal seats were lost, it is not unreasonable to believe that the deciding votes in many of these constituencies were cast by relatives, friends and supporters of the hundreds of women who have endured imprisonment and indignities as a result of their brave fight for political freedom.

Be this as it may, however, this much is certain: the suffragettes tried their hardest to persecute the Liberal Ministers and hamper their administration. In order to accomplish this, the dauntless suffrage-seekers spared themselves no trouble. To just what length of discomfort they were willing to go was demonstrated on January 14th when Premier Asquith, speaking at Bradford, was interrupted by feminine voices demanding "votes for women". Consternation prevailed, for St. George's Hall, where the meeting was held, had been carefully guarded by attendants throughout the whole of the day and in the afternoon police officers had searched the building for possible women interlopers, flashing their search-lights into all dark corners, at one time actually brushing against the women's dresses as they passed them in the darkness. After considerable confusion the suffragettes were dragged from beneath the platform, where they had crouched in hiding for twenty-two hours preceding the meeting, in order to be able to ask the Prime Minister why he refused to render justice to women. On another occasion two women climbed up to the rafters of the hall, where they remained clinging twenty-four hours previous to a meeting, going without drink all that time and eating only a few sandwiches. Lloyd George was the speaker, and they interrupted him for a long time before they could be located and pulled down from their perch. Finally he was compelled to discontinue his speech until they were removed from the hall.

These tactics—commonly known as "militant", have been followed by the suffragettes for five years. Miss Chrystobel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney were the first ones to put aside woman's age-long respect for the conventions and initiate the movement. They determined to discover, by any means their ingenuity might suggest, just what policy the Liberal Goverment proposed to pursue in regard to women's suffrage, if they were returned at the general election impending in 1905. They attended a meeting at Manchester where Sir Edward Grey spoke, and asked him their question after his speech was over, at question time. Although other queries from the audience were answered, theirs' was unreplied to. Upon their persisting in asking for a reply from the speaker, they were thrown out of the meeting by the stewards. Thereupon they held a protest meeting outside the hall, and for doing this were arrested and imprisoned. Since then, in the neighbourhood of 500 women have been sent to jail by the Liberal Government either for interrupting the speeches of the Cabinet Ministers or for trying to see the Prime Minister, who invariably refused to see them, until suddenly, a few weeks ago, he changed his attitude and entertained a delegation of suffragists. And of this number, more than twenty-five have been "forcibly fed" upon their initiating "hunger-strike."

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The English woman's struggle for suffrage during the last four years, when calmly reviewed, impresses itself as a very costly thing. To the suffragettes themselves it has caused untold privation and intense suffering. To the Liberal Government it has meant great harassment and worry. To the police officers and magistrates and to jail wardens, wardresses and doctors, it has spelled much vexation and distress. To the ratepayer, woman's militant agitation is estimated to have cost many lakhs of rupees.

Yet the end of the struggle is not in sight. It goes on with unabated energy and unlagging perseverance. Rich as well as poor suffragettes are willing, nay, eager, to prove their interest in the movement by undergoing torture. It was only the other day that Lady Constance Lytton purposely broke the law and went to jail as "Jane Wharton." So long as her identity remained hidden she was treated as the ordinary suffragette is—her "hunger-strike" being rewarded by "forcible feeding." She was to have served a fortnight in jail, but when "Jane Wharton" became identified with Lady Constance Lytton the prison authorities found her heart so weak that she could no longer be kept confined and consequently she was peremptorily released.

Lady Constance Lytton went to jail as "Jane Wharton" primarily to test whether or not the Government was showing favouritism to wealthy suffragettes. She was arrested in Newcastle last October, under her rightful name, and was sent to prison, but on declaring a "hunger-strike" she was quickly turned loose without being forcibly fed, because the officials declared her heart was in a dangerously diseased condition. Three months later, as plain "Jane Wharton", she faced an entirely different situation. To begin with, she was treated as an ordinary criminal—not as a political prisoner. When she refused to do hard labour she was shut up in a punishment cell. When she declined to eat, the doctor fed her by force, without making any attempt to feel her pulse or examine her heart. He also slapped her face. A couple of days later another doctor examined her heart and declared it was "famous" and her pulse steady. On his recommendation the forcible feeding was continued. From that time on she was fed through the tube twice a day; but as soon as it became known that she was Lady Constance Lytton, the doctor immediately found that her physical condition was poor and recommended her release before her entire sentence had been served. She is still ill as a consequence of the harsh treatment accorded her in jail, but she succeeded in proving that the prison doctor's diagnosis of a suffragette's physical condition depends entirely upon her rank and standing in society, and that the jail officials behave in accordance wih Home Office instructions.

The "hunger-strike" was adopted by the suffragettes to protest against their being treated as common criminals and not as political offenders. A recently released suffragette, weak and emaciated from her jail experience, gave an idea of just what "forcible feeding" means. She told how she was sent to the Matron's room where she found the Matron, a half-dozen or more wardresses and two doctors waiting for her. In the center of the room an arm chair set on a large sheet warned her of what was in store for her. She vainly protested against the operation, and finally was rudely forced back into the chair, three wardresses standing on either side of her. She resisted, but one of the doctors forced her mouth open, formed it into a sort of pouch, and the wardresses poured milk and brandy down her with a spoon, the doctor pinching her throat to make her swallow it. She was tied in the chair with towels and pressure with the doctor's and wardresses' hands was exerted on her body to keep her quiet; and she was helpless to resist. About a cupful of liquid was poured into her mouth and she was compelled to swallow it. Then she was taken to the observation cell on the ground floor and put to bed, where she remained until evening, when the doctor and wardresses came in, held her down on the bed, and asked her to take food from the feeding cup. Upon her refusing, a feeding tube was inserted in her nostril, though she resisted with all her might. It caused such excruciating pain that the doctor was forced to withdraw it. In spite of this, however, in a short time she was fed once or twice every day with the feeding tube passed through the nostril and throat to the stomach, and once or twice a day with the feeding cup. Both

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operations caused her great agony. The feeding cup made her cough and nauseated her, while the shock of the tube being inserted in her nostril seemed to stupefy her with pain, and she felt as if her ear drums would burst. There was a noise like machinery pounding in her ear, and the operation invariably was accompanied by great pain in the throat and nostril, and much mental agony. All the time she was constantly growing weaker and weaker,



Miss Chrystobel Pankhurst.

and after a month, each time the food was forced upon her she became sick and her system rejected everything administered to her. Shortly afterward she was set free.

When you know just what imprisonment means to them, you would think that these militant women propagandists would flinch from wilfully rendering themselves liable to be sent to jail once they have tasted of the bitter experience. But these zealous suffragettes are made of wonderful metal. They have made up their minds to get the vote or they will be unable to get it without suffering for it—and they are quite prepared to suffer as much as they may be called upon to do. Miss Chrystobel Pankhurst, for one, has been thrice in prison. Several other leaders have served two, three and even four separate terms of imprisonment. All of them still are willing to go again to jail for the cause they cherish.

II.

No one can read about her acts, much less see the English suffragette play the hooligan without asking the question why she has gone on the war-path. When I went to England I was anxious to find an answer to this query. I found it, as I sat in the visitor's gallery of the House of Commons. Facing me was the gallery reserved for women visitors. The whole front of it, from floor to ceiling, was covered with a heavy metal "grill," and through the small meshes between the twisted bars, the ladies were compelled to peep in order to obtain a view of what was going on below. It was as if an Oriental harem had been transferred bodily to the House of Commons in London.

The "grill" told me the tale of the English woman's bondage in all its distressing details, without any attempt at disguise. Kaleidoscopically flitted before me the impressions of the British woman's freedom that I had formed in my childhood days, gained from seeing her riding and walking, playing tennis and badminton, in the company of her Anglo-Indian friends and relatives. These notions of mine, placed alongside the "grill"—which stood before my eyes in its horrid, tangible reality—appeared incongruous and stupid.

Indeed, as a social entity, both at home and in the business world, the woman of England still is nothing more than a helot. True, she has certain property rights: that is to say, the money she independently earns is her own, and so is her individual property. She can sue and be sued, as if she were a man. She can make her own will. All this she can do without reference to her husband's wishes. However, her sense of responsibility is limited, since, unlike man, she cannot be imprisoned as a debtor, nor can she declare herself bankrupt. In addition to this, as a property holder she

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The London suffragette band. This band plays at all the important meetings, leads processions, and marches around and around Holloway Jail; when suffragettes are incarcerated there, playing music to inspire them with hope.

must perforce pay toward the maintenance of the government of the land, but she is allowed no say whatever as to how the money she thus contributes is to be expended. So far as voice in the governmental administration of her property or person goes, she might just as well be as irresponsible as the beggar in the street, without the least stake in the country.

She toils and moils in factory, shop and store; but not the least say does she have in the making of the laws that regulate those institutions. Of the 14,000,000 bread winners in the United Kingdom, about 5,000,000 are women, nearly all of whom work at a starvation wage. As a rule they labour, not through choice, certainly not for pleasure. No. Undeniable necessity drives them away from their homes and children into the unromantic and, in most cases, demoralizing and brutalizing atmosphere of industrialism. The husband does not earn enough—or the woman has no husband and is forced to earn her own living. With her it is a case of work or starve, and in some cases, see her dear ones famish before her eyes. Man, as a husband, derives benefit from her labour, probably feasts and fattens on it. Man, as a labourer, she competes with. Man, as her employer, exploits her. And these very men, whose interests clash with hers, are the ones who, through their votes, regulate her industrial and social life. If not a serf, then what is the English woman?

As in the business world, so at home—the woman of England is in the leading strings, guided, controlled, and in many cases coerced by man. She is supposed to render certain definite services to her husband, to her children, and to the home itself. However, she is paid no definite wage. If she is clever enough to arrange her affairs so that out of the allowance made her for household expenses she is able to scrimp a little, the English law gives her no title to such savings. In fact, the husband can wrest this money away from her if he so wills. A married woman is not allowed to buy goods for herself or for the home, without the consent of her husband, if he chooses to assert his rights; and if she does so he may refuse to pay for them. It is thus very difficult for a married woman in England to obtain credit unless her husband signifies his willingness to settle the bills. The lord and master may dictate the quantity and quality of the goods his wife-slave purchases and require that all accounts shall pass through his hands, so that he can keep a sharp look-out on his serf's doings. Indeed, the amount of money he allows her is entirely at his discretion, since all the law demands of

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poster that has been used with good effect in the campaign in England for "votes for women."

him is that he shall not allow his spouse to become an object of charity, but must support her according to his means and position. She cannot ask for a certain definite sum as an allowance but must depend entirely upon his generosity for what funds she has at her disposal.

Just to mention one legal disability of a married woman, she cannot leave the workhouse when both are inmates, without her husband's consent. To all intents and purposes, she is a prisoner so long as he may choose to keep her there. No matter how much she may plead with the Board of Guardians to be allowed to go out to seek work, they are unable to release her until her lord and master says the word that will set her free. On the contrary, a man may ask for his discharge at any time he may elect, and whether she wishes to do so or not, his wife is compelled to leave with him. The husband may not even offer the pretext of looking for work. He may merely intend to beg or hang about the public house. But she is compelled to go with him, no matter how much she may desire to remain within the shelter of the workhouse, where she is at least assured of meals and shelter, something more than likely she will not have outside. In other words the man leaves the workhouse when he pleases; but his wife has no independent right whatever to ask to be released.

In the divorce court the woman of Great Britain finds that the man-made laws make no pretence of treating her as the peer of the "Lord of creation." While a husband may divorce his wife if she is guilty of a single act of infidelity, no matter how mild in character it may be, she is unable to gain her freedom from her husband although he may engage in the most dreadful excesses, or even may infect her with terrible diseases, unless the act of infidelity on his part is of the most heinous character and unless he couples it with actual desertion and refusal to maintain her or with some act of cruelty in which she is bodily harmed. The law ordains that this "act of cruelty" must be of the most beastly nature before she can secure relief from the overheavy burden that Fate has strapped to her frail shoulders. According to the findings of the English courts of justice, "mere austerity of temper, petulance of manner, rudeness of language, a want of civil attention and accommodation, even occasional sallies of passion, if they do not threaten bodily harm," do not constitute "cruelty." The husband must actually lay violent hands upon his wife, beat her, black her eyes, half kill her before the law recognizes his conduct as cruel. In most instances, the best she can do is to obtain an order of separation with an allowance for maintenance, which permits her to legally remain away from him and forces him to support her. The separation order does not give complete liberty to the wife who has been wronged. It merely makes it possible for her to avoid her husband's society. At some distant day perchance, he may go out of his way to assault her, and this, coupled with his unfaithfulness,

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would make it possible for her to secure an absolute divorce.

The Englishman wants to maintain separate standards for man and woman in many more departments of life than divorce. In fact, he is gallant enough to let the weaker sex attend the Inns of Court and plod through legal verbiology *ad nauseam*. He is magnanimous enough to grant the woman a degree if she is able to pass all her examinations. But while she is permitted to bedeck her signature with the tail-piece of LL.B., she is denied the right to practise even in the lowest court in the land. This is typical of the Britisher's attitude towards women—which, when impartially analysed, means that he does not think the woman as good as he is himself.

This is hardly complimentary to the women of England, and there is no doubt whatever that she is rising in her majesty to protest against her inferior status and to claim her own. Gradually the English woman is coming to realize that she has been man's tool and plaything. She is plainly disgusted with her theoretical role of demi-divinity and her actual status as a sort of demi-monde. She chafes against her helpless, hapless position of enforced, man-ordained servility. She craves no pedestal, no stool on which to be set up as an ornamental statue. She wants to be man's equal half, with an effective voice in the government of a nation of which she constitutes an integral unit, and of which she forms the greater bulk of the population for there are 2,000,000 more women than there are men in Great Britain.

This is the whole suffrage problem in a nutshell. The women demand the right to ballot for those representatives who shall pass the laws levying taxes on their property and disposing of the money thus collected. Their's is the slogan, world-old, that rises from the throat of a helpless people when they feel they are not being given a square deal by the government—"no taxation without representation." For nearly four score years the advanced Englishwomen have been struggling for suffrage with this as their war cry. The ball was set rolling by Mrs. Mary Smith, of Stronore, Yorkshire, who petitioned Parliament in 1832, to extend the franchise to spinsters possessing the necessary qualifications. But nothing further seems to have been done until thirty-two years later, when John Stuart Mill took up the women's cause and presented a petition signed by 1,499 women to the House of Commons, asking for parliamentary votes for women. In 1869 London, Manchester and Edinburgh saw the birth of woman's



This poster is calculated to work upon the sympathi of man and influence him to give women the vote.

suffrage societies—just a year prior to th time when the women of Wyoming, i the United States, were given the ballo Between that year and now, these an other suffrage leagues have been constantl petitioning Parliament, persuading Member and Ministers, pleading with the electors Indeed, from 1866 to 1879, over 9,00 petitions with 3,000,000 signatures i support of giving women votes wer presented to Parliament. Over a quarte of a million women signed a single appe

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LADY CONSTANCE LYTTON.

in 1896, and since that date petitions and memorials have poured into Parliament from all parts of the United Kindom.

However, during all these year, the women vote-seekers kept themselves strictly on their good behaviour. Unlike the men agitators of their land, they smashed no china and glass, broke no window panes, set no buildings on fire. Indeed, they worked constitutionally, peacefully and patiently, and their pleas were lightly dismissed. Suffrage was declared to be a fad which wealthy women had adopted as a passing plaything, while masses of English women did not care anything about it. This joking attitude toward their patient ceaseless struggle of forty years or more, really inspired, in 1905, the so-called "Militant movement"—when woman put aside man-made conventions for her conduct and wilfully overstepped the laws of the country, just to demonstrate that "votes for women" was no rich women's fad, lightly prized by them.

III.

Of course you have every right to demur at woman's casting her personal dignity to the winds and engaging in hooligan acts. I, myself, do not like such tactics. Indeed, most intelligent English people dislike rowdyism of this nature. But when you deprecate the militant tactics, do not forget that all English suffragists are by no means "militant", that is to say, on the rampage. In fact, while these protesting women have advertised their cause far and wide, their sisters who have toiled for nearly eighty years quietly, persistently and constitutionally, have done the most invaluable educational propaganda work.

Woman's entire race experience has been such that the larger bulk of suffragists should continue to work along constitutional lines. They may well afford to do this, since theirs' is a winning cause—and impatient idealism is likely to retard and not further their movement. Gradually the justness of the English woman's demands is being admitted by fair-minded men in the United Kingdom. Already the woman of England has the municipal vote. Today she not only is polling her ballots to elect city fathers, but in many cases she is actually serving on the municipal corporations and in one or two towns in England has been elected as Mayor. On the London County Council itself just recently two women have been elected as members. But the British woman's political horizon recedes the nearer she approaches it. She is not content with the municipal franchise and now is waging a relentless war to secure the parliamentary vote. She wants "votes for women" on precisely the same terms as they are granted to men. This means that all women who are owners, householders, lodgers or university graduates shall be permitted to vote, as is the cases with the opposite sex. This would give the ballot to about a million and a quarter women, most of whom would be working women, as compared with seven and a half million men who have the vote. They are not fighting for franchise for every woman, since every man in Great Britain does not have this right.

As yet, mountains of prejudices stand in the English woman's way to secure the vote on the same basis as the English man has

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THE HAUNTED HOUSE.

(The Houses of Parliament haunted by the spirit of Woman's Rights. She won't be exorcised unless women are given votes).

it today, or may have it tomorrow, and it is necessary that these barriers shall be broken down before the fair sex can be enfranchised. Moreover, not only does the English man need emancipation from his cyclelong superstitious view of woman and her sphere—need to be taught that the conditions in which woman abided of yore have tremendously changed and that new conventions for her conduct, new regulations for her life, are necessary; but it also is essential that woman shall carry on ceaseless propaganda work to educate her sisters to appreciate their changed environment and status and demand more suitable conditions of life and work. This two-fold task is stupendous, but the Englishwoman is performing it energetically and ably.

The ceaseless agitation of the suffragists and suffragettes finally resulted in the drawing up of a Woman's Suffrage Bill by the Conciliation Committee, of which Lord Lytton, brother of Lady Constance Lytton, is chairman and Mr. Brailsford is honorary secretary. The text of the bill follows:

"Be it enacted, etc.:

1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification, or of a ten pound occupation qualification, within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act (1884), shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

2. For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified in respect of the same property."

The bill did not grant universal suffrage nor did it even allow women to vote on equal terms with men, since it did not include the Ownership and Lodger Qualifications. It provided against the giving of the ballot to married women with their husbands under the £ 20 Qualification for

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joint occupancy. This qualification would have given the vote to married women in the upper and middle classes. Had this bill become a law it is estimated that 82 per cent of the new voters would have been working women. Although only about one million women would have been enfranchised, the suffragettes were satisfied, on the theory that half a loaf is better than no bread. But, sad to relate, the bill met an untimely death in the House of Commons, being so effectually shelved in committee that it is morally certain not to be heard of again during this session.

Incensed at their failure, the women of London participated, on July 23rd, in a monster demonstration, the largest that has ever been known in the history of England. Leaders spoke from forty different platforms erected in Hyde Park for their use, and representatives were present from South Africa, Australasia, America and the Continent.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

MEN I HAVE SEEN

II.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF PANDIT DWARAKANATH VIDYABHUSHAN,— THE EDITOR OF THE SOMAPRAKASH.

THE name of Pandit Dwarakanath Vidyabhushan is perhaps unknown to people outside Bengal and his memory may be growing dim in the Province itself, but forty years ago, his name was one universally respected in Bengal and he was one of our leading figures. His paper the *Somaprakash*, next after the *Hindoo Patriot* of Kristodas Pal, was the most influential in this province, remarkable alike for its literary excellence and the dignity and loftiness of its tone. So I hope some account of the life of its editor will be interesting. Pandit Vidyabhushan was my maternal uncle. I was born in his house, at Changripota, ten miles south-east of Calcutta, on the 31st of January 1847. My uncle was employed at that time in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, either as Assistant Secretary or a professor of Sanskrit literature. I was the first little boy born in the house after many years. So my advent, as I heard from my mother, was hailed by the ladies of the house with the loud blowing of conch-shells, and my uncle, upon his first visit to the village home after that event, saw his newly arrived nephew with the present of a gold-mohur as a mark of his sympathy with his sister.

After this I grew up before the eyes of my uncle and of my maternal grandfather Pandit Hara Chandra Nyayaratna, a great Sanskrit scholar himself, a well-known figure at that time in learned Calcutta society and an esteemed Brahmin of the village; for though transferred for some years to my village home, I was constantly before their eyes in the course of the growth and progress of my life. My mother would bring me every now and then to the Changripotah house, and then both my grandfather and my uncle would give her such instructions, about bringing up the boy, as they thought necessary.

Thus almost with the dawning of my self-consciousness the revered figures of my grandfather and my uncle were placed before my eyes, as models for imitation. The fact that I was brought so early to Calcutta, for education, was due to their advice, and room was made for me in their house. To my great misfortune, however, my maternal grandfather fell ill shortly after my arrival at Calcutta, in 1856, and passed away within a year or so, leaving my charge to his illustrious son Dwarakanath Vidyabhushan and to my father.

The first remembrance of the latter that lingers in my memory is that of a dignified-looking man, grave and solemn in his deportment, dreaded by all his dependents, spending most of his time in his closet, speaking little and always engaged in his study. Indeed his manner was so grave that even his sisters, when passing before his room, in the village

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home, would take care that no noise was made by their ornaments or their steps.

It was chiefly through his advice, I think, that I was placed in the Calcutta Sanskrit College. After my admission there, he made it a rule to call me to his presence twice or thrice in the week and examine me about the progress I was making. Speech would not come to me, when in his august presence, and excepting on one occasion, I think I never told a lie to him, for I found him hating all manner of falsehood from the bottom of his heart, and his manner was such, that the moment I looked at his face, all lying propensities vanished as it were. For my truthfulness he showered his affections on me, and always placed implicit trust in all I said. That encouraged me further in being honest and truthful.

So great was my reverence for him, that whatever mending of conduct, that I once promised to him, I always took care to enforce upon myself to the best of my power. One incident I vividly remember. One of the bad things that my co-lodgers tried to teach me, as reported in my Vidyasagar article, was the smoking of tobacco. I was a boy of twelve years then; some of them taught me to smoke the *hookka*, and also cigars. That I was secretly doing so was unknown to my uncle. One day, however, I had to go up to him to ask for some payment. From my breath he could at once gather that I had smoked. So before paying he turned to me and asked—"How is it that you are smelling tobacco?" When he looked to my face, it became impossible for me to hide the fact from him and I humbly said—"I have smoked tobacco." Then he wanted to know how I had acquired the habit, and who had taught me. Again I could not hide the facts and gave him the whole history. He called to his presence the men, who had taught it to me, gave them a severe scolding and extracted a promise from me that "I would never smoke again." I have kept that promise up to this day. That was the first and last of my tobacco smoking. Since then I have almost a horror of all cigars and cigarettes. It pains me to see boys smoking. The thought that my uncle would enquire into my conduct, was constantly present in my mind, and made me very careful as to how I behaved. He was himself temperate and abstemious, treating with contempt all follies and frivolities of youth. I do not remember, ever having found him indulging in any light talk or frivolous pursuits.

In the year 1859, when my uncle and Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar conjointly started the *Somaprakash* and when the latter used to pay frequent visits to our lodging, my aunt and my maternal grandmother came to reside in the Calcutta house. What a soothing comfort it was to me to have them near. Now I got the maternal smile and the maternal caress for which I was pining away. My maternal grandmother was a remarkable woman. Indeed most of the mothers of great men were remarkable women. I, at times, think some one should undertake to write a book called "The Mothers of Great Men." Such a writer will find enough materials for his volume in the lives of the mothers of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dwarakanath Vidyabhushn and Kesab Chandra Sen. I have personally heard about the virtues of these good ladies and accordingly I can bear testimony to them. But I doubt not, if enquiries are made into the lives of the mothers of other men, who have figured as great and good in history, many noble and significant traits of character will be found in them which tended to the remarkable results in the characters of their sons. I feel almost tempted to say something about my maternal grandmother. But that would be a digression, and I conclude by simply saying that her character was quite worthy of her illustrious son and her virtues were great and significant. She was honest, truthful, warm-hearted and loving, charitable and forbearing, devoted to her religion and full of kindness for the poor and the suffering. When my maternal grandmother came, my uncle's expenses inevitably increased to meet the demands of her piety and devotion and her ceaseless ministrations for the suffering poor. To me she was always open-handed, secretly filling my little pocket with little sums to enable me to enjoy the best fruits and the best curiosities of the season. My uncle always took care to supply whatever his mother wanted,

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though it seems, in all cases he did not see the wisdom of her acts of charity. It was a custom with my grandmother in her village home every day to go for a bath to a tank at some distance from her house, with some money in her hand for distribution amongst some poor families whom she visited daily. In Calcutta she did not go out, but would never permit a beggar to turn away from her door empty-handed.

Within a few years after the opening of the S. E. State Railway, my uncle gave up his Calcutta residence and moved to his village home, at Changripota, where he established his paper and his press and began to attend the Sanskrit College as a daily passenger. After his settlement in the village, the educational and other needs of the surrounding villages began to press on his attention ; and new demands came to claim his time and his resources. The first thing that struck him most forcibly was the want of a good first class English School for the education of the boys of the surrounding villages, who mostly belonged to respectable middle class families. So his first act was to start and maintain at his own cost a high class English School with a staff of well-paid and able teachers. The institution was started in due course and succeeded in a short time in obtaining Government aid. But its current expenses were never met by the students' fees with the Government aid added to them, and my uncle had to make up the balance by heavy contributions each month. Such contributions amounted at times to sixty or seventy rupees per month ; indeed a heavy sum for a man whose pay in the Sanskrit College amounted to hundred and fifty. It was the Somaprakash that enabled him to bear that heavy drain. It was observed on many an occasion that on his way home from Calcutta on the day of his receipt of his pay in the Sanskrit College, he considered it his first duty to go to the school and to pay all the teachers whom he had previously asked to wait for him. He was very scrupulous about timely payment of teachers and looked upon it as great hardship to put them into any inconvenience by irregularity of payment. In that matter he was methodical, punctual and just. Indeed his dutifulness in regard to that school was a striking trait of his character. He was not a man to shirk responsibility.

The same dutifulness was also observed in connection with his work in the Sanskrit College. While there, one could hardly guess from his ways that he was the editor of a leading Bengali journal. He never carried his papers to the College, nor did he do any business as editor there. When not engaged in actual teaching he was found seated in a retired corner of the College library, his reserved place, poring over the pages of the books he had to teach in the class or studying some works on history. Of history he was very fond. He had acquired a thorough knowledge of the English language by private study, and history was the subject to which he took passionately. His historical studies ranged over a vast field and he was the earliest Bengali writer of the histories of Greece and Rome.

He gave the day to his college duties and his studies, night he reserved for his work in connection with his paper and for such studies as that work required. He would shut himself in his study after his return from Calcutta, till a late hour in the night going through files of papers or writing articles for his journal. On many occasions I saw him writing or reading till 11 or 12 P. M. till the whole family had retired to rest and often times waking early, say at 5 A. M., I found him writing or reading his papers. I do not remember a single hour when I found my uncle idly talking or not doing his duty ; nor do I remember of ever having found him sleeping. He would often say, the thing he abhorred with his whole heart was idleness.

He had a sub-editor for his paper who compiled weekly news, revised the letters of correspondents and helped him in seeing the paper through the Press on Sunday. But my uncle alone had the charge of writing the articles. These *Somaprakash* articles, as every one who remembers them will agree with me in thinking, were characteristic ones. The tone was earnest and convincing and the language was chaste and idiomatic. Many regularly read the paper for its elevated tone and language, but I think its greatest charm was the earnestness of conviction with which every line was written. He never

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wrote anything for show or to please anybody. He threw himself heart and soul into the cause he advocated and dared meet every displeasure. It was the man behind the paper that was its greatest attraction and not what was written therein. Hence was the great influence of the *Somaprakash* both in official circles as well as amongst our countrymen.

One instance of the whole-heartedness with which the *Somaprakash* was edited is worthy of note. Of the many social abuses that called forth my uncle's voice of condemnation, there was one in which his own community of Brahmins was specially implicated. It was the custom, that prevailad amongst *Kulin Vaidic* Brahmins of his class, of affiancing little babies for marriage. I cannot say how that custom first originated. But in point of fact it is prevalent amongst our class of Brahmins even now. I was engaged, for instance, when a one or two year old boy to a baby girl of two or three months. In the columns of his paper, my uncle, came down upon that custom in right earnest and tried to rouse his fellow-religionists against it. He partly succeeded; many of his own class, came to form strong convictions against it. But the persistence and energy with which my uncle wrote against it were characteristic. His paper became partly unpopular amongst his general readers for the time and attention he bestowed on a comparatively sectional subject. But the suppression of that custom so prominently occupied his attention that he could not rest, as it were, until something had been done for its reform. At last he decided to show the way by discontinuing the practice in the case of his own children. He allowed his sons to grow up unaffianced, in the face of strong social condemnation. That shows the strength of conviction with which he wrote the *Somaprakash*.

Two characteristic incidents pertaining to the period of my boyhood and prominently bringing to view my uncle's broad sympathy and manly independence seem to be worth recording. I was then a boy of seventeen or eighteen reading in the first year's college class. I had begun to write Bengali poetry before that. Just about that time a respectable middle-class man of Bhowanipore, where I was then residing, was transported for fourteen years for some criminal offence. It produced some sensation amongst us. It wonderfully worked on my feelings and those feelings found vent in a poetical effusion. My friends and fellow-lodgers liked it and advised me to submit it to my uncle for publication in his paper. I did so with fear and trepidation, lest he should find fault with me for wasting my time in this way. In the College I quietly stepped into his retiring room and placed the packet in his hands, simply saying—"Something for the *Somaprakash*." Next day how great was my surprise when my uncle called me to his presence and said—"You write excellent poetry. I want more of such poetry." That was to me more than the praise of thousands. I felt inspired and sat down to write more poetry. Poetical pieces on the same subject went on appearing week after week for many months. These were subsequently collected together and published in book form under the name of "Nirbashiter Bilap" or "The Transported Prisoner's Wailing." I can clearly trace the growth of my poetical talents to the encouragement given by my uncle.

The second incident also happened at about the same time. My father, who was the Head Pandit in our village school, sent an official letter for presentation to Mr. H. Woodrow, the Government Inspector of Schools. One morning on my way to College, I went to the office of Mr. Woodrow. He was then at his breakfast in a side room. I waited in his office room. When he came there I bowed and stepped forward with the letter. But he did not take it from my hand. I found him looking at my feet, which had slippers on, as was the custom with poor Brahmin boys.

Mr. Woodrow insisted on my leaving my slippers at the door before he would accept my letter. I could not submit to such a demand. I did not take off my slippers. He would not accept the letter, when the following conversation took place between us.

Mr. Woodrow—You have insulted me.

Myself—How?

Mr. Woodrow—By not taking off your slippers.

Myself (pointing to the shoes of Mr.

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Woodrow's Head Clerk)—The Kerani Babu has got his shoes on; does he insult you?

Mr. Woodrow—Those are shoes, but yours are slippers. Have you never heard of a rule of my office that I never allow people to enter the office with slippers on?

Myself—No, sir, such a strange rule I have never heard of, that slippers insult a man, whereas shoes do not. I hear such a thing for the first time in my life.

Mr. Woodrow—Now, will you leave your slippers at the door?

Myself—No, sir, I cannot.

Mr. Woodrow—You are a naughty boy; very impertinent; where do you read?

Myself—In the Sanskrit College, sir.

At this point I left the letter on Mr. Woodrow's table, bowed to him and was coming out, when he called me back and another little conversation took place.

Mr. Woodrow—You must have heard that Rajah Radhakanto Dev is seriously ill. He is one of your great men. I am going to see him, my carriage will be ready in five minutes. Will you accompany me in my carriage to see him?

Myself—No, sir, I cannot accompany you, I have my class to attend. I am already late.

Mr. Woodrow—Suppose you accompany me, will you take off your slippers at the door of his room?

Here I entered upon an explanation of the causes that would oblige me to take off the slippers there. Mr. Woodrow would not listen to an explanation and said—"I want no explanation, say yes or no."

Myself—Yes, sir, I shall take off the slippers there.

Mr. Woodrow—Why then don't you take them off in my room?

Myself—Sir, you don't allow me to explain; what answer can I make?

Mr. Woodrow—Very well, go to college; you are a very naughty boy.

After my return, Mr. Woodrow's demand and my refusal to submit to it became a subject of talk in the College, and reached the ears of my uncle, who called me to himself and gave me his benediction for having acted like a high-spirited boy. He ordered me to write out an account of the incident for his paper. I did so and he published it with a thundering article of his own, referring to Anglo-Indian pride and hauteur, and its deplorable consequences. Mr. Woodrow got so much angry that he took down my name in a note book and issued an order to his office never to let me enter the Educational Department without his knowledge. But my uncle's attitude on the occasion was one of high dignity and fearless advocacy of the rights to honorable treatment of the people of this country. It should be borne in mind that my uncle was at that time a Government servant and employed in the Educational Department, where Mr. Woodrow had authority.

In my Vidyasagar article, I have already mentioned the fact of our celebrating a widow-remarriage, according to Pandit Vidyasagar's rites, as early as 1868; and I have also stated how my friends the bridegroom and the bride, were put to severe persecutions and how they invited me, the match-maker, to go and join them as a co-lodger, and to stand by them during the great struggle. I felt that having encouraged them in the act it was my duty to stand by them when they surely stood in need of such help. So I decided to go and join them. But before I did so I felt it to be my duty to apprise my father of the earnest call and of my decision to respond to it. Accordingly, I wrote to my father, who was at my village, asking his permission to go and join the newly married couple. Though a personal friend of Pandit Vidy sagar himself, my father was faced by a great difficulty. For such a thing would not be tolerated by my fellow-villagers of whom my father was a leader. In his extremity my father secretly wrote to my uncle imploring him to use his influence towards dissuading me from such a course. My uncle called me to see him in his village home. I went there; he showed me my father's letter and had a prolonged conference, during the course of which I placed before him all the facts, the case, the great persecutions to which the married couple were being subjected, their severe pecuniary straits, the fact, that I was the match-maker and had a large hand in leading my friend into it, the state of health of my friend's wife, the manner in which my friend was being harassed by his own friends and relations and also how the lady absolutely needed in the house the presence of a friend and

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companion who could strengthen her and so on. My uncle gave me a patient hearing, after which I stopped and waited to know his decision. He calmly reflected for some moments and then broke out with the remarkable declaration—"No; you cannot desert them, you should stand by them; not to do so would be a neglect of plain duty on your part—a conduct unworthy of my nephew." I only did not clap my hands out of respect for him, but left him with the request to let my father know his decision. He wrote to my father to say that after having promoted the marriage it was my duty to help them, and not to do so, would be neglecting a duty on my part and he could not advise me to do so. I saw my uncle's letter subsequently and admired its lofty uprightness.

There is another incident which happened during this period which still lingers in my memory. Tired by the incessant struggle in the midst of which we lived, and the cares and anxieties by which we were surrounded, both my body and mind became fatigued and I began to feel the need for rest for a few days. So I took leave of my friend and his wife, and went to Changripota to spend a few days in the company of my maternal grand-mother, whose very sight was a source of joy to me. Whilst resting there and spending time in idle conversation with my aunts and their children, I received a telegram at dead of night, one day, from the brother of my friend's wife, asking me to come to Calcutta at once, as things had happened absolutely needing my immediate presence. There was a train at 3 A.M. by which I could return, but the station was at the distance of four or five miles, from my uncle's house, and in going to it by a short cut it was necessary to pass through paddy fields, all of which were flooded during that month of July. Besides, the night was a dark one and I might loose my way in the midst of the flooded and trackless fields. One can very well imagine the condition in which I was placed by that telegram. For a moment I did not know what to do. The ladies of the house were dead opposed to my venturing out in that dark night; but my uncle came to my rescue. He said that the transmission of a telegram at that hour of night meant the occurrence of some serious danger, and it was my duty to go at once. He did not listen to the objections brought forward by my aunt and my grandmother; but at once engaged a man, at that late hour of night, to accompany me with a lamp, and see me safely arrive at the station. I came and found my friend's wife prostrate with grief to find her husband taken away by his relatives, and detained under one pretence or another at their place since the previous morning. They were trying, as I learnt from her brother, afterwards, to persuade my friend to give up his re-married wife, to go through a ceremony of expiatory penance, and marry another girl according to orthodox Hindu rites. My friend turned a deaf ear to their entreaties and returned to his wife the next day.

Previous to 1868 my uncle had a sort of sympathy with the aims and purposes of the Brahmo Samaj. But since the introduction of the custom of street processions in imitation of the Vaishnavas, in the beginning of 1868, that sympathy declined, and the man-worship agitation of that year also convinced him that the Brahmo Samaj was running the danger of reducing itself into a sectarian cult and he began to call the young Brahmos *Kaishavas* or the sect of Keshub. His hostility to the new methods introduced by Mr. Sen was great. How great must have been his disappointment, therefore, when in August 1869 I formally and publicly joined the Brahmo Samaj under Mr. Sen. The fact that the nephew of Dwarakanath Vidyabhushan, the sworn enemy of the Keshubic cult, has gone over to the other side, produced a wide-spread sensation in our part of the country, and all the engines of social persecution were set agoing to repress the Keshubic cult as it was called.

At this extremity my mother came to my uncle's house at Changripota and called me there for a personal conference. I went and found my uncle calm and dignified, never giving expression to displeasure or irritation, trying to convince me by reason and argument of the error of the course I had taken. Of course I need hardly say that I was not convinced. I subsequently learnt from a letter of my uncle written to my father at that time that after prolonged

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discussion with me he had come to the conclusion that I was suffering from a sort of mono-mania, which can be fitly described as religious madness. My uncle concluded his letter by saying that I had passed beyond the reach of arguments.

Seeing me passing the F.A. with distinction in the beginning of 1869, his hopes however revived, as he told me afterwards, that though differing in matters of faith, I would take up in a short time, a part of his heavy work, thus relieving him of his hard labours. In the meantime the Lieutenant Governor of the time intimated to the Principal of our College his desire of appointing such students of the Sanskrit College as passed the B. L. Examination, to the judicial service of the Province, for the reason of their having studied Hindu Law in Sanskrit. Pressure was accordingly brought upon me by our Principal, backed by my uncle, I think, and by other friends also, to go in for the B. L., and I was made to attend the law-lectures. I finished the law course by the time I passed the M. A. My uncle was anxiously waiting for the day when I would pass the M. A.; for after that he had a mind, as I learnt afterwards, to appoint me Head Master of his school at Harinavi, and associate me in the work of the *Somaprakash*. I passed the M. A. successfully but there came the saddest, and severest second disappointment to my uncle. I formed the resolution of giving myself for the service of the Brahmo Samaj and secretly wrote to Mr. Sen, expressing a desire to join his mission. Mr. Sen at once accepted me and appointed me one of the teachers of the young ladies' school he had founded in connection with his Bharat Ashram.

Whenever I approached my uncle after this I found him dignified and calm, he gave no expression to his sore disappointment. He would avoid all talk about his affairs and would make only short and evasive replies to my questions about them.

About a year passed like this, towards the end of which news was brought to me that my uncle's health was failing and that he was carrying on his work with great difficulty. I at once went to Changripota and found him laid up. I had never seen him so poorly and low. Standing by his bed I could not refrain from shedding tears. I at once felt that I should come to his rescue and at once relieve him of his arduous duties and allow him to go out for a change; and as my year of service in Mr. Sen's Ladies' School was drawing to a close, I thought I could leave that work from the beginning of the next year and come and temporarily settle down at Changripota, taking up my uncle's work and allowing him to go for a change. When I broached the proposal to my uncle he was awfully moved and opened his heart to me for the first time about his second great disappointment.

Upon my return to Calcutta I asked Mr. Sen's permission to leave the work of the Ladies' School from the beginning of the next year, and to go to the rescue of my uncle. He quietly accepted my decision; but secretly considered my conduct, as I learnt afterwards, as a virtual desertion of mission work.

However I went and settled down at Harinavi, in the neighbourhood of Changripota, the place where my uncle's School was situated. My uncle made me the Secretary and Head Master of his School, the editor of his paper and the manager of his domestic and other affairs, and went to the N.-W. Provinces for a change.

I was at Harinavi for more than one and half years, during which period my health also went down owing to the prevalence of malarious fever in the villages, and I was obliged to accept the head mastership of the South Suburban School at Bhowanipore, whither also I removed my uncle's Press and Paper for more convenient management. Here my uncle returned after his change and resumed his work relieving me of my duties.

During his stay here Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act was passed and as a mark of his displeasure and disgust my uncle stopped the *Somaprakash*, considering it more honorable to discontinue the paper than to abide by the degrading conditions imposed by the new law. Sir Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant Governor of the time, looked upon the discontinuance of the *Somaprakash* as a public calamity and invited my uncle to a private interview, during the course of which he used all his influence to persuade him to resume the publication of his paper. It was chiefly

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through his earnest request, I think, that my uncle revived the paper. But the old zeal was gone and it began to decline from that time in the earnestness of its tone and the straight-forwardness of its views; one cause of this, perhaps was, that owing to growing age and decline of health my uncle had to leave much of his work to paid assistants.

After his return, in addition to conducting the paper, my uncle began to publish a monthly journal called *Kalpadruma*, which soon attracted the notice of the educated classes of the country.

During his residence at Benares for a change he had been shocked to see the evil practices of the priests attached to the temples, and composed and published a poetical work called "Bisweswar Bilap" or the "Lamentations of the God Bisweswar" in which he decried those practices, and tried to expose the inner condition of that great place of pilgrimage.

In the meantime I once more became totally absorbed in Brahmo Samaj work and joined the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Mission My uncle went on working. He died in harness, so to say, laying down his life with his pen. His descendants subsequently discontinued the *Kalpadruma* and sold off the *Somaprakash*.

Thus closes the life of a really great and good man. But I cannot close this account without narrating one or two incidents that bore witness to his great love of justice and also his earnest interest in the welfare of his fellow-villagers. One incident happened in my presence. One morning previous to his departure for Calcutta, he was getting ready for his journey, when a young woman, belonging to a lower caste, a widow herself, was seen passing by his door and wailing most piteously. My uncle at once stopped her and inquired into the cause of her sorrow; when to his horror, the poor woman related her whole story to him; how she had been misled by a rich man of the village, how she had been enticed away from the guardianship of her poor widowed mother, how shelter was given to her in a house in the neighbourhood of the rich man's mansions, and now that she was with child, and because she shrank from her betrayer's proposal to prematurely destroy that child, how she had been ruthlessly turned out to live by begging or die in the streets. The story filled the mind of my uncle with indignation, the like of which I had seldom witnessed. He could not take his breakfast well. He ordered the woman to come to him next morning. The next morning a man was sent to that rich man to ask him whether he was ready and willing to make suitable provision for the poor woman. And because the fellow would not give any such assurance a law-suit was instituted against him in the name of the widow, at my uncle's expense. I have not a distinct recollection of all the turns of that law-suit; only this much I remember that maintenance was ultimately secured from the rich man, who became a sworn enemy of my uncle from that time.

Another incident was also characteristic. One day my uncle was engaged in writing in his study when news was brought to him that a neighbour of his, who had been trying from some time past to fraudulently deprive a neighbouring widow and her son, of a piece of land, had entered the widow's house during her son's absence and was about to lay his hands on her, to compel her to consent to the proposal. My uncle at once left his pen, called his own brother to follow him, and ran to the widow's house, arriving just in time to save her from ill-treatment. The assailants were pushed out of the house by my uncles and the fact of my uncle backing her ultimately saved the widow from the threatened misappropriation.

A few years before his death my uncle's attention was forcibly roused to the visible decay of moral and religious principles of the rising generation of the villages and he took steps to organise *Kathakatas* and *Kirtans* in the compound of his own house, to which he would invite his fellow-villagers, and specially the younger portion of the population to be present.

Thus he closed his life, ceaselessly trying to do good to others, undaunted in the pursuit of his ideals, and incessantly trying to leave society better than he found it. Of all men, his example had the greatest influence in moulding my character in my younger days. That example is still before me and I cannot contemplate it without being chastened and elevated.

SIVANATH SASTRI.

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THE NORTHERN TIRTHA : A PILGRIM'S DIARY

Place.	Distance.	Remarks on Accomodation.
Hardwar	0	—
Satya Narain 7 miles.		
Hrishikesh	12 miles	Dharmsalas; an inspection bungalow.
Lakshman Jhula 3 miles		
Phool Chatty 5 miles ...		
Mohun Chatty	14 miles	Dharmsalas and chappays.
Dakbungalow Bijni 3 miles ...		
Bandar Chatty 6 miles		
Mahadeo Chatty	12 miles	Dharmsala and chappays.
Kandi 6 miles ...		
Vyasagunga	10 miles	Dharmsala long disused; chappays.
Devaprayag	9 miles	Dharmsala. A small city and bazar.
Dak Bungalow Kolta key Ranibagh		
Rampur	10 miles	Temporary accommodation.
Bilwakedar	5 miles	Temporary accommodation.
Srinagar	3 miles	A city. Dharmsalas and Dak bungalow.

"IMAGINE!" said one of our party suddenly, as we sat at a meal somewhere on the road between Kedar Nath and Badri Narayan, "Imagine! we are only ten or twelve days from Manasa Sarovara, and the people call all this country Kailas! *We are in Kailas!*" We were indeed. And to add to that fact we had entered the land of promise by the old historic road. Beginning with Hardwar,—that miniature and unspeakably beautiful Benares—and passing through Hrishikesh, we had ascended step by step, march by march, from one holy place to another, side by side with pilgrims from every province in India, till we had reached the crown of them all at Kedar Nath; and were now on the way to Badri Narayan, thence to return to ordinary life and work, in our homes in the plains. It was a wonderful word, this that we were in Kailas, and we all sat for a moment, pondering on its meaning. Amongst the pines and deodars, with mountain-flowers underfoot, and hoary places of pilgrimage behind and before, it was not incredible. But we needed to drink deep for awhile of the thought, that we might realise the Invisible Presence inhabiting and consecrating the holy home.

It is very characteristic, that while Hinduism lays great emphasis on the sacredness of the northern pilgrimage, it is yet difficult to obtain any authentic information about its details, before one starts. For this reason it seems almost obligatory upon those who perform it, that they should, if possible, publish their experiences, for the guidance of others, who are eager to undertake it. At present, there is very little that the intending traveller can make sure of, either as regards time, distances, or the accommodation available. And few things are more necessary than the frank publication of the actual diary of some pilgrim, to which all the would-be adventurous may obtain easy access. The setting-forth need not afterwards be that plunge in the dark which it is at present. A man may then calculate freely the time and means at his disposal, and make such provision as is possible to him, for the difficulties and perhaps the dangers of his undertaking.

The one piece of advice that one would like to give all intending travellers is the importance of securing a good *panda*—as the semi-ecclesiastical courier is called—at the beginning of the journey. We were lucky enough to fall in with *Gopal Panda* of Kedar Nath, when we were at Hardwar, and to take him with us, and no words can tell of his value. He was full of energy and resource. He saw us through every difficulty, and his social influence smoothed over many delicate matters, probably. A *panda* should not be too scholarly, as in that case he is sure to be defective in energy; yet his fund of local information is a great sweetener of the road.

The first impression gleaned from the pilgrimage as a whole is a deepened sense of Indian unity. And this is created in us, not only by the crowds of wayfarers—from the Punjab, Maharashtra, Madras, Malabar,

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the North-West Provinces, and Bengal,—whom we meet or pass, hour after hour. It is also due to the fact that here on this northern pilgrimage, the great *pujari*-brahmins and mohunts are all Deccanis. Even the *pandas*, on the Badri Narayan road, are south-country men. In the case of Kedar, however, the *pandas*, whatever their historical origin, are now firmly established in the locality, and our own guide, philosopher, and friend was a man who belonged to the village of Ban Asur. The mohunts, or as they are called Raouls, of Kedar Nath, Badri Narayan, and other sacred places, are bound to nominate their disciples from the south only. And thus is kept alive the tradition of those spiritual impulses which within the last thousand years have come always from the farthest end of India. First Magadha and then Dravida-desha has originated the waves that have transformed the Himalayas; but in either case the fact is equally conspicuous, that the Motherland is indeed one, that north and south are inextricably knit together, and that no story of its analysed fragments, racial, lingual, or political, could ever be the story of India. There must be recognition of a synthesis, to do justice to that tale. For the Indian peoples have in the past known how to shape themselves as a unity, definite and coherent, and behind them stands ever the Motherland, one from end to end.

To Indians themselves, if they have never before been on pilgrimage, the life of the pilgrim-roads is likely to be a revelation. Who uttered a doubt that India had a place and a life for women? Certainly none who had ever seen a pilgrimage. Marching along we meet them, singly or in couples, or may be in long strings of tens and twenties, old and young mingled together. There is neither fear, nor exaggerated shyness in their demeanour. Sometimes one will be separated by a few yards from her party, telling her beads, or lost in solitary thought. Sometimes again we meet an old woman who seems to belong to none. But almost everyone is cheerful, and almost all, from the custom of wearing their jewels all the time, have an air of festivity and brightness. All pilgrims know one another. Here, none of the stiffness of a meaner world prevails. We all speak to one another as we pass. 'Jai! Kedar Nath Swami ki Jai!' or 'Jai! Badri Bissal lal ki Jai!' we say to each whom we meet, whether man or woman. And no words can describe the flash of sweetness and brightness that lights up the reply. We are all out on a holiday together, and an air of gentle innocence and hilarity prevails, in face of difficulties, and creates a sort of freemasonry amongst all who seek the common goal. One has the chance here of studying the refinement of eastern salutations. Sometimes a wayfarer passes, who is telling her beads, or who, for some reason or another does not care to break her silence, but oh, the dignity and charm of the bow that answers the pilgrim's salutation in such a case! Even here, in an environment which is in some ways one of intensified practicality, we meet now and again with the inveterate dreamer, living in that world upon whose shores no wave can break. It was turning into the wedge-shaped ravine of Garur-ganga that we came upon one such. She was a little old woman, and we caught her just as she had stepped out of her prim little shoes, placed neatly behind her, and with rapt look prostrated herself. Two people who were coming forward, drew back at this, that she might not know herself interrupted, and then as again we stepped forward and came face to face with her, we saw that for the moment she was lost in the world of her own reverence. In her eyes was the look of one who saw not the earth. It was a sudden glimpse of the snow mountains to which she had paid involuntary homage.

Climbing over some peculiarly difficult boulders in the dry bed of a torrent, we met two old women, both almost blind, and bent half-double with age and infirmity. They were coming back from Badri Narayan. The place was terrible, and as we came up to them one of them stumbled. But to an ejaculation of concern, they replied, between themselves, with an air of triumph in their gaiety, "What! Is not Narayan leading? And since He has given *dharsana*, what does this matter?"

Happy they whose pilgrimage can begin at Hardwar! Never surely was there a place so beautiful. It is like Benares on a very small scale. But as one of our party remarked, people go to Benares to

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die, and to Hardwar as the beginning of a high undertaking. This of itself confers on the town an air of brightness. In the moonlight nights the *jatris* set out with their *pandas*, singing, as they go, along the roads. And oh, the evening worship of the Ganges! In the very middle of the lowest step of the semicircular ghats of the Brahma Kund a priest stands waving what looks like a small brass tree of flame. Behind him crowd the worshippers, chiefly women, and on the bridge and island that stretch across the little bay in front of him, forming the chord of the semicircle, stand and sit other worshippers, obviously, to judge by differences of dress and type, travellers from many and various provinces. All is rapt silence, while the public worship is proceeding, but as it ends, the whole multitude breaks out into chanting. Choir upon choir, they sing the glories of the Ganges, answering each other in the manner of an antiphon. And away beyond them stretch green islands and wooded heights, about which the blue veil of the evening mists has just begun to fall. The very scene, in itself is the perfection of praise. "Oh ye mountains and hills, bless ye the Lord! Praise Him and magnify Him for ever! Oh ye rivers and streams bless ye the Lord! Praise Him and magnify Him for ever!"

It is the railway, we are told, that has popularised Hardwar. Until a few years ago, Kankhal had been long the recognised centre, and people made pilgrimage only to Hardwar, for bathing and praying, being exceedingly careful to be back before nightfall, so probable was the appearance of a tiger on the road between the two places. But the fact that the habit of pilgrimage could persist at all under such circumstances, is eloquent testimony to the age of the place. Kankhal itself, a couple of miles away, is the seat of Siva as Daksheswar, and therefore, we cannot doubt, one of the most ancient sites of Hinduism. Here we are shown the very place where Sati fell, and that where Daksha offered sacrifice. Suddenly a whole chapter of pre-Hindu Hinduism—perhaps ages long—becomes visible to us. We see that there was a time when people were familiar with the image of the Goat-headed Lord of Creation. We remember the Great God Pan of the Greeks, with his one goat-foot. And we do not wonder that there should have been a struggle between this old nature-god Daksha, who may have been a personification of the Polar Star, and the new Siva, Lord of the consciences of men.

HRISHIKESH, twelve miles away from Hardwar, is a university of an ancient type. Here, amongst some of the most beautiful scenery of the Himalayas, just at the rapids of the Ganges, are hundreds of straw huts in which live *sadhus*. Amongst these, it is doubtless possible to realise the ideal of the Vedic *Ashramas*, in a life of simplicity, order, and learning. The first duty of the new arrival is, as I have heard, to build his own hut. Within these, men live alone or in couples, according to the merciful custom that usually carries the begging friars forth, not alone, but by twos. But when evening comes, at any rate in the winter, the great meditation-fires are lighted here and there, in the open air, and seated round them the monks discourse 'of settled things'. Then they relapse by degrees into the depths of thought, and when darkness has fallen and all is quiet, one after another each man slips quietly away to his own hut. It is an extraordinary combination of freedom and society, of the ideals of the hermitage and of the monastery. It may be that it gives us a glimpse of the monastic conditions of the Thebaid, but in modern times it could certainly be paralleled nowhere outside India. The *sadabratas* in the little town close by are another institution that correspond to nothing in foreign countries. Here the *sadhus* daily receive their rations of food, some cooked and some uncooked. For it is a mistake to think that those who have taken up the life of the *sannyasin* can study and think, without a certain amount of bodily nourishment. Our selfishness may make us eager to preach such an ideal, but it will always be for *others* to realise! At the same time the *sadabratas* relieve the monks of the dishonour of becoming beggars, and the community of the scandal of a disorderly burden. These, in their present high organisation and development, owe a great deal to the life and work of Kombol Swami, one of the national heroes whose name is known too little, outside monastic

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ranks. By his labours, the Northern Pilgrimage has been rendered available, for the thousands of pilgrims who now pass along it, and it is to be hoped that in the movement now going on for the recovery of biographies, his will not be forgotten. The present road from Hardwar to Hrishikesh, with its new temple and bazaar of Satya Narain, is of Kombol Swami's making, as are all the good *dharmsalas* along the road. The old way to Hrishikesh lay along the Ganges-bank. In the desert-like country about Hrishikesh, one of the characteristic charities is the little water-and-mat stations, where a *gerrua*-turbanned servant lives in a little hut, serving out water to each passer-by who asks for it, and keeping a clean space swept and cowdunged where anyone can lie down on a mat in the shade of a tree. How old is Hrishikesh? In its very nature it is impermanent. The materials of which it is built this winter will not remain after next summer's rains. And how long the site has been used in this way who shall say? May be the history of Hardwar would give us some clue to this. May be the Kumbha Mela would help us to calculate its age. The very fleetingness of its buildings must have lengthened its days, for political convulsions that would sweep clean the Caves of Ajanta or Ellora, would leave this winter-resort of the learned and pious entirely unaffected. As the waters of a lake close over a stone, so would Hrishikesh recover from catastrophe and grow out of its very memory. And the tradition goes, we must remember, that one of the earliest literary undertakings of our people—the division of the Vedas by Vyasa, into four—was carried out in this place.

About a mile or less below the Bridge of Lakshman Jhula, four miles further on, is the official weighing station where loads and prices are authoritatively apportioned. Rates have been raised lately, but it is a great satisfaction to have a definite scale of charges and a reasonable contract on both sides. This once concluded, the coolies let us see that they are overjoyed to start on the journey, and consider themselves as much pilgrims as we! *Lakshman Jhula* has a temple beside it, and a ghat known as Dhruwa's. A sudden depth in the water here is known as the Pandavas' Pool. We are now in the Gorge of the Ganges, and continue so for some four miles longer. At the end of this, with its beautiful scenery, is Phoolbari, or Phool Chatty. Five miles after, along a narrower stream, we come to *Mohun Chatty*, in a wide valley. Here the only accomodation consists of a *dharmsala* and mat-covered *chappays* or huts. The *dharmsala* with its metal roof is exceedingly hot. It contains a few small mud-walled and mud-floored rooms with a large common verandah outside. Such provisions as are obtainable, along with vessels for cooking, are to be had from the local shopkeeper. Here then we settle down for the day and night. What a pity for the extreme artificiality that makes it impossible for us to rest in public, like the simple folk who go and come around us! Yet so it is. Were we at home, we should even require doubtless to have seclusion from each other. Here, however, we are thankful enough for the white sheet and baggage that enable us to be a family, apart from other families. Within our screened room we sit and try to keep as cool as may be. But, to one at least, comes again and again the thought that she is in just such an inn as that to which at Bethlehem in Judæa once came two wayfarers and found "no room." All about us outside are the open-air cooking fires and the reedroofed shefters of such as have found no place in this grander *dharmsala*. Suppose anyone tonight should come too late, and finding 'no room,' be turned away?

We were awakened by the *pandas* at Mohun Chatty at about two in the morning. All round us in the darkness we could hear women urging their companions to be up and off. And as each little party made ready to start, we could see it stand and beat time till the *panda* gave the word "Jai Kedar Nath Swami ki Jay!" or something of the sort, and then on the instant, cheerily footing it off, gentlefolk, coolies, and all. As we swung along the roads in the darkness, we had to take some care where we set our foot. For up here on the hillside numbers of pilgrims had lain down to rest apparently, wherever they had found themselves when they grew tired. Here they lay sleeping, stretched across the pathway, their heads lifted on their little bundles, asking

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no better roof than the starry sky above. Oh, to reach the simplicity of such an outlook upon life!

Three miles beyond Mohun Chatty, after continuous climbing, we come upon the little dak bungalow of Bijni, of which the key is kept in the bazaar, half a mile further. Another five miles brings us, with a sharp descent, to Bandar Chatty, where the logs are piled up. Four miles further still, making altogether thirty-eight from Hardwar, is *Mahadeo Chatty*.

This is nothing but a pilgrim's centre. Again we are in a *dharmsala*. Only it must be said that here there are two, one across the river of stones on our right hand side. We stand a little apart from the village, too, with its multitude of *chattis*. But this advantage is less real than imaginary, for later on, when the rest of the pilgrims arrive, they camp about us here, and the resources of the place are taxed to their utmost. The river on our left, as we came along the road today, was beautiful with dark crags and snow-white sands. Here in the midst of its rushing coolness with the burning sun overhead, one understands for the first time, the physical rapture of the religious bathing of Hinduism. We find the same to be true again at the little village of VYASAGANGA. Here the different mountain ranges seem all to recede from one another simultaneously, and leave a great open circle, through which the main current of the Ganges sweeps immense curves, with vast sandy beaches on either hand; and then before leaving this natural theatre, it turns to receive, on its left hand side, the swift clear torrent of the Vyasaganga, with its black transparent water mingling in the milky-brown of the larger stream. At the junction of the Vyasaganga the road from Lansdowne enters the place. Here the little mat-covered huts, so like old Italian pictures, were peculiarly beautiful, and the grander accommodation of a *pucca* building peculiarly bad. So, after breakfast, we all adjourned from our dirty iron-roofed upper storey,—which had not been cow-dunged since the day of its birth apparently!—to one of the neat empty *chapprys*. Here there was a slight breeze, and by means of wet sheets and towels, it was not impossible to keep off the sun.

An imaginary line separates the floor of one family or party in such structures from that of the next. And we could feel ourselves real pilgrims, as we rested, with our books, and listened to the gentle conversation, or the reading of the *Kedar Kanda*, all about us. At half past three, no one could have told by the senses alone that there was any change in the light. The fierce blaze continued just as before. Yet at that moment exactly an old woman, not far off, rose, girded herself for the road, took up her staff, and, followed by two daughters-in-law, in red saris and bodices, with bundles on their heads, set forth into sun and heat. What determination, what austerity spoke in her grim old face! Thousands of years of character were in that simple act. Then the afternoon march began, for others, also; and an hour or two later the pilgrims who would camp here for the night came up, and all the distant places of the shore became bright with cooking-fires. On the mountains, too, the night made visible the forest-fires, and over all poured down the moonlight, throwing the wooded hills into strong shadow against the silver blueness of the river, and the snow-whiteness of the sands.

Our men were very anxious to reach DEVAPRAYAG. It was the home of some of them, and it was in any case in their beloved Tehri territory. For the river at this part of the route had been agreed upon as the boundary between Tehri and British India. A ten miles' march was nothing to them, when their enthusiasm was awakened, and we reached our destination next day quite early. It was interesting, as we set out on the road from Vyasaganga, to note, ere it left the open valley and turned in between the hills, the small temple of Vyasa standing on the river-bank. Here in the days when the characteristic culture of the epoch lay in a knowledge of the Mahabharata, and when the effort of all this region was to appropriate the scenes and incidents of the great work, here it was possible for the pious pilgrim to make salutation at the feet of the master-poet before entering on the sacred way. Up to this time the only mention of the Pandavas that we had come upon had been the name of a bathing pool at Lakshman Jhula. But this was easily

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accounted for. There would be an ever-present tendency to create such associations, acting throughout modern times. From the moment of passing Vyasaganga, however, we were in Mahabharata country, and this little chapel of the prince of poets, proved that it was the Mahabharata as a poem, that we were following, not a tissue of pre-literary and pre-historic Pandava traditions.

The ten miles to Devaprayag lay through beautiful scenery, but along narrow thread-like paths running above high precipices. The men burst into shouts of joy at the sight of the place, but we had been so spoilt by the open expanded beauty of the other places we had seen, that we were much disappointed to find it dark, crowded on the steep points of sharply sloping hills brought together by the junction of two rapid and powerful streams, and huddled and grim in style. The houses seemed all to stand on tip-toe behind each other, to see the river. In the evening, however, when we walked in the bazar, seeing the homes of the people from the other side, we caught many a glimpse of an interior, ending in a verandah that seemed to be suspended in mid-air over the waters, and then we understood the idea of Devaprayag, that it was not built, like Benares, for splendour of approach, but rather for actual enjoyment of its wonderful river. Hence the beauty of the place is all within. And certainly no race with sense open to the awful, could have refrained from building a city at Devaprayag. I have missed many chances of seeing Niagara, but I cannot imagine that it is any grander than the sight of the gorge as one stands on the bridge at Devaprayag. Nor can I conceive of anything more terrible than the swirl and roar of the rivers here, where the steps lead down over the living rock to the meeting of the Alakananda and Bhagirathi. Wind and whirlpool and torrent overwhelm us with their fierceness of voice and movement. The waters roar, and a perpetual tempest wails and rages. And as long as a thing is too much for one's mind to grasp, does it matter whether it is once or fifty times too much? Infinite is the terror of the waters at Devaprayag. Victory to the Infinite! Glory to the Terrible!

The point of land at the confluence, is a rock about two hundred and fifty feet high. On the top is a temple with a very large enclosure containing many shrines and sacred objects. How ancient is the site one trembles to think, for the *prayag* is dedicated to Siva, by a hundred unmistakable signs, and the temple is of Ramachandra! This identity of Rama with Mahadev was a matter that held the thoughts of Hindu folk a very very long time ago. To judge by it, the dedication might be sixteen, or seventeen, or more, hundreds of years old. That the continuity of the site as a holy place has been maintained, is seen, moreover, when one finds a little Siva-chapel under this main mound, containing images of Ganesh and of Devi, and one emblem of Siva of the sixth to seventh century type. There is a tradition that Sankaracharya visited Devaprayag. Well may he have done so. But he did not make it Saivite. Its worship of Siva is of a pre-Sankaracharyan type.

The *dharmsala* which we occupied here was a delightful piece of architecture. It consisted of two storeys, of which we occupied the upper. It was built of mud and timber, and had immense bo-trees outside. The upper floor consisted of a large verandah with a row of pillars running down the middle from end to end, and one little room tucked into the corner. It was like the realisation of a cave at Ajanta or Ellora as a dwelling-house. But alas, it was set with its face to the *prayag*,* which we could not see, even then, and its back to the wind-filled gorge, and in all the heat of the turbid night that we spent there, there was not a breath of air!

We were off early next day, to do ten miles and reach a halting-place called Rampur. On the way, we passed a dak bungalow called Kolta, for which, had we desired to use it, we ought to have taken the key at the Ranibagh Bazar, half a mile earlier. On reaching Rampur, we could not dream of consenting to stay. There was no *dharmsala* and even the *chappays* were only woven of boughs. There was no water either, except what was horribly dirty, and the dried-up

* It ought to be explained, for non-Hindu readers, that *prayag* means simply confluence, or junction, and that these geographical points are held peculiarly holy, in Hinduism.

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stream, with its bed and banks full of nameless horrors, looked like the haunt of all disease. We decided, though it was already late, to push on to BILWAKEDAR, five miles further. On arriving there, we found that there was no accommodation for a night's stay. We could only cook and eat a meal, rest, and then proceed some three miles further to Srinagar. Even the rest was not without its perils, in our leaf and bough-woven shelters. If it had not been for a tiny *pucca* hut that stood by the river-side *a propos* of nothing at all, we might all have ended our halt by an attack of sunstroke. As it was we took possession unimpeded, and so were able to mitigate the fierceness of the exposure, by taking turns at resting there.

The scenery from Devaprayag to Bilwakedar had been bare and austere,—narrow winding gorges, steep precipices, and little hanging paths. Once or twice we had passed a few pine-trees, only to come again immediately on bo-trees and cactus. It is really in the Himalayas, by the way, that the bo-tree is worshipped. More or less of an exotic, in those hot valleys, it is treasured where it occurs, and terraces are built about it, till it becomes quite a landmark. The bazar at Kotdwara is built on two sides of a long parallelogram, down the middle of which run three terraced bo-trees. There is no need to speak of its uniqueness, amongst trees of a lesser growth. Where the small hill-mangoes rarely ripen, the density and coolness of the bo is unexampled. For centuries, in fact, its shade has been the village school. And the saying that when thunder is heard, schools should break up, is said to be a tradition of this fact.

At Bilwakedar a small stream joins the Ganges, and on a high rock which rises just at this point, stands a charming little temple. Opposite is said to be the place where Markandeya went through his *tapasya*, and there, when *amabashya* falls on a Monday there is always a specially marked celebration. I was overjoyed at this fact, for I had expected to trace out something of the history of Mother-worship, on our way up the mountains, and here was a most important link, perhaps the last and greatest of all. The temple of Bilwakedar itself is to Siva, and contains many fragments of old and extremely refined carvings. The priests say that it was formerly immensely wealthy in these remains of a great age, but that the Gohonna Flood, fifteen or twenty years ago, swept all into the Ganges, what remains being only the little that could be recovered. There is an old Siva of the sixth to seventh century type, and one little figure which might be the teaching Buddha. Again there is a carved footprint, and a beautiful lotus in the pavement. Besides all which, there are many early Narayanas and Devis. Evidently a very ancient site, marked by great energy of the higher religious activities. Was there an early monastery here?

In the evening we reached Srinagar.

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

THE ANCIENT ABBEY OF AJANTA

VII

THE INDIAN SAN MARCO.

THERE is, outside Florence, a Dominican monastery which is famous for the fact that once upon a time Fra Giovanni of Fiesole—better known as Fra Angelico—lived within its walls, and covered them with his saints and angels against the gilded back-ground of heaven. Later, it was the one undecorated chamber in this monastery that Savonarola took as his own, when he came as a Dominican to San Marco. The old convent remains to this day, for Europe, one of the trysting-places of righteousness and beauty. We know not which are more real, the angels that still blaze upon the walls, or the lives that once were lived within them.

* Fra Giovanni of Fiesole lived from 1387 to 1455 A.D.

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Something of the same feeling must have clung to Ajanta in the late fifth to the eighth centuries. A great art-tradition had grown up about its name. It is very likely, of course, that such a tradition was commoner, in the India of those days, than we can now realise. Perhaps many buildings were covered, within, with emblazoned literature. Gold and scarlet and blue were often, it may be, united together, to sing the heroic dreams of the time to the eyes of all. But it is difficult to imagine that in any country the splendours of Ajanta could seem ordinary. Those wonderful arches and long colonnades stretching along the face of the hillside, with the blue eaves of slate-coloured rock overhanging them, and the knowledge of glowing beauty covering every inch of the walls behind them, no array of colleges or cathedrals in the whole world could make such a thing seem ordinary. For it was doubtless as colleges that the great task was carried out in them, and we can see that it took centuries. That is to say, for some hundreds of years, Ajanta was thought of in India as one of the great opportunities of the artist, or may be as a grand visual exposition of the monkish classics.

We can judge of the length of time over which the work spread, the time during which the tradition was growing up, by the fact that the paintings in Cave Sixteen, which is older, are stiffer and more purely decorative, such of them as remain, than those in Seventeen. But even those of Sixteen are not the oldest pictures at Ajanta. When we enter Cave Nine for the first time, we find ourselves in the company of a great host of rapt and adoring worshippers. They stand on every face of the simple octagonal pillars, with their looks turned always to the solemn looking stupa or dagoba. They have each one of them a nimbus behind him. They might be Bodhisattvas, but the feeling of worship so fills the little chapel that instinctively one puts them down as the early saints and companions of Buddha, and turns with a feeling of awe to join their adoration of the dome-like altar. They are not archaic in the sense of crudity. But they have the feeling of an early world about them. They are like the work of Fra Angelico, but may be anything in date from the second century onwards, that is to say a thousand years before his time! In the aisle that runs behind the pillars the walls are covered with simple scenes from the Teaching of Buddha. Here we find the mother bringing her dead son, and the Master seated with his disciples about him. But we return to the nave, and, again looking at the forms on the pillar-faces, let ourselves dream for a moment, till we seem to hear the deep *Adoramus* with which they fill the air around us.

This silent throng of painted worshippers suggests to the mind's eye the worship itself that once filled the little cathedral chapel. We see the procession of monks that must have entered at one door, made *pradakshina* about the altar, and gone out on the other side. We see the lights that they carried, the incense they waved, the prostrations they made, and the silent congregation of lay-folk and students who may have looked on from the back of the nave, as even now at a Hindu *arati* one may kneel apart and watch. We hear the chanting of the monks as the incense was swung, and we realise the problem that Buddhism had to solve, in giving solemnity and impressiveness to a worship denuded of the splendours and significance of sacrifice. It must have been this consciousness that led to the rapid organisation of a ritual whose elements were all indeed derived from the Vedic, but which was in its entirety the most characteristic and organic expression of democratic religion that the world had ever seen. The history of Christian worship has not yet been written, but it is open to us to believe that when it is, its debt to the chaityas will be found greater than is now suspected.

The host of saints and apostles brings us face to face with another thought. We see how much the stupa-shaped altar meant to the Buddhist-worshipper. We begin to feel our way back to all that it implied. Sanctified by ages of consecration—for there was a pre-Buddhistic stupa-worship. Newgrange, the Irish Sanchi, is a thousand years older than Buddha—men saw in that domed mound more than we now can ever fathom. Yet we may look at it and try to summon up all that we have felt for this symbol or for that. How curious are the things to which the heart of man has gone out in its fulness

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from time to time! A couple of spars lashed together at right angles; a couple of crescent-shaped axes back to back; a cairn. And each of these has had the power in its day to make men die, joyfully and merrily, as a piece of good fortune! Usually, it is easier to imagine this when the emblem has taken to itself an icon or image. The crucifix might better make martyrs than the cross, one thinks. The stupa with the Buddha upon it, stirs one deeper than the stupa or dagoba alone. Yet here, amongst the choir of saints, we catch a hint of quite another feeling, and we understand that when the icon was added to the emblem, faith was already dim.

The University of Ajanta departs, in its paintings, from primitive simplicity. Cave Sixteen is highly decorated, and Cave Seventeen a veritable labyrinth of beauty and narrative. Everywhere flames out some mighty subject, and everywhere are connecting links and ornamental figures. Not once does inspiration fail, though the soft brightness today is for the most part dim, and the colours have largely to be guessed at. What are the subjects? Ah, that is the question! Here at any rate is one rendered specially famous, for the moment, by the recent labours upon it of an English artist,* which evidently portrays the Maha Hamsa Jatak from the Jatakas or Birth-Tales.† These were the Puranas of Buddhism. That is to say they were its popular literature. History is to a great extent merely the story of organisation, the gradual selecting and ordering of elements already present. And in that sense the Puranas form a reflection and imitation of the Jatakas. The elements of both were present, before. Buddhism organised the one in Pali, and Hinduism, later, the other, in Sanskrit. But in some cases it would appear as if the Mahawansa, with its history of the evangelising of Ceylon, had been the treasure-house of Ajanta artists. There are in some of the caves, notably One, pictures of ships and elephant-hunts which seem to correspond to known fragments of that story. Yet again, in the same cave, there will be another picture of something frankly Puranic or Jatakyan,—such as the king stepping into the balances, in the presence of a hawk and a dove—and it is impossible in the present state of the paintings to make out the sequence. Here also occurs that political picture which dates the paintings of Cave One as after, but near, 626 A.D. It would be natural enough that the story of Ceylon should dispute with the Jatakas the interest of the Buddhist world. It formed the great romance of the faith. The same efforts had been made, and as great work done, in many other cases, but here was a country so small that the effort told. The whole civilisation yielded with enthusiasm to the stream of impulse that came to it from the home-land of its sovereigns. The Sacred Tree, with the prince Mahinda and the princess Sanghamitta, had formed an embassy of state, of which any country might be proud. And the connection thus made had been maintained. We may imagine, if we please, that there were students from Ceylon here in the Sangharama of Ajanta. Kings and nobles would doubtless send their sons to the monasteries for education, even as is still done in the villages of Burma and Japan. The East was early literary in her standards of culture, and the fact that monastic instruction would no way have benefitted a Norman baron need not make us suppose that the ministers and sovereigns of India, early in the Christian era, boasted an equally haughty illiteracy. The whole aspect of the caves, with the viharas containing the shrine of the Great Guru, tells us of the development which their functions had undergone, from being simple *Bhikshugrihas* to organised colleges, under the single rulership of the abbot of Ajanta. Hiouen-Tsang was only one out

* See the reproduction in the Burlington Magazine for June 1910, together with Mrs. Herringham's valuable notes.

† Queen Khema has a dream about golden geese and entreats Samyama the King to find one for her. The king has a decoy lake constructed and his fowler captures the king of the geese. The monarch is deserted by all his subjects save one, Sumukha, his chief captain. Then the two are brought before the king, who treats them with great honour, and when, the goose-king has preached the law to him, they both return, with his permission, to their own kith and kin, on the slopes of Chittrakuta.

"The Master here ended his story, and identified the Birth: at that time the fowler was Channa, Queen Khema was the nun Khema, the king was Sariputta, the king's retinue the followers of Buddha, Sumukha was Ananda, and the Goose-king was myself". Maha Hamsa Jataka. p. 534. Vol. V. Cowell's Jataka.

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of a stream of foreign guests who came to the abbey, to give knowledge or to gather it. And we must, if we would see truly, people its dark aisles and gloomy shadows with voices and forms of many nationalities, from widely distant parts of the earth. In Cave One is an historical painting of the Persian Embassy which was sent by Khusru II. to Pulikesin I. about 626 A.D.

The cave I myself like least is Number Two. Here we have side-chapels, containing statues of kings and queens, or it may be pious patrons of less exalted rank, in one case with a child. The painting also in this cave has in some cases deteriorated in quality, although some great masterpieces are to be found here. There are parts where we can only think that a master has painted the principal figure, and left the back-ground or the retinue to be done by pupils or subordinates, and in some places we find foreshadowings of faults that were afterwards, amongst the peasant-painters, to be carried far. There is an air of worldliness in placing the great of the earth almost in a line with the Master himself, though this must have been done long before the paintings were put on the walls, and the fact that some of these are also wanting in severity and style is a mere accident. There is another Cave, at the other end of the line, where we find the same order of paintings as here. I think it must be Twenty-one. Indeed throughout the series from Nineteen to Twenty-six, any painting that remains is very inferior to that in Caves One to Seventeen. The subjects are full of life and energy. The fault is only that there is not the same learnedness and grandeur of treatment as in the best works of the Ajanta masters. Nowhere in the world could more beautiful painting be found, than in the king listening to the golden goose in Cave Seventeen or than the Masque of Spring—which I would have liked to interpret as the entrance of Queen Maya into the Garden of Lumbini—on the top of a pilaster in the same cave. According to the distinguished critic who has just been at work upon them, these pictures have many of the characteristics that appear almost a thousand years later in the best works of the great Italian masters. This is seen, not only in general effects, but also in many of the details of method. The painters knew, for instance, how to graduate the outline, so as to vary the intensity of its expression. And the same authority says that the anatomical knowledge shown in the modelling of limbs and flesh, is almost unapproachable. All this implies not only the advanced contemporary development of painting, but also the highest degree of concentration, and respect for the work, on the part of the worker. It is this quality which seems somewhat to have lost its intensity in certain instances in Cave Two.

My own favourite amongst the caves is Four. But it is unfinished, and appears never to have been painted, inside. Its proportions are wonderful, wide, lofty, vast. "This might have been our Westminster Abbey!" sighed an Indian fellow-guest, as we entered it for the first time. And the words exactly express it. It might have been India's Westminster Abbey.

But as they stand, it is Cave One that contains the masterpiece. Here, on the left of the central shrine, is a great picture, of which the lines and tints are grown now dim, but remain still delicate. A man, young, but of heroic size, stands gazing, a lotus in his hand, at the world before him. He is looking down and out into the vihara. About him, and on the road behind him, stand figures of ordinary size. And in the air are mythical beings, kinnaras and others, crowding to watch. This fact marks the central personage as Buddha. But the ornaments that he wears, as well as his tall crown, show that we have here Buddha the prince, not Buddha the ascetic. A wondrous compassion pervades his face and bearing, and on his left—that is, to the spectator's right—stands a woman, curving slightly the opposite way, but seeming in every line to echo gently the feeling that he more commonly expresses. This picture is perhaps the greatest imaginative presentment of Buddha that the world ever saw. Such a conception could hardly occur twice. Nor is it easy to doubt, with the gate behind him and the waving palms of a royal garden all about him, that it is Buddha in that hour when the thought of the great abandonment first comes to him, Buddha on the threshold of renunciation, suddenly realising and pondering on the terrible futility

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of the life of man. His wife awaits him, gently, lovingly, yet with a sympathy, an heroic potentiality that is still deeper than all her longing sweetness. Yasodhara had a place, it seems in the dreams of the monk-painters of Ajanta, and it was the place of one who could cling in the hour of tenderness, and as easily stand alone and inspire the farewell of a higher call. It was the place of one who was true and faithful to the greatness of her husband, not merely to his daily needs. It was the place of one who attained as a wife, because she was already great as a woman. These were the forms that looked down upon the noble Mahratta and Rajput* youth of the Kingdom of the Chalukyas, in their proudest days. Students trained here may have been amongst those who officered the constant wars of their soveriegns against the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, and repelled the invasions that began to fall upon India by the west coast, from the late seventh century onwards. In their country homes in the rich Indian land, or round the bivouac-fires on the field of battle in the after-years, they would turn in their thoughts to these faces, speaking of a nobility and pity that stand alone in human history. A man is what his dreams make him. Can we wonder that that age was great in India whose dreams were even such as these?

* The Mahrattas are described, as the people of the Ajanta country by Hiouen-Tsang. The throne was held in the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries by Chalukya Rajputs.

SUBHA

TRANSLATED FROM THE BENGALI OF
SJ. RABINDRA NATH TAGORE.

(1)

WHEN the girl was named *Subhâsini*,* who knew that she would grow up a dumb girl! Her two elder sisters were called *Sukeshini* and *Suhâsini*, and for the sake of alliteration the father gave the name of *Subhâsini* to his youngest daughter. And people abbreviated the name into *Subhà*.

The two elder girls had been matched at great expense and after a mighty hunt for a bridegroom; now the youngest one weighed heavily upon the oppressed heart of her parents.

It does not come home to every one that one who cannot speak, is capable of feeling; and so, everybody gave vent to their sense of dark misgivings with regard to her future in her very presence. It was borne in upon her from her infancy that she had been born as the curse of God in her father's house; and in consequence of it she always tried to hide herself away from the view of observing eyes. She thought that it would be mighty relief to her if every one could forget her. But does any one forget his pain? She was ever-present in her parents' minds.

Especially, her mother looked upon her in the light of a defect of her own self. For, a mother often deems her daughter to be more closely a part of herself than her son, and any imperfection in the daughter is considered by her to be an occasion for her own disgrace. The father Banikantha rather loved Subha more than his other daughters; but her mother thinking her to be the curse of her womb did not take kindly to her.

Subha had no power of speech, but she had a pair of large, dark, long-lashed eyes, and her delicate lips quivered like tender shoots at the slightest touch of feeling.

The thoughts that we express through the medium of language have to be shaped and moulded to a great extent by our own efforts—something like the process of translation; it does not always come quite up to the mark, and often we blunder for lack of power. But dark eyes have to translate nothing,—the mind directly casts

* The epithet is in the feminine gender and literally means '*One who speaks well*'.

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its image on them ; the thoughts sometimes dilate upon them, at other times contract ; now they light up brightly and now they turn dim ; at one moment they gaze steadily like the setting moon and at another they reflect and refract in all directions like a sudden, swift flash of lightning. The eloquence of the eyes of one who has, from her birth, no other language than the expression of the face, is unlimited, unfathomable, deep and vast—much like the transparent sky, the silent stage of the rising and setting of the bright orbs, of light and shade. In this speechless creature there was a lonesome majesty as that of Great Nature herself. For these reasons, she was held in something like an awe by the common herd of boys and girls ; and they did not play with her. She was silent and solitary like the still mid-day.

(2)

Chandipur was the name of the village. The river was a little stream of Bengal—a village maiden, as it were. She did not stretch far ; the tiny rivulet flowed along 'without haste, without rest' ; doing her work and never straying beyond the bourne of her banks ; she was connected, as it were, in one way or another with everybody in the villages along her course. On either sides stood human habitations and high banks over-shadowed by trees and the stream, like a veritable goddess of plenty presiding over the village, glided along swiftly and merrily all forgetful of self, busy with her numberless beneficent deeds.

Right on the bank of the river was Banikantha's house ; his bamboo fencing, his thatched house, his cow-shed, his shed for the husking pedal, has straw-heap, his tamarind tree, his orchards of mango-trees, jack-fruit-trees, and plantain-trees attracted the notice of every one sailing by. I cannot say whether any one noticed the dumb maiden in the midst of this domestic ease and affluence ; but whenever she found leisure, she came to the river-side.

Nature compensated, as it were, for her lack of language. Nature seemed to speak for her. The babbling of the brook, the busy hum of men, the songs of boatmen, the twittering of birds, the rustling of leaves, all blended together into one harmonions whole with the bustle and movement on all sides, broke against the ever-silent beach of the girl's heart, like the surging waves of the sea. These various notes and strange motions of Nature, too, are, as it were, a language of the mute—a world-wide expansion of the long-eye-lashed Subha's language ; from the grassy plot resonant with the chirpings of the crickets up to the starry regions beyond the range of sound—there are only signs, gestures, songs, sobs and sighs.

And when in the mid-day, the fishermen and the boatmen retired for their meals, when the householders enjoyed their siesta, the birds hushed their singing, the ferry-boats stopped their course, when the noisy world suddenly stopped in the midst of its work and assumed an awful aspect of solitude, then under the great fiery firmament sat silent and face to face, mute Nature and a mute maiden—one under the wide expanse of sunlight, the other under the shade of trees.

Not that Subha had not a number of intimate friends. These were the two cows of the cow-shed—Sharvasi and Panguli. They had never heard their names pronounced by her lips but they knew the sound of her foot-steps which had for them a speechless pathetic tune and was more eloquent and suggestive to them than any language. They could understand Subha's caresses, rebukes, and entreaties more clearly and fully than human beings.

Entering the cow-shed and encircling her arms round Sharvasi's neck Subha rubbed her own cheek against her ear and Panguli gazed at her and licked her body. The girl regularly visited the cow-shed thrice a day and besides that, there were surprise visits too ; and when she met with any hard words at home she repaired to these her dumb friends at unexpected hours ; they could, by some blind instinct, feel, as it were, the heart-ache of the girl from her sad, gentle looks of patient endurance and drawing closer to her they rubbed their horn against her arms and thus tried to solace her with a mute eargerness.

Besides these, there were a goat and a kitten ; but with them Subha's friendship was not on such a footing of equality ; yet they shewed enough of obedience to her. Day and night, in season and out of season, little pussy unhesitatingly

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availed herself of Subha's cosy warm lap with the purpose of indulging in a sweet nap, and shewed by signs, that her sleep would be much expedited if Subha would smooth her neck and back with her soft delicate fingers.

(3)

Subha managed to pick up another companion from among creatures belonging to a higher scale in creation; but the exact nature of the relation between them is rather difficult to ascertain, for he was a creature gifted with the power of speech and so they had between them, no common language.

He was Protap, the youngest scion of the Goswami family. He was a hopeless ne'er-do-well. After many efforts his parents had given up the hope that he would ever exert himself to better the condition of the family by some work or other. Worthless people have this advantage—that though their own kith and kin become disgusted with them, they become favourite with aliens, for being tied to nothing they become public property, so to say. As a few public parks not attached to dwelling-houses are necessary to a town, so a few men without occupation, who are a sort of public property, are absolutely necessary to a village. They always come handy whenever a hand falls short in a festivity or a ceremony.

Angling was Protap's main hobby. It easily killed a great deal of time. In the afternoon he was often found engaged in this occupation by the river-side, and on these occasions he often met Subha. In whatever work he might be engaged, Protap liked to have a companion; and a silent companion is the best during angling; hence Protap appreciated Subha's worth. For this reason, he called her Su with an extra dose of fondness, though everybody else called her Subha.

Subha sat under a tamarind tree, and near by, dropping the rod on the ground, Protap gazed at the water. He used to get regularly his daily allowance of *pan* from her, which she prepared with her own hands. And I suppose, sitting there for long hours, she looked and looked and desired to be of some help to Protap, to be of any service to him, and to intimate to him that even she was not an insignificant creature after all in the world. But she had absolutely nothing to do. Then she inwardly prayed to Heaven for some supernatural power and she wished to perform by the power of *mantras* some marvellous feat, at which Protap would be astonished and would say "Ah! who knew that our Subhi possessed such marvellous powers?"

Suppose, Subha were a water-nymph; slowly emerging from her watery bed, she would place a jewel of the serpent's crown on the *ghat*. Leaving his contemptible occupation of angling, Protap with the jewel in his hand would dive into the water, and lo! there in the nether regions, his eyes would light upon—whom? seated on a golden bedstead in the silver palace—that dumb girl Su of our Banikantha's house—our Su, the sole princess of that deep, silent, diamond-illumined Patala. Could it not be so? Was it so very impossible? No, nothing is impossible in reality. But still Su was born in the house of Banikantha instead of in the royal family of the deserted Patala and could, by no means, astonish Protap, a scion of the Goswami family.

Subha was growing fast. By degrees, she could, as it were, realise her own self. As if, on a certain full-moon night a flood-tide from an unknown sea was filling her innermost self with a new unutterable sense of life. She looked to herself, thought, questioned, and could not understand.

It was on a bright full-moon night that she opened the door of her bed-room and timidly peeped outside. Nature, too, on that moon-light-night sat like her waking, companionless, brooding over the sleeping world—she had reached, as it were, the utmost limit of the illimitable stillness—nay beyond that—and was shimmering with the mystery of her youth, with mirth and pensiveness, and could not utter a single syllable. On the verge of this silent craving Nature, stood a craving mute maiden.

Meanwhile the parents burdened with this marriageable daughter grew anxious. People, too, had begun to talk. Even a rumour that they would be excommunicated, was afloat.* Banikantha was in easy

* In Hindu Society, every girl must be married, and married before she reaches the age of puberty. Otherwise there is strong social odium.

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circumstances and had his two meals of rice and fish every day.*—So he had many enemies.

After much laying of their heads together, the parents came to a definite point. Banikantha went abroad for some days.

Returning at last, he said "Come, let us repair to Calcutta."

Preparations were forward for the journey. Like a misty morning, Subha's whole heart was enshrouded, as it were, in the mist of her tears. For some days, she, like a dumb animal, persistently followed her parents with a vague sense of some uncertain dread. With her large, wide eyes she looked to their face and tried to understand she knew not what; but they did not tell her aught by way of explanation.

Meanwhile, one afternoon while angling, Protap laughingly said "Hey, Su, has a bridegroom at last been found for you?—and you are going to be married! Look here, don't forget us!" After which he directed his attention towards his fishing-rod.

As a deer pierced to the heart looks towards the hunter and seems to say in silent speech "What had I done to you!" thus did Subha cast her glance at Protap. That day she sat no more under the tree. She came where Banikantha was pulling at his *hookah* in his bed-room, after his mid-day siesta, and sitting near his feet she began to weep with her eyes fixed upon him. At last while he tried to console her, tears began to steal down his withered cheeks.

The day after had been fixed for their trip to Calcutta. Subha went to the cow-shed to bid adieu to the companions of her childhood. She fed them with her own hands and with arms round their necks she looked at their faces with her eyes eloquent with all the words that she could pack into them—tears trickling down the eye-lashes.

It was the 12th night of the waxing moon. Subha came out of her bed-room and rolled on the grassy bed on the ever-familiar river-side, and clasping, as it were, this earth,—this mighty mute Mother of Mankind—with her two hands, she would fain tell her "Don't you let me go, mother. Clasp thou too with thy two hands and keep me back."

One day, in a hired house in Calcutta, Subha's mother dressed her in a superb style. She did her hair tightly with gold lace round her chiquon, covered her whole body with articles of jewellery and thus obliterated her natural beauty as much as she could. Tears flowed fast from Subha's eyes and her mother sharply reprimanded her fearing lest the swollen eyes would make her look ugly, but the tears brooked not these accents of reproof.

The bridegroom came in person with a friend of his to see the bride. The parents grew anxious, afraid and uneasy, as if some god had himself came down to choose the animal to be sacrificed at his altar. The mother doubly increased the girl's torrents of tears by her rebukes and reproaches administered from behind the scenes and sent her to the examiner.

After protracted scrutiny the examiner gave in his verdict "So, so."

Specially, from the girl's tears he came to infer that she possessed a *heart*; and he counted that the heart which now wept at the sad prospect of separation from her parents, might but tomorrow come to his own use. Her tears only increased her worth like the pearl in the oyster-shell and did not plead a word in her behalf.

After a consultation of the almanac the ceremony was performed on a very auspicious day.

The parents gave away their dumb daughter to a stranger and returned home—thus their caste was preserved and the life after ensured.

The bridegroom served in the N.-W. P.* and very soon after the wedding he took his wife there.

Within a week or so, all came to see that the new bride was dumb. None understood that she was not to blame for it. She had not deceived any one. Her big pair of eyes had told everything but none could understand it. She looked in all directions but could find no language. She did not see the faces familiar to her from her birth, that understood the mute's language;—a never-ceasing incommunicable cry of

* This is after all the standard of comfort in Bengal life.

* Now, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

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sorrow began to ring within the girl's ever-silent heart; none, save the Searcher of hearts did hear it.

This time her husband examined with both the senses of ear and eye and brought home a bride gifted with the power of speech.

ANATH NATH MITTER.

BANGABASI COLLEGE,
CALCUTTA.

FRUIT PRESERVING IN MUZAFFARPUR

THERE was a time in Bengal when it was considered degrading for any *bhadra-lok* or gentleman to engage in industrial pursuits. His highest ambition was to be a lawyer or a "Deputy" or a Doctor, and failing that, to have the comfortable post of a teacher or a clerk. These professions becoming overcrowded, and other openings being practically shut to him, there has been great difficulty for him in obtaining a living. If there is an advertisement for a clerk on Rs. 20 a month, hundreds of applications pour in with piteous tales of distress, but if it be for a skilled workman on Rs. 30 a month very few will be found to apply, and those who do apply will dictate their own terms. The difference in treatment on the part of employers is also very noticeable. In the case of workmen agreements are taken and care is taken to see that they are contented and stick to their posts, while in the case of clerks no such care is taken. There have even been cases of clerks being assaulted and pulled by the ear.

Since the impetus given to *swadeshi* and other things by the partition of Bengal, the aversion for industry has given place to an anxiety to do something to promote it, and it is now universally accepted that the only way out of the distressing situation, lies in the industrial regeneration of the country. Unfortunately the moneyed classes in Bengal, with a few honorable exceptions, have not joined the movement, and continue their investments in land and Government promissory notes, and much of the *swadeshi* business of the country is suffering from want of financial support.

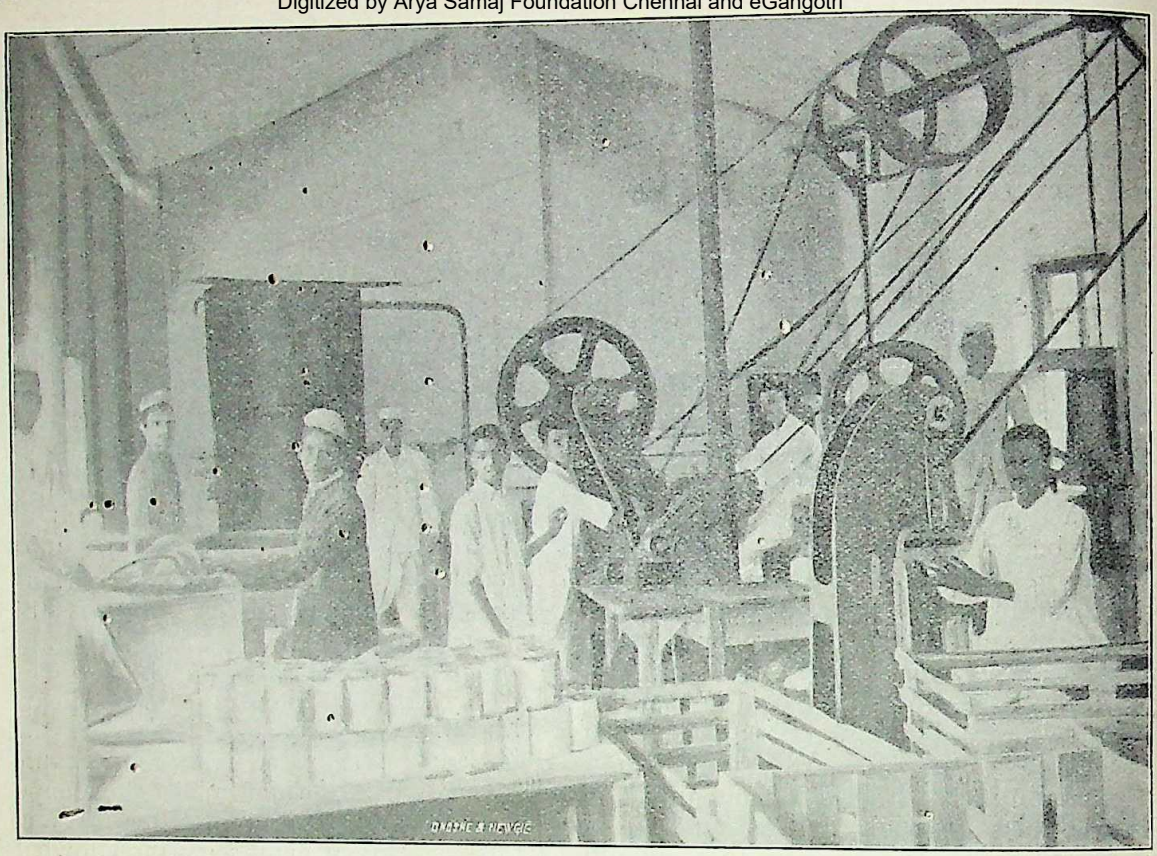
In such a state of things it is very gratifying to find any new and promising industry being undertaken by men of education and position. Mr. Basanti Charan Sinha, M.A., a vakil of the High Court practising in the District Court of Muzaffarpur, and enjoying a good reputation in the bar, has been a genuine and quiet worker for *swadeshi*. His admirable earnestness in everything he takes up coupled with his high character, commands the respect of all who know him. Last year Mr. Sinha in communication with Mr. A. B. Sircar, who was then studying Fruit Chemistry in the Stanford University, California, made some experiments in canning the Tirhut mangoes and lichis and his general scientific knowledge (Mr. Sinha is an M.A. in science) helped him materially to carry out the experiments successfully. The preserves were highly spoken of by European gentlemen, and Mr. Maude, the Commissioner of the Patna Division, in his opening speech at the Behar Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition held at Bankipur in February last, spoke of "* * * canned fruit exported from Muzaffarpur, possibly in the near future to places all over the world." He was awarded medals at the Bankipur and Dhubri Exhibitions.

No doubt the preservation of fruits in sugar is an ancient industry in India, but in the process employed and the excessive amount of sugar used, the fruits lose their flavour and do not last long. While the fruits preserved by the modern scientific method, retain their flavour so well, that it is often difficult to say that one is not having the taste of the fresh fruit. Some fruits, such as the pine-apple, improve in flavour in canning. Of course the fruits will last as long as the tin will last.

Muzaffarpur is famous for its mangoes and lichis, and with such good raw material

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CAN MAKING DEPARTMENT.

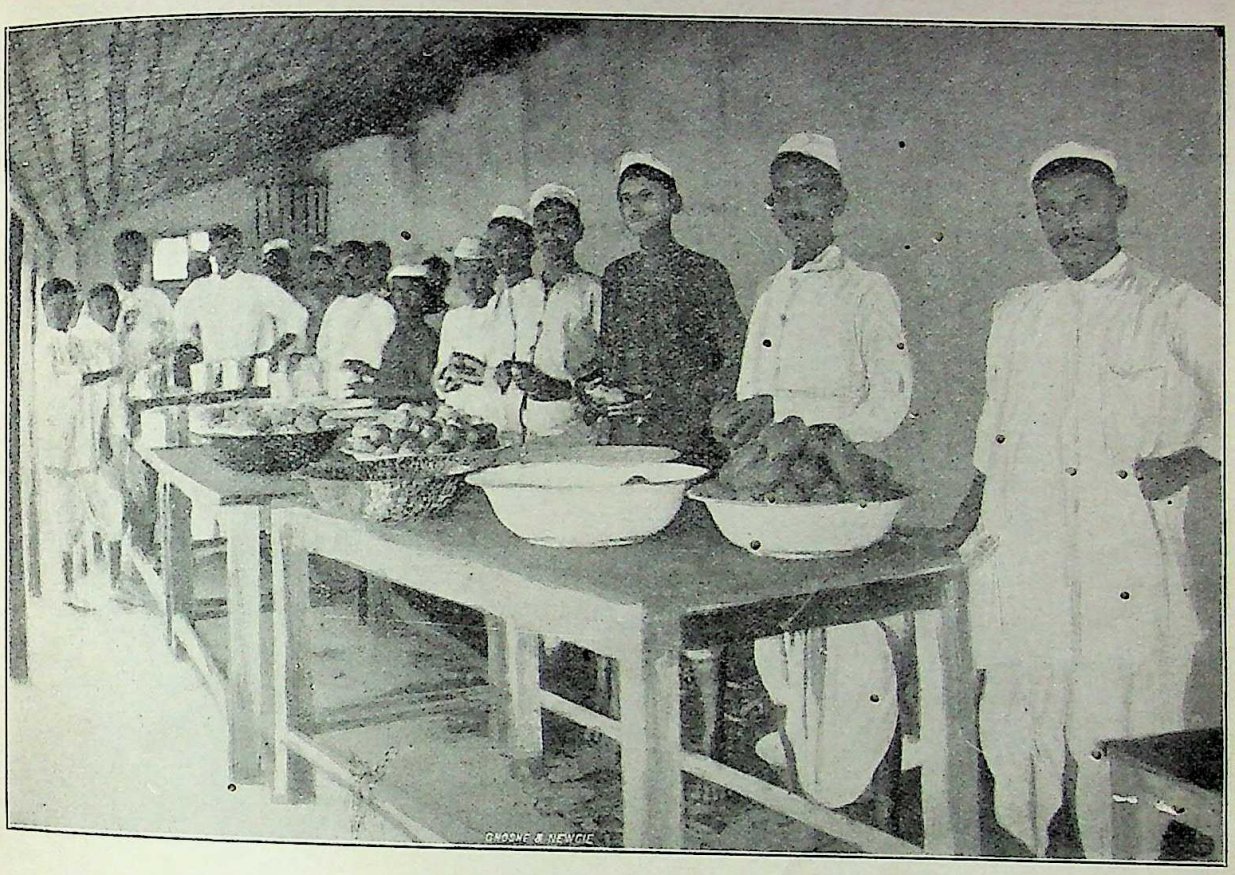
at hand, there is a good prospect of success in conducting fruit canning operations on a business scale. This year the Bengal Preserving Company was formed by Mr. Sinha, Mr. A. B. Sircar being the Director and one of the partners. After finishing his special course in Fruit Chemistry, Mr. Sircar studied Bacteriology, obtained his Diploma and was made a Member of the American Chemical Society. He worked for months in some of the canneries of California and Oregon to acquire a thorough practical experience in fruit canning, and thus equipped he arrived home in April last, to conduct personally the canning operations of the Company.

In the United States of America, where canning is done on a large scale, the canners buy their cans from manufacturers of tin-ware. Suitable cans not being available in this country, the company had to indent, from America, can-making machines selected by Mr. Sircar. Mr. Sinha put some high-caste young men to the work and they acquitted themselves very well at the machines. The young men were intended for exercising supervision, but they were trained in all the different kinds of work including working the machines. And it was well that they were so trained. When one day through carelessness one of the workmen injured his fingers in a machine, none of the others would take his place, till one of the young gentlemen worked the machine for some time. There is reason to believe that if high caste people take to industrial work in right earnest, they bring to bear upon it an amount of moral force which is ordinarily wanting in the masses, from whom usually our supply of workmen is drawn.

The tin cans made in the factory are exactly like those we get from America, and they seem to be very well-made. One heavy press cuts the ends and caps of the cans, and there are shearing, body-forming, horning and crimping machines all driven by an engine, and it is very interesting to see them working. The soldering is also done with machines, and lastly the

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PEELING MANGOES.

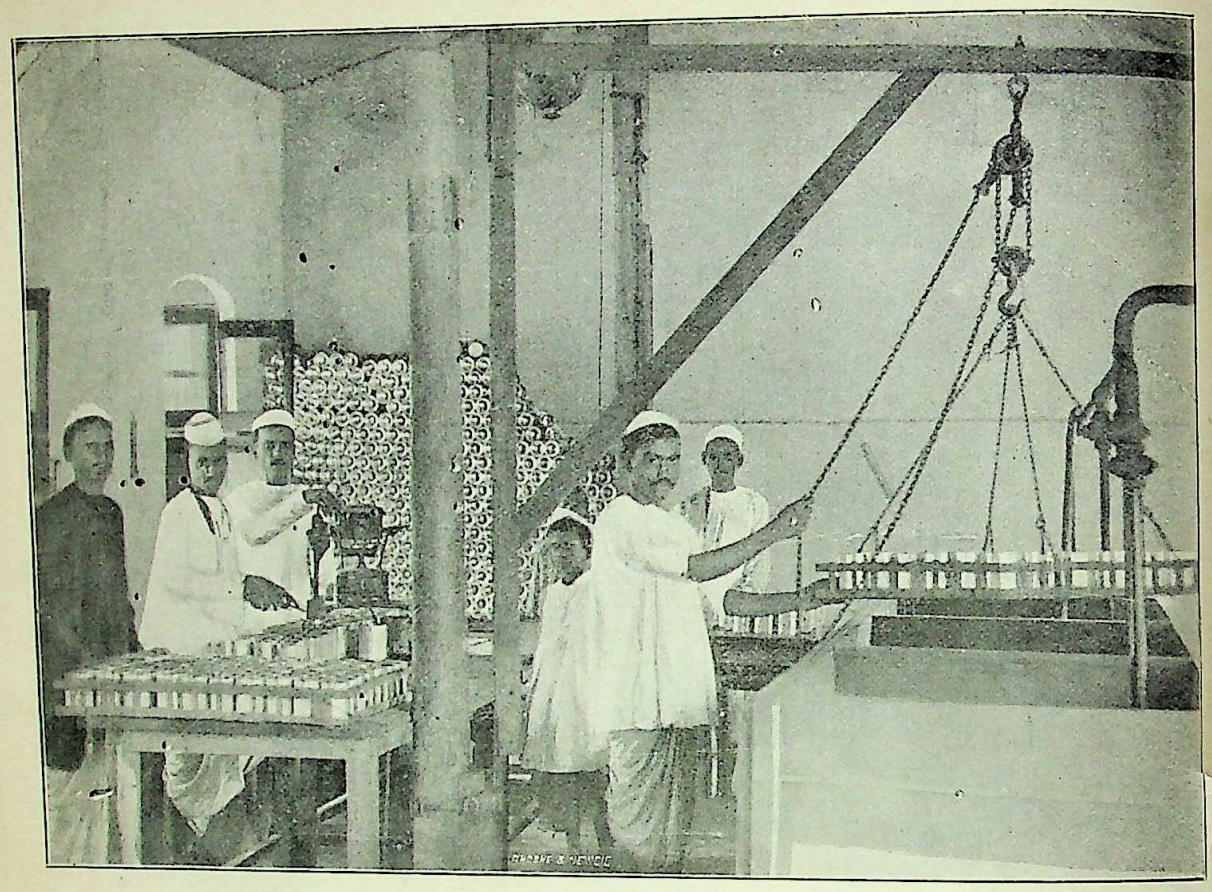
testing machine shows if the can has been made air-tight.

Then come the operations of canning. Mangoes are carefully pared, and stones taken out. Lichis are only peeled. Over-ripe, bruised, or otherwise unfit fruits are rejected. The fruits are put in the cans, which are then weighed and filled with syrup. Then the cap is soldered on to the opening of the can with a capping steel, leaving a vent-hole in the middle for driving out the air inside the can. Steam from a boiler is passed into water in a large wooden vat, and the cans are placed in the boiling water in crates suspended from a crane. This is called exhausting. After the air has been driven out, the vent-hole is soldered up and again the cans are put in the boiling water, and this operation is called processing. After a certain time the cans are taken out and placed in the cooling vat. This completes the process of preservation, and it is rather scientific and technical in detail. Some of the fruit cans are put in an incubator, and the fruit is examined with a microscope to see if it is free from bacteria.

Fruits suitable for preservation not being available, the factory was closed in the beginn ng of August. The number of workmen employed by the company was more than 80 per day. In working with machinery the company have gained valuable experience this year, and they expect to increase their outturn in future, when the number of workmen will be several hundreds. The company had no difficulty in finding men for their works, as the wages paid were very good, and much higher than the wages prevailing in the locality. Mr. Sircar is of opinion that with such training as they had, the men acquitted themselves very well, and the quality of their work under good supervision did not suffer in comparison with similar work done in America.

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EXHAUSTING AND PROCESSING DEPARTMENT.

The Company have in view other industries and the employment of young men in them. It is to be hoped that their efforts will be crowned with success for the good of the country.

MUZAFFARPUR. PRAN KUMAR ROY, B.L.

EDUCATION IN JAPAN

I.

THIS paper on education in Japan is based on the reports of the Japanese Government Department of Education exhibited in the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition, London (1910), and on the article in the special Japanese e'ition of the "London Times" of the 19th of July, 1910.

I.—GENERAL.

Development of Japanese Education:—

Japanese civilization finds its source in remote antiquity. In 270 A.D., the Tripartite Kingdom (Corea) presented to our Imperial Court the Chinese classics, which opened the gates for the inflow of the Chinese and Hindoo civilizations. This gave rise to a unique development of educational culture. In the reign of Mommn Tenno, 701 A.D., an "Ordinance relating to Education" was issued, and an impetus was given to education, by the establishment of universities and national schools. It must be remembered that the foundation of these institutions antedated the "Educational Ordinance" of Charlemagne, by a hundred years or more, Oxford University by one hundred and seventy one years, and St. Peter's College, the first at Cambridge, by five hundred and fifty-six years.

But the existing system of education, with its universities and public schools, has been developed

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for the most part during the reign of the present Emperor. In 1868, the Tokugawa Shogunate, which had been founded in the early part of the seventeenth century, was ended, and with the Restoration, the new era of Meiji—the "Enlightened Reign"—began. The question of education soon engaged the attention of His Imperial Majesty. In 1869, an ordinance relating to universities, middle, and elementary schools was issued, and in 1871 the Department of Education was established, for the control and supervision of all educational matters throughout the empire.

The object aimed at by the State may be gathered from the imperial instruction issued in 1872 to the effect that—

Education was essential for all persons, and that whereas in the past, learning had often been looked upon as a means of securing official position, *henceforward the whole population of the country, regardless of classes, must be educated, so that no village should contain a house devoid of learning, nor any house contain an illiterate inmate.*

Writing in the London *Times* Baron Dairoku Kikuchi, President of the Imperial Kyoto University, remarks that "education is regarded as one of the most important function of the State."

The readers will thus note that the whole of the existing educational system in Japan has developed within the last 50 years. The progress as reported below is remarkable.

The school system :—

The Japanese school system, like that of other civilized countries, is of three kinds, *viz.*, general education, special education, and technical education. In the wide sense of the term, special education includes technical education, but as the education which prepares farmers, mechanics or merchants has many points which are peculiar to itself for the sake of distinction, it has been placed in a separate category. Each kind of education is divided, according to grade, into primary, secondary, and higher education.

General education aims at giving the knowledge and training essential to everybody. It does not pretend to prepare pupils for any particular occupation.

II.—Primary Education.

The schools of primary grade which impart this general education are called elementary schools. It is intended that to these schools all the children of the nation, irrespective of position or difference of circumstances, should resort, in order to obtain the knowledge and training essential for everyday life. In this particular, the system of education resembles that of the United States of America, rather than those of European countries.

Baron Kikuchi sums up the whole question of Elementary Education in Japan in the following few sentences, which we cull from the "London Times" :—

At the base of the whole educational system lies the Elementary School. Below this there is the kindergarten, to which children may be admitted at the age of three until they become of the school age; but the kindergarten cannot be regarded as forming a part of the national educational system.

The object of elementary education is defined in the first article of the Imperial Ordinance on Elementary Schools as follows :—"Elementary schools are designed to give to children the rudiments of moral education and of civic education, together with such general knowledge and skill as are necessary for life, while due attention is paid to the bodily development."

Elementary schools are divided into ordinary and higher schools, the two being, however, often combined in one school building. *The ordinary elementary school course extends over six years and is obligatory on every child, who must enter it at the beginning of first school year after it has completed its sixth year of age.* Every local community is bound to make necessary provisions *for the free education of every child within its jurisdiction, and to see that parents send their children to school.* Exemptions from compulsory attendance can be granted by the headman of a local community on grounds of physical disability, absolute poverty of parents, &c. The higher elementary school course may extend over either two or three years, at the option of the local authorities. A small tuition fee may be charged.

We have italicised some words in this quotation. The Elementary Schools impart an education which aims at the intellectual, moral and bodily development of children in such wise as to fit them for their place in society as members of the nation.

Schools and scholars according to the figures for the 40th statistical year of Meiji reign :—

The number of elementary schools in 1907-08 was 27,125, with an enrolment of 5,713,698 children; out of this number the average daily attendance was 5, 276,113, giving 92 per cent. of attendances. The percentage of children enrolled out of the total number of children under obligation to attend was :—

	1893.	1903.	1906.	1907.
Boys	74·8	96·6	98·2	98·5
Girls	40·6	89·6	94·8	96·1
Average ...	58·7	93·2	96·3	97·4

In 1907 there were 69 normal schools, with 12,296 male and 4,412 female pupils.

The courses of instruction in the ordinary elementary school are :—Morals, Japanese Language, Arithmetic, Japanese History, Geography, Science, Drawing, Singing, Gymnastics, Sewing and Manual Work. Japanese History, Geography and Science only commence in the 5th School year and sewing in the 3rd. The reader will observe that in these schools no foreign language is taught and that lessons in singing and drawing are given from the very first school

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year. In the Higher Elementary Schools, agriculture, commerce and English language are added to the subjects of instructions mentioned above.

School attendance: The period of schooling begins on the next day after the child reaches the 6th year of its age and expires when it reaches its 14th year. The method of enforcing attendance is typically oriental.

The Mayor or headman has to make an investigation concerning the children living in his city, town or village who will reach the beginning of the school attendance period by the month of April of the following year, and he has to make a list of them by the end of the year; where the school year begins in September he must have ready by the end of June his register of children who will reach the beginning of their school period in September. The guardians of such children are then notified beforehand of the day on which they must send their children to school. The names of such children, and the day on which they should enter the school, are communicated to the school director concerned, who prepares a school register in which to enrol the names of those children entering school at the beginning of the school year, while an attendance register is also made, in which the daily attendance of the children at school is recorded. When any of those children whose names have been given by the headman do not enter the school within seven days after the day appointed for their entrance, the school makes a report thereupon to the headman in charge. When children belonging to the school absent themselves for seven consecutive days without good reason, their guardians must at once be notified thereof, and be instructed to make the children attend. In case their absence continues for another successive seven days, the headman in charge must be notified thereof. On receipt of such notification, the headman impresses upon the guardian the necessity of making the children enter the school or attend regularly. When such a pressing intimation is given for the second time and still no notice is taken of their neglect to enter or attend the school, the matter is reported to the superintending authorities. On receipt of such report, the district headman *(Guncho)* on behalf of the town, or village headman, or the local governor on behalf of the mayor, makes a fresh pressing demand that the children shall be compelled to enter or attend school.

Fees:—As a rule no fees are charged in ordinary Elementary schools. The number of schools in which tuition fee had not been *entirely* abolished by the end of 1907-08 *was not more than 4 per cent. of the entire number of such schools.* Sir Lewis Dane, Lieutenant Governor, Punjab, who, the other day, read a sermon to the manager of the Sardar Dyal Singh College, Lahore, deprecating in a way the step they had taken to remit fees in the Primary Department of their school, may note and digest the fact.

Popular control of Elimentary Education:—

In the discharge of school business belonging to the public corporation, as well as that of the state by the mayors or headmen, their special auxiliary agent is the educational committee. This committee must have among the members male teachers of the city, town, or village elementary schools. The duties of the committee consist of assisting the mayors, the city council, headmen of towns or villages, heads of schools union, and urban district headmen or their substitutes, and in stating their views in reply to inquiries on matters relating to school attendance, school equipments, estimates of current expenses, tuition fees, stock fund, adjustment of the courses of instruction, number of school years, establishment or abolition of supplementary courses, &c.

School discipline:—

The school discipline is intended to be a means of instilling into the minds of the children the principles of good conduct and this by example and practice. The methods employed are various; such as, making a school have its own set precepts, its school song and school flag and school uniform (regulation dress and regulation cap), making children clean the school room and perform other work in such a way as to foster in them a spirit of labour and diligence. To form in children the habit of economy a limit is put to their school expenses. The children are allowed to elect from amongst themselves the head of each class or group. Sometimes all the children are gathered in one hall to listen to some lecture in a popular and easy style. The children are also required to tend the plants and flowers in the school garden, etc.

Medical examination of pupils:—

A school physician should attend the school once at least every month more especially at the beginning and end of the school year, and should inspect into and see whether or not the school rooms are well ventilated, whether the light is properly admitted, whether the desks and benches are suitable, whether the distance between the desks and the black-board, the condition of the fire-places, the temperature of the rooms, and matters connected with the books, charts and black-board are perfectly satisfactory, looked at from the sanitary standpoint; whether the cleaning of the school is properly executed, whether the drinking water is good, &c. When he sees any of the children ill, he should give notice thereof to the director and tell him how to take care of such children, according to the nature of the illness. He should examine the physique of the children, and should carry out proper measures for the prevention of epidemic diseases as also for disinfection.

III.—Secondary Education.

Middle Schools:—Next to the Elementary Schools come the Middle Schools.

At present there is but one kind of middle school for the purpose of imparting a higher general education and serving at the same time as a stepping-stone toward the attainment of a still higher education. Equal attention is paid to literary culture and to the

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practical studies, while care is taken not to go too far in the direction of a strict mechanical uniformity. Although rules have been made regarding the standard courses of study and the principal points to be noted in teaching, the introduction of more or less alteration or modification is permitted to each school and some subjects, as for instance, law and economics, and singing, may be omitted entirely, and the hours alloted to them may be appropriated to other studies. In the supplementary course the inclusion is permitted, as optional studies, of such subject as are connected with the industry of the locality.

In the matter of admission to these schools no distinction is made.

Secondary education being directly connected with compulsory education, it is made a fundamental principle not to admit anybody, regardless of distinctions of rank or position, unless he has passed through the ordinary elementary school course of six years, or is in possession of attainments equivalent thereto; and when the number of applicants is in excess of the number required, the choice of students is determined by comparative excellence of character and scholarship.

The subjects taught in these Middle Schools include Morals, Japanese Language and Chinese Classics, Foreign Languages, History, Geography, Mathematics, Natural History, Physics and Chemistry, Law and Economics, Drawing, Singing and Gymnastics. The foreign language taught in these schools is English, German or French. Much importance is attached, says the official reporter, to the Japanese language in which lies the foundation of the national sentiment, and to the classical Chinese, which having furnished the beginnings of the Japanese enlightenment is closely connected with the thought of the nation. At the same time the importance of the modern foreign languages and mathematical and physical sciences is duly recognised and never allowed to be lost sight of.

The object of training:—

The object of training combined with discipline lies in the realization of the principles of the middle school education, which concerns itself little with the amount of knowledge imparted as compared with bringing into exercise what small amount of knowledge has been already acquired, so as to cultivate a habit of reflection and sound judgment. In art studies, the object aimed at is that all the students should be given practice, not too much time being given to mere discourse, or lecturing on the part of the teacher; and a restriction is placed on the mere exercise of mechanical memory by the pupils, proper scope being given for the expression of thought in their own language, so that they may state their own individual views from their own special stand-point. Much importance is, therefore, attached to the fostering of the power of observation, not a mere superficial observation, but a seeing into the internal relation of all those parts which together form the whole.

History teaching:—

And as regards history the following directions are given:—"In teaching history it shall be the chief aim to make clear the peculiar points in our national constitution by showing the pupils whence come all the social changes, the decline and prosperity of a state—especially with reference to the process of development in our country."

Physical culture:—

Physical culture is given not solely with the object of strengthening the bodily frame of the pupils, but also with the aim of preventing them from falling into inactive and idle habits. With this aim in view encouragement is now given in most schools to such exercises. In training, too, the hours for gymnastics were increased in the 19th year of Meiji (1886); and in addition to common gymnastics, military drills were made a part of the regular lessons, by which means it was hoped that a martial spirit would be aroused and bodily growth be promoted, while habits of order and discipline were being fostered. Then, as extra exercises, on the one hand, such games and sports were adopted as are in vogue in Europe and America, while, on the other hand, the military arts of old Japan were added. In this way a thorough disciplinary training was established. Judo (the art of self-defence) and Kendo (fencing), military exercises of our *samurai* from the most ancient times in Japan, in particular, were encouraged, not merely as an accomplishment but as a help towards maintaining the national spirits, these exercises having had much to do with the development of *bushido* (Japanese chivalry). Our present day middle schools teach these exercises as optional subjects; while in some schools regular lessons are given in either one or the other of these exercises. Swimming, too, is encouraged and taught as a good summer exercise.

Connection between home and school:—
A constant communication is kept up between the home and the school in regard to the state of progress of each pupil. Says Baron Kikuchi in the "Times":—

In Japan co-education stops at the elementary stage; in secondary and higher education boys and girls are taught in separate schools. A boy or a girl who is to receive higher education ceases the elementary stage of education at the end of the six years' elementary school course and enters a secondary school, which is a "middle school" in the case of boys, and for girls the "girls' high school." A middle school course is of five years' duration.

The figures at the end of 1907—08 were as follows:—

	No. of schools.	No. of pupils.
Middle schools	285	110,876
Girls' high schools	132	39,917
Higher normal schools (for men)	2	975
Higher normal school (for women)	1	365

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IV. Higher Education.

We have taken the following from Baron Kikuchi's account of the higher education as published in the "London Times."

Boys who desire to enter Imperial Universities must after leaving the middle schools attend a "higher school," where they have to take a three years' course preparatory for the University; thus a student is necessarily over 20 years of age when he enters an Imperial University. There are at present eight higher schools admitting about 2,000 pupils annually; but as there are each year about 9,000 candidates for admission into those higher schools, there is a competitive examination for entrance, so that the Imperial Universities obtain a number of highly qualified students.

There are two Imperial Universities, one in Tokyo and one in Kyoto, besides two more in course of organization, the one in the north-east, having its centre in Sendai, and the other in the south-west, in the island of Kyushu, having its centre in Fukuoka. There are six "colleges" or faculties in the Imperial University of Tokyo—*viz.*, colleges of law (having courses in law, economics, and commerce); of medicine (having courses in medicine and pharmacy); of engineering (having courses in civil engineering, mechanical engineering, marine engineering, naval architecture, technology of weapons, electrical engineering, architecture, applied chemistry, technology of explosives, and mining and metallurgy); of literature (having courses in philosophy, history, and literature); of science (having courses in mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, geology, and mineralogy); and of agriculture (having courses in agriculture, agricultural chemistry, forestry, and veterinary surgery).

In Kyoto there are four "colleges," science and engineering being taught in one college, besides the medical college in Fukuoka, which is to be a part of the south-western University, but is at present affiliated to this University, while the course in agriculture is as yet wanting. Courses in law and medical colleges are of four years' duration, in others they extend over three years, so that students are over 24 and 23 years of age respectively at the time of graduation. Students may after graduation remain and prosecute post-graduate studies in the University. There are 182 chairs in Tokyo and 130 chairs in Kyoto, although they are not all actually filled at present by full professors. Assistant professors and lecturers are appointed to occupy some of them temporarily.

Special Colleges.

Those who do not wish to go on to Imperial Universities or who cannot do so for want of means or ability may enter "special colleges" or "technical special colleges." Special colleges are colleges of law, medicine, pharmacy, literature, and languages, history and philosophy, theology, fine arts, music, &c., where many of the subjects are the same as in "colleges" of Imperial Universities, but necessarily of a lower grade for the students come directly from secondary schools, and are consequently not so well prepared. So-called private "universities" belong to this category; they have often preparatory courses of their own, but students when admitted are generally not equal in capacity to those of Imperial Universities, being mostly those who are unable to enter the higher schools.

The number of Graduates;—

The number of students who have graduated from the Imperial Universities is already over ten thousand. These persons, in following various professions and occupations, have been putting what they learned into practice, and have thus contributed much towards the progress and development of the Japanese nation.

The following table gives the number of the graduates of the Imperial Universities, as ascertained in March in the 42nd year of Meiji (1909).

Number of Graduates of the Imperial Universities.

University.	Colleges. College of Law.	College of Medicine.	College of Engineering.	College of Literature.	College of Science.	College of Science and Engineering.	College of Agriculture.	Total.
Tokyo Imperial University.	2,638	1,528	2,057	1,168	523	—	748	8,662
Kyoto Imperial University.	564	522	—	—	—	537	—	1,623
Tohoku Imperial University.	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	26
Total.	3,202	2,050	2,057	1,168	523	537	774	10,311

V.—Technical Education.

A great deal of attention has lately been paid to technical education, by which we mean chiefly education in technology (engineering), commerce, and agriculture. Technical schools are of several grades; thus we have a course in commerce in the law college, and course in various branches of engineering and agriculture in respective colleges of the imperial University of Tokyo, while there are courses in engineering in the science and engineering college of the University of Kyoto. Below this we have "technical special colleges," into which students are admitted directly

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on graduation from middle schools; such are the technological colleges of Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, and Kumamoto, the agricultural colleges of Morioka and Kyushu, the commercial colleges of Tokyo, Kobe, Nagasaki, Otaru, &c. All of these are central government institutions, having a course of three to four years, and there are likewise a few colleges maintained by local communities and by private endowment.

Technical Schools—Classes A and B.

Besides these, which belong to the higher education grade, there are technical schools of secondary grade, with a course of three to four years, to which pupils are admitted from higher elementary schools or from the second year of middle and girls' high schools; these institutions are called technical schools of Class A. Below these, again, there are technical schools of the Class B. to which children are admitted on completion of the ordinary elementary school course. Besides those there are also technical supplementary schools (continuation schools, night schools, &c.) for those who cannot attend regular schools.

Before the war with China, in 1894-95, there were but few special technical schools in Japan; but since then there has been a great demand for the services of intelligent young men possessed of higher technical education, owing to the sudden increase of all kinds of undertakings. The government has, accordingly, paid great attention to the question of an increase in the number of schools of this kind, and in the 36th year of Meiji (1903) issued a Special School Ordinance placing all schools of this kind under control of the regulations contained in this ordinance.

Since the war with Russia, in 1904-5, there have been such developments in our industrial world that the demand for the service of intelligent young men has become even still more pressing, and the number of special technical schools has increased accordingly.

The number of special technical schools and technical schools now in existence is as follows:—

Special Technical Schools.

Technical schools—9 (of which 2 are not yet opened)	
Agricultural schools—3 (of which 1 is not yet opened).	
Commercial schools—6 (of which 1 is not yet opened).	
Total	18.

Technical Schools of Secondary Grade.

Technical schools	32
Agricultural schools	78
Commercial schools	61
Nautical schools	11
Marine products schools	9
Total ...	190

Technical Schools of Primary Grade.

Apprentices' schools	76
Agricultural schools	92
Commercial schools	17
Marine products schools	6
Those in which two or more than two distinct courses—as for instance: commerce and agriculture, or industry and commerce—are established.	10
Total ...	201

Supplementary Technical schools.

Technical schools	227
Agricultural schools	4,407
Commercial schools	190
Marine products schools	94
Total ...	4,908

Object and Courses of Study.

The object of the higher technical schools is to give those intending to engage in agricultural, technical, and commercial pursuits, a more advanced knowledge of arts and sciences. The subjects taught in these schools are as follows:—

In the special agricultural schools:—agriculture, forestry, and veterinary medicine; in the special technical schools:—mechanics, dyeing, weaving, ceramics, applied chemistry, electricity, marine engineering, naval architecture, architecture, civil engineering, mining and metallurgy, designing, and brewing; in the special commercial schools:—practice in all matters connected with commercial undertakings.

The special technical schools, classified according to the subjects taught, are as follows:—

Dyeing	3
Weaving	3
Ceramics	2
Applied chemistry	2
Mechanics	5
Electrical mechanics	1
Electrical chemistry	1
Electricity	2
Marine engineering	1
Naval architecture	1
Architecture	3
Civil engineering	2
Mining and metallurgy	3
Designing	2
Brewing	1
Commerce	5
Agriculture	2
Forestry	2
Veterinary medicine	1

As regards schools of marine products, there is not yet one.

The total number of the students in the special technical schools is 5337 of whom 272 are foreigners. Among these latter the Chinese and Koreans are by far the numerous. Then there are technical schools of secondary grade which aim at giving education to those intending to engage in business.

The different kinds of this class of school are:—Technical schools, agricultural schools, schools of sericulture, schools of forestry, schools of veterinary medicine, marine products schools, commercial schools and nautical schools.

The subjects taught in the regular course are morals, Japanese, mathematics, physics, chemistry, drawing, and gymnastics, in addition to the subjects belonging to the respective technical courses of study and practice. Beside these, other subjects may be added according to the circumstances of the locality. The subjects taught in the preparatory course are morals, Japanese,

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arithmetics, geography, history, science, drawing, and gymnastics. English may be added.

Distinguished according to their different courses of study, these schools are as follows :—

TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

Civil engineering	1
Wood work	13
Metal work	4
Mechanics	17
Mining	2
Naval architecture	1
Dyeing and weaving	19
Lacquer work	5
Ceramics	5
Applied chemistry	3
Industrial fine art	1
Painting and designing	11
Embroidery, artificial flower making, and sewing	5

AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS.

Agriculture	50
Veterinary medicine	8
Sericulture	14
Forestry	6
Agriculture and forestry	14
Zootechny	3

MARINE PRODUCTS SCHOOLS.

Marine products	8

COMMERCIAL SCHOOLS.

Commerce	14

NAUTICAL SCHOOLS.

Navigation	9
Engineering	7

STUDENTS.

There are at present 34,675 students in these schools. Classified by the kind of school, there are 4,957 in technical schools, 10,509 in agricultural schools, 16,803 in commercial schools, 1,826 in nautical schools, and 580 in marine products schools.

The number admitted in the 41st year of Meiji (1908), was 14,127; classified by the kind of school the students are as follows :—

	Number admitted.
Technical schools	2,158
Agricultural schools	4,684
Commercial schools	6,539
Nautical schools	457
Marine products schools	289

GRADUATES.

The present position of those who graduated at these schools in the 40th year of Meiji (1907) is shown in the following table :—

	Technical schools.	Agricultural schools.	Commercial schools.	Nautical schools.	Marine products schools.
Engaged in business	411	987	1,340	70	70
Entered other schools	65	76	205	...	10
Engaged in teaching	30	254	20	...	12
Government officials	133	412	56	...	4
In the army or navy	5	55	55	...	2
Died	1	4	8	...	...
Condition unknown	109	271	213	4	28
TOTAL	754	2,059	1,897	74	126

EQUIPMENT.

Technical schools of secondary grade, like the special technical schools, have attached to them workshops, or school farms and forests adapted to the standard of the school, where the students receive practical lessons. Implements, machines, and other requisites are provided, practice and theory being thus busily taught at the same time.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION OF A SPECIAL KIND (PRIMARY GRADE.)

The title "Technical Education of a Special Kind" is not officially recognized; but a technical school of primary grade may be establisded in some way appropriate to local conditions. The qualifications for admission and the standard of the courses of study are very different in different schools, and all these schools are accordingly grouped, for purposes of descriptions, under the head of Technical Education of a Special Kind, apprentices' schools being also brought, for the sake of convenience, under this head.

OBJECT AND COURSES OF STUDY.

The object of the apprentices' schools is to instruct those intending to become workmen, in arts and sciences so as to fit them for the adequate performance of their work, while the object of the technical school of a special kind is to impart to those intending to engage in business the knowledge of arts and sciences needed for their various callings.

The subjects taught in the apprentices' schools are morals, drawing, mathematics, general science, Japanese, and gymnastics, in addition to those subjects which are directly connected with their occupations and practical work; but other subjects required by local circumstances may be added, while, on the other hand, any subject save morals and those bearing directly on occupations, may be dropped or made optional.

These schools of a special kind, classified according to the subjects bearing directly on occupations, are as follows :—

Wood work	18
Metal work	5
Mechanics	1
Dyeing and weaving	35
Lacquer work	14
Ceramics	2
Paper making	1
Bamboo work and printing	4
Embroidery work, artificial flower making, and sewing	39

The subjects of study in the technical school of primary grade are morals, Japanese, mathematics, general science, and gymnastics, in addition to those subjects, which have a direct relation to occupations, and practical work. Other subjects, made desirable by local circumstances, may be added, and, on the other hand, any subjects except morals and those having a direct relation to occupations, may be dropped.

These schools, classified according to subjects having a direct relation to occupations, are as follows :—

Agriculture	75
Sericulture	10
Agriculture and forestry	16
Marine products	8

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Commerce	19
Industrial arts	4

Students.

The total number of the students in these schools is 15,975, of whom 5,448 belong to apprentices' schools, and the remaining 10,527 to technical schools of primary grade. The number admitted to these schools in the 41st year of Meiji (1908) was 10,250; classified by the kinds of school, they are as follows :—

Apprentices' schools	3,532.
Technical schools of a special kind	6,717.

Graduates.

The present position of those who graduated from these schools in the 40th year of Meiji (1907) is as follows :—

	Apprentices' Schools.	Technical Schools of a Special Kind.
Engaged in business ...	266	1,018
Entered other schools ...	65	311
Engaged in teaching ...	57	13.
Government officials ...	15	8
Died	1	...
Others	109	166
Total ...	513	1,516

Equipment.

The equipment of these schools is the same as that of the technical schools of secondary grade, but of a more restricted kind.

V.—Technical Supplementary Education.

Object and length of course.

The object of supplementary technical schools is to furnish persons engaged, or about to be engaged, in various branches of business, with the knowledge and skill essential to their respective occupations, and at the same time to give supplementary lessons in general education; in other words, the technical subjects are the soul and centre of the instruction, while supplementary lessons in general education are given at the same time. To accomplish these two aims at one and the same time is the chief object of the supplementary technical schools, and they differ in this point from other schools in which either a general education or a technical one is given.

The length of the courses and school periods are not fixed by any regulations, and these may thus be determined by local conditions or by consideration of the time most convenient for the taking of lessons by the students. There are consequently some schools which are open in the day-time, before or after the elementary school hours. Others are open in the evening, and there are others still which are only open during the winter months. Furthermore, there are some in which the lessons are given on Sundays and other recognized holidays.

The length of the school course, again, is different in the different courses or even for different subjects in the same course, but in some schools the length of school year is fixed. In a word, in the organization of these schools, the variations are numerous.

The total number of the students in supplementary schools is at present 192,148 and the number of graduates is 38,617, most of whom are engaged in business at their respective homes. The reader must have noticed what an extensive and ample provision for technical education has been made by the Japanese National Government for their people. This accounts for their predominance both in peace and war.

VI.—Female Education.

Of greater interest to us Indians than male education is the development of female education in Japan. The following remarks as to the history of female education in Japan will, we are sure, be read with great interest throughout India.

The education of women in Japan is of ancient origin. From the earliest period of her history there have been many women of talent and accomplishment who left immortal works behind them. But female education in general consisting chiefly of the fostering of feminine virtues, such as gentleness, chastity, &c., together with the teaching of domestic management, and no specific educational agency like that for males being established, with woman everything was done at home, so that female education, it must be confessed, came very far behind, as compared with that provided for males.

In the antique period the social status of women was very high; but after A. D. 284 (944 of the Japanese era) when Chinese letters and learning were brought over to Japan, women, under the influence of Chinese ideas, were placed on a lower level than men, and, taught to obey, they attended chiefly the domestic duties at home. *As far back as A. D. 552 (1212 of the Japanese era), Buddhism was introduced. This religion looks down upon women as subordinate beings deeply immersed in sin.* Thus, by the two influences of Chinese Confucianism and Indian Buddhism, women were reduced to a condition of subjection. Not only were they degraded in social status, but they were humiliated in spirit. Furthermore, it being thought that learning would be detrimental to feminine virtue, women were taught only such things as domestic management, etiquette, manual work, &c., so that in spite of the general advance of enlightenment, female education remained inconsiderable and made little progress until the beginning of the seventeenth century of the Christian era. Although during the Hei-an Period (about the tenth century) female education among the upper classes flourished for a time, and the period was distinguished by the appearance of many female genius of undying fame, this was quite an exceptional state of things. In the Kamakura Period (about the 12th century) there began to appear what might be termed "female *bushido*" (the way of brave woman). According to this a woman once married should lay down her life rather than allow her chastity to be infringed upon. This was considered the chief point of feminine virtue. A practical education for the needs of everyday

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life was held in esteem—a distinguished feature of this age that should be carefully noted.

Consequently in the Yedo Period (17th century) secular education attained a climax, and advocates for female education appeared in large numbers. It then became the general fashion throughout the upper and lower classes in general to make girls learn reading, composition, penmanship, &c., in addition to household management, manual crafts, &c., with the addition in some cases, of female etiquette, music, incense-burning, flower-arrangement, tea ceremony, &c. However, the education of those days consisted principally of moral culture, so that many books of precepts for women appeared, of which the most widely known was that which is handed down to us as written by Kaibara Ekiken, a leading light among our educationists of modern times. It goes by the name of Onna Dai-gaku (Great Precepts for Women). It teaches women according to the principle of Chinese Confucianism, to have reverential love and modesty, to preserve their chastity, to observe propriety of language and deportment, and to esteem as merit in women the exhibition of virtue as wife and mother. The leading principles of female education in the Tokugawa period can be best learned from this book of precepts.

Such was the state of female education before the Meiji era.

Figures for girls' schools (Primary :—

During the year 1907 (fiscal) the girls' attending elementary schools numbered 2,541,549 (against 3,172,113 boys), being at the rate of 96·14 per cent of girls of school age (boys being 98·53 per cent). Comparing the yearly increase, as is shown by 91·46 per cent. for 1904, 93·34 per cent. for 1905, and 94·83 per cent. for 1906, it becomes evident that the increase in the rate will grow still greater in the years to come. When this is compared with the number of boys' attendances of so remote a date as 1877, we see that the attendance of girls was something more than one-third, and in 1893, about one-half. This goes to show that the rate of increase with girls is something remarkable. Things being so, many new elementary schools for girls are now in the course of construction quite apart from those for boys. The number of girl graduates from elementary schools during the fiscal year 1907 was 498,443, of whom 70,286 were graduates of the higher elementary course, (in the ordinary elementary course, school period was at that time fixed at four years, children of six years of age being admissible, while the higher elementary course extended over two to four years, children being admissible after graduating from the ordinary course). The number of elementary school teachers was 122,038, of whom 27,656 were females.

Figures for girls' High Schools) :—

The most recent figures (1907-08) relating to secondary education for girls are as under :—

	No. of Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Graduates.
Public or Government Establishment. ...	108	1,649 { male. 652 female. 997	33,766	7,806
Private Establishment. ...	25	362 { m. 134 f. 228	6,497	1,373
TOTAL ...	133	2,011	40,263	9,179

The development of girls' high schools of late years has indeed been remarkable ; notwithstanding which, the number of pupils, for example, is but little more than one-third the number of boys (111,436) in the middle schools, so there still remains much room for development. Besides the girls' high schools, there are some schools of a similar nature to them, of which 8 are of public establishment and 93 of private establishmemt, with 13,000 pupils and 2,700 graduates.

The subjects of study include domestic management, music, gymnastics and sewing. Some Japanese girls are now performing wonderful feats of gymnastics in London Society Theatres. The following remarks about the general woman movement in Japan are full of interest and instruction. They foretell the potentialities of the great movement.

For a Japanese woman to bestow filial love upon her father and mother, or her father-in-law and mother-in-law, to be chaste and true towards her husband, to be obedient to her elders, to be zealous in the discharge of her domestic duties, to bring up her children with tender love, never sparing any pains for their sake—to be and to do all this was to display the characteristics of a Japanese woman.

During the recent wars with China and Russia, there were many pariseworthy incidents of women encouraged their sons or husbands, and of ladies of all ranks giving every help and encouragement to the soldiers at the front, all displaying the true characteristics of the typical women of Japan.

That in spite of the possession of such fine qualities continually nourished by historical inspiration, the women of Japan had so long been denied the means of developing their knowledge was undoubtedly one of the greatest of our social defects. But now that there has been so great an advance in the right direction not only has there been a great increase in the number of schools and the number of students, but great improvements have been made in the quality of the education provided for women.

One of the striking features of the case is the great increase in the number of journals and magazines published relating to women and their home-life. The fact that the best amongst them have a larger circulation than any other journals and magazines published in Japan, is of itself enough to show how female education is spreading in Japan.

Nor is it the intellectual side only of female education that is advancing, but the progress of women's physical culture as well as their knowledge of the laws of health in general is also worthy of notice. In schools they perform various gymnastic exercises and take

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part in out-door sports. The school girls in Japan wear, most of them, a peculiar sort of plaited skirts called *hakama*, and wear shoes, too, instead of wooden clogs, permitting a quickness of movement and freedom in walking which all tends to help their bodily growth.

The recent development of education fitting girls to follow some calling is a feature worthy of special notice, but it must not be too hastily assumed that this shows a tendency of women towards taking to earning and independent living.

Our population is according to the latest statistics, about 26,750,000 males against 25,960,000 females, being at the rate of 97 females to 100 males; and the fact that living is comparatively cheap here, makes marriage easy,—there being but few women of marriageable age who remain single; so that we can say we have not yet reached the days when women are compelled to lead an idependent single life.

The recent growth of professional and industrial education for women is chiefly owing to the increasing demand for women of ability as mistresses of households,—a necessary consequence of the general progress of civilization and enlightenment. But judging from the present state of things there can be little doubt but that the problem of women's life will arise, along with other problems at some future date.

Some of the principal occupations in which women in Japan are engaged at present are as follows :—school teaching, needle work, manual crafts, midwifery, nursing of the sick, medical practice, communication business, banking and clerking, shorthand writing, music, fine arts, editing newspapers and magazines, factory work, menial labour, etc. By far the greatest number are engaged in agriculture, sericulture, and other forms of productive industry.

In a country like ours where women make it their principal business to attend to their households the amount of public work undertaken by woman is naturally not large. There are, however, more than ten schools—such as special schools for girls, higher girls' schools and similar schools as well as girls' technical schools, &c., which are managed and conducted entirely by women.

Of women's educational societies, besides the one called Dai Nippon Fujin Kyoikukai (Japan Ladies' Educational Society) composed of Ladies belonging to the upper classes in Tokyo, there are many others in different prefectures. There are also such societies as the Ladies' Society for the Reform of Manners, Ladies' Sanitary Society, &c. One of the ladies' societies was formed at the time of the late war with the object of helping our armies at the front by giving relief to the surviving families of our dead soldiers and bringing up their orphan children. It is called the Patriotic Ladies' Society, presided over by a Princess of the Imperial Family and having members over 784,000.

Akin to this there are other societies; such as the Army and Navy Officers' Wives' Association, Voluntary Nurses' Association, &c.

Women's activity, moving in corporate unison and for public purposes, is just beginning to make itself felt, and this with ever-increasing earnestness.

Conclusion.

This practically brings us to the end of the story of Japan's recent marvellous progress in education.

The other departments of Japan's educational activity not noticed above are art education department, normal education department, education of the blind and the deaf and the libraries, museums and educational societies. Art education is specially directed towards the preservation of national treasures and towards the continuance and maintenance of national ideals in art. Normal education aims at the regular training of teachers for the different kinds of schools mentioned above. Education of the blind and deaf is now becoming an essential feature of the educational activities of every civilised State. And if facilities for the education of its people are a test of the high water-mark of civilization in any State, then surely Japan is entitled to a high position among the civilized States of the world. The only dark cloud overshadowing this brilliant horizon is the new imperial spirit which has found evidence in the subjugation and annexation of the minor struggling nationality of Korea and in the dealings of Japan with China. It is, however, too early to pass any judgment on this phase of the life of Japan. We can at any rate hope for the best.

Lajpat Rai.

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALITY

The Problem of Nationality.

THE last month (June) closed here with a crowded Conference on—The Claims of Nationalities and Subject Races.

Claims of Nationalities.

It was an international gathering, in which Finland and Georgia, Poland and Ireland, Egypt and India were all represented by recognised spokesmen of their

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respective peoples. The differentiation that the organisers made between what had hitherto been known as "subject races" and what they called now dependent nationalities, marked at the very outset a very important advance in the general thought of the people in regard to ancient countries like Egypt or India. In some sense this Conference sounded a counter-blast to Mr. Theodore Roosevelt's gospel of civilisation and the big stick. This is not, of course, the first time that liberal-minded and sympathetic members of the dominant European races pleaded before their own people for a just and kindly treatment of the peoples subject to their rule. There is an old organisation in England whose object is to watch over the moral and material interests of what are called the native races in Africa and elsewhere. This and similar organisations of the kind never seem to have gone to the root of the problem which they have been trying to handle. They never questioned the claims of the dominant European powers to a higher civilisation, upon which they based their moral right to rule the less civilised races of the world. The government of these so-called native races by some civilised European nation has always been accepted as a good thing, both in the interests of these races themselves and in those of humanity at large. European domination over non-European races spells the participation by the latter in a higher civilisation and life. It means the substitution of peace and order for disorder and anarchy, the replacement of the rule of might by the law of right, the progress of the people from savagery to civilisation. This general moral plea had never before been examined, much less seriously questioned. The right of every people whatever the state of their progress or the character of their culture to freely live their own life and evolve their own destiny, without any let or hindrance from their stronger, and possibly more advanced neighbours, has never before been boldly asserted. All that the friends of so-called native races tried to do was to make their lot a little easy and their yoke a bit light. Their claims to sympathetic rule and humane treatment had been strongly urged before, but their absolute right to self-government and their legitimate freedom of self-fulfilment, had never been recognised. There was an implicit recognition of these fundamental principles in the work of this International Conference on the claims of nationalities and subject races.

* * * *

Races and Nationalities.

At the very outset, this Conference started with a clear differentiation between dependent nationalities like those of Ireland, Poland, Finland, Egypt or India, and what are known usually as subject races. This elementary differentiation is bound to clear up a good deal of confusion that still surrounds the problem of nationalities. There is a very wide difference between a race and a nation. In the first place, territorial unity is an essential condition of nationality, but not of raciality. A race may spread over different and distant territories, and occupy various parts of the globe, but a nation must be confined to a definite habitat. A race is essentially a homogeneous thing. It has a special physical structure, a special thought-structure, and a special social structure. This threefold structural affinity is of the very essence of the race-idea. This structural affinity is observed among the different branches of the great Aryan family. It is equally seen among the different branches of the Mongolian family. It is observed among the different branches of the other races of mankind. A nation is, however, a more complex and heterogeneous thing. More than one race can go to the making of a nation. There is a good deal of racial intermixture in all the developed nationalities of the world. The growth of nationalities indicates a higher stage of social evolution, and a more developed order of social life than is found in mere racial units. There may be primitive races, but hardly any primitive nation. The tribe, the race, the nation, this is the ascending series in social evolution. In this series, India or Egypt, Ireland or Finland, Poland or Georgia cannot be classed under the first or the second term. These are not tribes, nor races, but nations. This international Conference implicitly took its stand upon this essentially right conception of nationality.

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Unfortunately, however, Social Philosophy is very imperfectly developed, so far, in this country; and consequently, this rudimentary conception of nationality was not fully worked out by the Conference and established as the higest generalisation of Sociology. We had some eminent professors and University lecturers on the platform of the Conference, but none of them threw any light upon the real problem before them. Professor Gilbert Murray, who was invited to deliver the opening address, and was naturally expected to present a philosophical statement of the problem and examine the root idea upon which the Conference was got up, absolutely failed to do anything of the kind. Indeed from his address one could hardly say whether the learned Doctor had devoted much thought to the subject at all. In the absence of any really fruitful philosophical consideration of the problem before it, all that the Conference did was to voice forth the bitter cry of dependent and down-pressed nationalities. It entered a vigorous protest against the grasping pretensions of modern European imperialism and urged claims of dependent nationalities to self-government, and condemned the attempt of the dominant powers to put down the legitimate aspiration and activities of these nationalities towards a self-dependent existence.

Nationality *vs.* Imperialism.

But when we condemn any wrong or injustice, we oftentimes forget that condemnation is no cure. This world is God's, and an essentially moral thing at its soul and centre. Wrongs rule in this world not on their strength and authority, but on those of some right whose semblance they assume. Even modern imperialism is not a pure falsehood or an absolute wrong. Its falsehoods are mixed up with its truths, and, its wrongs with its rights. No new thought or idea can take its birth unless impelled by some great need, either of the intellectual, or of the moral, either of the personal or of the social life of man. Even errors and superstitions had some such organic need at their origin. And the right way to cure these is not simply to pass strongly-worded condemnation on them, but to examine the organic need that called them forth, to separate the right that is mixed up with the wrong in them, to point out their essential truth and thus to dissipate their untruth. If we want imperialism to be just, we must ourselves be first just to it. All imperialists are not moved by unworthy motives. There are men and women, as thoroughly honest as ourselves, who regard imperialism as beneficial to the best interests of humanity, and who lend their support to it, because of its beneficial or supposed beneficial influences. Professor Hobson pointed out this fact, in explaining the reason why imperialism commanded the allegiance of many honest and really well-meaning people. In so doing he made a fairly correct diagnosis of the case before him. Uufortunately, however, Professer Hobson did not drive this psychology to its legitimate conclusion. But I am not at all surprised at it; for it is only a true philosophy of nationalism that could have given the learned professor the right key to the solution of the problem that he so clearly raised.

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Nation-Idea and Empire-Idea.

The greatest fascination of imperialism is that it makes for the unification of humanity to an extent and upon a measure impossible under any other form of human organisation or association. As nations are larger than tribes, even so empires are larger than nations. Raciality is a higher synthesis than mere tribality. Nationality is a higher synthesis than raciality. And imperialism is, similarly, a higher synthesis than nationality. The empire-idea is essentially larger and broader than the nation-idea. It aims at the unification of widely separated territories, of widely divergent interests, of widely different cultures and characters, into one organic whole. As families combined into tribes, each family contributing its peculiar characterstic and possessions to the common life of other families in and through the unity of the tribe-life; as at a subsequent social synthesis, tribes combined to form races, which though divided by space, controlled by different environments, evolving under divergent historical epochs, still pursued a common ideal-end, were moved mainly by a common regulative-idea, and thus made for a larger union of mankind than had

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been realised before; and as at the next synthesis, different racial units combined to form a larger, more complex, and yet more intimate unity, that of the nation; so the unification of these national units into an imperial organisation or organism is really a higher and larger social synthesis than even what has been attained through the nation-idea. It is impossible to deny that the empire-idea is positively larger, grander, nobler that the nation-idea. This is the fundamental truth of the concept empire. The family, the tribe, the race, the nation; these are all old syntheses of social progress. The empire is a later synthesis, though not really a new modern synthesis. From the family to the race, from the race to the nation, from the nation to the empire, from the empire to the universal federation—this is the complete scheme of social evolution. And in this ascending series each antecedent term must be judged and justified by each subsequent term. Families must be judged and justified by their capacity to develop into the larger life of the race; race must be similarly judged and justified by its capacity to grow into the more complex and variegated life of the nations; nations must be similarly judged and justified by their capacity to combine into the wider life of the empire; and finally empires must be judged and justified by their capacity to work out the universal federation of mankind.

This is the correct rationale of imperialism. Its claims to the attention and allegiance of mankind are based essentially upon its promise to work out a larger unification of humanity than has as yet been realised. But what is the true character of this unification? What is the real nature of the unity that humanity has been progressively seeking through the entire course of social evolution? In the first place it must be understood that unity is not homogeneity. All organic unity is a unity which does not destroy and deny all differentiations and diversities, but which realises itself in and through not only the maintenance of these diversities and differentiations, but even more fully through their development and perfection. Our conception of unity is essentially different as much from the old pagan as from also the mediæval Christian idea of it. The pagan view was the denial of the legitimate freedom of the units in the interest of unity. The social philosophy of paganism regarded the individual human unit as a mere limb of the body politic, having really no end unto himself apart from the common ends of the state. Christianity was the first to enter a protest against the usurpation of the rights of the individual by the Society or the State. It was the first to proclaim in Europe the divine right of the human personality, to declare that man was himself an end unto himself. But the right to dominate the individual and usurp his legitimate freedom of self-development and self-fulfilment, which Christianity denied to pagan society and pagan State, it gradually set up for the Church in the new philosophy of life which it propounded. The old usurpation of the fundamental rights of the human personality was thus continued by the new Church. This was the logical need of the subsequent Lutheran protest, even as the French Illumination with its gospel of absolute individualism was the logical sequence of the philosophy of Christian Protestantism.

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A War of Half-Truths.

All this was what may be called a war between half-truths. The pagan view of social unity was only half a truth. The Protestant Christian view of it which culminated in the individualism of the French Illumination was equally only another half-truth. The one denied the organic end of the individual, the other ignored the organic end of society. Neither therefore could really reconcile individuality with social unity, freedom with subjection. And the reason was that neither the old pagan view nor even the subsequent Christian view had a true conception of the nature of organic unity. This conception is the latest contribution made by modern thought and research to social philosophy. The modern conception is that society is an organism, but an organism composed of a number of smaller organisms that have, as such, necessary ends unto themselves. But these individual ends are so arranged that they are interdependent upon one another and upon the collective ends of the social whole to which they belong. The social unity is thus what the philosophers would call, not

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unity but really totality, which is a much higher category. It is a federal unity, which means the freedom of the parts in the unity of the whole. In a federal organisation the whole realises itself only and always in and through the perfection, each in its own way, of its parts, and these different parts also reach out to and realise their own specific ends in and through the general life and progress of the whole. This is of the very essence of the concept organism. As society is an organism this must be the universal law and condition of social progress, and the realisation of social unity. For society to usurp the legitimate freedom of movement and development of the individual is to commit suicide. For the individual to seek his own individual end without regard for the larger collective ends of society is to miss that very end itself. This is the modern conception of the social ideal.

It is a fundamental social conception. It is the universal law of social progress. Racial evolution, national evolution, and imperial evolution are all subject to this universal social law. Nations are composed of smaller units, each an organism in itself, but united through larger organic ends in the broader unit or unity of national life. The ends of that life can never be realised by denying to the subordinate units their legitimate freedom of self-movement and self-development. A nation which seeks to do it kills itself. Empires similarly are composed of smaller organisations called nations, or popularly, states or dominions. These nations or states or dominions are themselves social organisms, larger than individuals or families or townships, but that have a specific end unto themselves, an end that is determined by the peculiarities of their special structures and environments. But they are united organically to the larger organism of the empire, and have, therefore, necessarily to seek their own specific ends and realise them only through the larger ends and the broader unity of the imperial whole. These larger imperial ends or this broader imperial unity can never be realised and perfected by denying to the subordinate national units their legitimate freedom of self-mo ement and self-development. An empire that seeks to do it kills itself. The cure of rampant imperialism must ultimately come through the recognition of the truth of this fundamental social principle. Modern imperialism is trading upon a mere half-truth. Its main strength comes from its pretensions to work up a larger unity of mankind than has as yet been realised, we may deny the validity of these pretensions, but we cannot refuse to accept the grandeur of its ideals.

* * * *

The Nature of the Empire-Idea.

The empire-idea offers a broader ground for the unification of humanity than the nation-idea, even as the nation-idea offers a broader basis of human fellowship than the unity of tribal or racial relations. This is the fundamental claim to superiority of the empire-idea. It is the claim, really, of a broader generalisation and a higher synthesis. The family, the tribe, the race, the nation, all these are what may be called social syntheses; each succeeding synthesis being broader and higher than the preceding ones. The social synthesis offered by the empire-idea is broader and higher than all the others. The first condition, therefore, of the realisation of the true empire-idea, is a correct and clear understanding of the nature of this synthesis.

Now every synthesis is the fruit of some antecedent antithesis. It is essentially of the nature of a settlement of contending claims, and a reconciliation of opposing interests. The value of a synthesis lies entirely in its capacity to work out this settlement and reconciliation. The family is a social synthesis, because it offers, through its larger and collective life, in which all the individual members of the family fully participate, a basis for the reconciliation of their divergent individual activities and interests. The failure to work out this reconciliation would inevitably break up the unity and solidarity of the family life, and thus destroy its usefulness; for the simple reason that it would then cease to be a synthesis at all. The unity of the family-life endures only so long as its collective authority and interests are not identified with those of any particular member of the family. Of course, this collective life and authority must have some concrete vehicle for itself, and must use some member of the family for this

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purpose. But the detachment of the head of the family from the passions and prejudices of the individual members of it, and equally the almost absolute merging of his own individual ends and interests in the general ends and interests of the family, preserves the real value of the synthesis. It was this detachment of the head of the family, and his self-effacement in the interests of the common life of the family which he represented, that helped very materially to perpetuate the joint-family system in India. And it is the loss of this detachment, leading to an inevitable decline of the moral authority of the head of the family over the individual members of it, that has been gradually bringing about the disruption of that old family-system. Similarly, the tribe is a social synthesis, larger than the family, because it offers a ground of reconciliation to the rival claims and conflicting interests of different families included in the tribal unit. And this synthesis also endures so long as the collective life and authority of the tribe, though formally vested in particular individuals or families, yet really stands above them all, and, on account of this independence, or rather, more correctly speaking, transcendence,—it is able to harmonise in itself the conflicting interests of the different families comprising the tribe. Whenever this collective life and authority of the tribe loses this character, whenever its representative or representatives indentify this life and authority with the particularities either of their own or of any other individual's or family's life and interests, the social synthesis is really broken up; even though the social authority may be exercised through mere brute force, whether actual or potential. The real value of the next higher social synthesis, namely that of the nation, also consists in the same fact,—in its power to reconcile, in its larger life and ideals, the divergent and oftentimes conflicting lives and interests of individuals, and families, and tribes, and races, who go to make up the collective life of the nation. And this synthesis also similarly endures only so long as the right and authority of the collective life of the nation, though necessarily vested in or represented by particular individuals or even special families or classes, does not identify itself with any part or particularity of the nation. Such identification really means the usurpation of the right and authority of the whole by a part of it. And such usurpation inevitably breaks up the synthesis, though here also the exercise of the usurped authority may be long continued through sheer brute force. The empire-idea is also a social synthesis, much larger and higher no doubt than the other social synthesis, and as a synthesis, it must fulfil these essential conditions. It must be a ground of reconciliation of divergent national lives, different national geniuses, and conflicting national interests. It must mediate between different national units, and through this mediation, knit them together into a larger social unity. And to do this, the Empire cannot be in any way identified with any one particular nation or particular group of nations composing it. These nations, like all other nations in the combination, shall be in the Empire, but the Empire though perpetually present in them as a high regulative idea, shall, all the same, stand perpetually above them. The Empire shall hold together the different nations composing it, by inspiring them with ideals and interests larger and higher than their isolated and smaller national ideals and interests, by supplying them common grounds of co-operating with one another for the realisation of common ends. It shall help their evolution thiswise, but shall never permit itself to be identified with any particular nation in the imperial family. Such identification would necessarily destroy the synthesis itself, make the Empire a party in the conflicts of national interests, and at once abrogate its right and authority to mediate between these national units and reconcile their conflicting interests. An empire is a much larger unit than a nation; and the smaller can never hold the larger. Nay more. The family, the tribe, the race, the nation, the empire, all these are distinct social categories; and one cannot, therefore, be converted into the other. None of these can by mere physical or numerical expansion develop into another. A family might multiply to a hundred members, still it would be nothing more than a family; a very large family, no doubt, but never a tribe. Similarly a tribe might contain a hundred thousand

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or even a million individuals, but it would still be a tribe, as much as the smallest tribe, but never a race. So with races and nations also. A nation might multiply itself to any extent, might expand its territorial possessions to any lengths, but it would still be a nation, and not an empire. Even the possession of sovereign authority over many nations would not convert a nation into an empire. When a nation assumes the name of an empire on these grounds, it only adds what may be called a terminological usurpation to its already-achieved territorial usurpations. That is all.

* * * *

The Actual And The Ideal Empire.

The imperialism with which we are familiar in history, whether ancient or modern, has been universally of this type. The acquisition of political sovereignty over immense tracts and diverse peoples has been regarded as a sufficiently sound title to the name of empire. Even this imperialism has undoubtedly been a great factor in the evolution of human society and civilisation. It was perhaps the only type that could be realised in early times. Even this extension of political sovereignty helped, in those days, the unification of humanity. I would not belittle the contribution of the old and imperfect imperial idea to the progress of the race. But political imperialism has practically done its work. In any case, even if it may yet claim to be able to help the evolution of primitive races, it is an absolute anachronism in relation to advanced nationalities, having a long course of historic evolution and a distinctive type of culture and civilisation behind them. Political imperialism was needed for the unification of tribes and races into national units. The political synthesis was, perhaps, the only possible form of synthesis in those primitive times. But what the modern world wants is not a political, but a social synthesis. It wants a larger and more organic formula of association than what the old-world imperialism could offer. The new empire-nation-idea, which is undoubtedly superior to the idea which is undoubtedly superior to the but essentially a social synthesis. Its superiority lies in the fact that it offers a much larger field and formula of human fellowship and human association than any other social synthesis.

The Nationalities Conference in Caxton Hall while raising its protest against the spirit of rampant imperialism failed, however, to prove the failure of that imperialism to serve its own legitimate end, namely,—to further the cause of human fellowship and international co-operation in the pursuit of common humanitarian interests. It is, indeed, exceedingly doubtful whether any movement or organisation guided by the members of the dominant white races, however sincere their motives and strong their enthusiasm for humanity, can offer a real and effective criticism against this imperialism. The ultimate notion at the back of this imperialism is the superiority of the civilisation of the white races. It is a notion shared in with the imperialists by even the most cosmopolitan of the white peoples. And consequently the real appeal of the opponents of imperialism is based upon what the practical politician and the working statesman of the world dismiss as "considerations of abstract justice". The real solution of the problem, the true cure of the evils, of imperialism will come from a new philosophy of history and human society. We are moving towards that philosophy. The organic conception of society, the special contribution of the culture of the nineteenth century to the study of social phenomena, has laid the foundations of that philosophy. The truth of it is being increasingly realised in the internal movements of the dominant nations of the world. It is this conception that is gradually helping the replacement of the old individualistic social philosophy of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries by modern collectivism or socialism.

* * * *

The Real solution.

Society is an organic whole, the weak and the strong, the sick and the healthy, the learned and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the virtuous and the sinful, all are organic parts of this social whole. And in the face of this organic interdependence upon one another, it is absolutely impossible for any individual member or any class or caste of any society to realise their own special ends without a similar realisation by other individuals or classes or castes of their own

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ends. Individual possessions are absolutely valueless except in a community that has attained a certain amount of economic progress and stability and can maintain a certain level of wealthy living. The preservation of personal health is dependent to a very large extent upon public hygiene and the general health of the community. Intellectual aesthetic and even high spiritual culture, all these demand a certain high level of intellectual and artistic and spiritual life in the community, and this organic interdependence between individual and individual, and class and class, and between individuals and classes and the society to which they belong, demands that for the collective ends of that society upon the realisation of which really depends the realisation of all particular ends of the individuals and classes of that society,—this organic interdependence demands that the members of every society must work together,—the strong imparting his strength to the weak, the rich giving out of his wealth to the poor, the learned freely communicating their learning to the ignorant, the good giving out of their own goodness to uplift the vicious and the criminal, and in thus helping each other and bearing each other's burdens, every individual member of society shall in his own interest help forward the interests of other individuals and thereby promote the realisation of the collective end of the society to which the individuals belong. This organic conception of society really supplies the basis and the philosophy of modern collectivism. And the expansion of this organic conception from the society to universal humanity will furnish a working basis for that broad internationalism which alone will be able to correct and cure the errors and evils of modern imperialism.

But something more also will be needed, and that is a corrected view of human history and social evolution. In Europe from the time of Hegel downwards, the history of civilisation has been conceived "as a single line of progress, which, in realising the successive stages of the Absolute Idea, flows continuously from one race or nation to another, each representing a single phase of the Absolute, a single moment in the dialectic process. This punctual conception of races and epochs, and this lineal view of development, are essentially false". European sociologists have hitherto measured and adjudged different races and cultures by an abstract and arbitrary standard derived from the history of European civilisation, And they have given to non-European culture and civilisation only a subsidiary and provisional place in their sociological scheme, "as if they were either monstrous or defective forms of life, or only primitive ancestral forms, the earlier steps of the series, that have found their completion in European society and civilisation". But, as Dr. Brajendranath Seal pointed out in his Introduction to "Vaishnavism and Christianity," more than ten years ago, "with the ethnological material at our disposal, it is a gross and stupid blunder to link on Chinese, Hindu, Semitic, Greek, Roman, Gothic, Tutonic cultures, in one line of filiation, in one logical (if not chronological) series. No race or civilisation with a continuous history represents a single point or moment. In fact, even Chinese civilisation like the Chinese language, has had a development of its own; and though in all this race-history the Chinese race-consciousness has subsisted, it has still been a differentiation of the homogeneous, a development of coherent heterogeniety, out of an incoherent homogeniety. Hindu culture, too, has passed through most of the stages observed in the growth of the Hebraic-Graeco-Roman-Gothic civilisation. The same may be said of Arabic or Mahomedan culture. To conceive these statically, to reduce each living procession to a punctual moment in a single line is to miss their meaning and purpose".

Universal Humanity is not to be figured as the crest of an advancing wave, occupying but one place any moment, and leaving all behind a dead level. Universal Humanity is immanent everywhere and every moment—I will not say, a circle of which the centre is everywhere and the circumference nowhere, but at any rate, generically present in each race-consciousness, though each race may not have reflected the perfect type or pattern. From the statical point of view, Universal Humanity, though present in each race, is diversely embodied, reflected in specific modes and forms. The ideal of Humanity is not completely unfolded in any, for each race potentially contains the fulness of the ideal, but actually renders a few phases only, some expressing lower or fewer, others higher or more numerous ones. To trace the outline of this universal ideal, we must collate and compare

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the fragmentary imperfect reflections, not at all in eclectic fashion, but as we seek to discover a real species or genus among individual variations and modes;—and a Congress like this fulfils a glorious mission in helping to realise the Vision of Universal Humanity, a Vision no less wondrous than the manifestation of the Universe-body of the Lord in the Gita to Arjuna's wondering gaze. The moral unity of the Human Race is fast taking the place of many of the out-worn creeds of the ancient or mediaeval world, and the Vision of Universal Humanity of which we get a tantalizing glimpse beneath the protean transformations of race and cult, is only the yet unrisen sun which looms in the horizontal mists on which it has cast its image.

It is this conception of social evolution and universal history which alone, when properly worked out, and applied to the study of the different world-cultures, will be able to offer a solution to the problem which the nationalities conference was trying to tackle.

LONDON, JULY 29, 1910. E. WILLIS.

POPULAR FICTION

IT is a little difficult to understand why writers of fiction should so often show a morbid eagerness to make their heroes and heroines true to the facts of daily life, as it is conceived, in those traits which are meanest and ugliest. It would sometimes seem as if conceptions of the usual which were so revolting could only have emanated from social circles which are also coarse and vulgar. Why, in a recent pretty little story, should pains have been taken, several times over, to state that the husband here took a quiet pull at the brandy bottle, that he carried the odour of brandy, that he was slightly arbitrary in his treatment of his young wife under these circumstances, and at the same time a little fulsome in his hospitality to widow who had just arrived? We tremble for the happiness of the girl, as we read, for we feel certain that the author would not have brought these vulgarities to our notice, and emphasised them, as he has done, without some urgent necessity in his story. Yet after all there is no necessity. All the purposes of the little tale would have been served just as well, if the husband of the heroine had been a gentleman!

It may be thought that realism demands —not closeness to facts, but—a precise reflection of the poorest and most sordid facts that can be selected. Now some of us think realism a perverse ideal, in art; and yet, even if it be accepted as the highest, it has never been maintained by realists that writers and readers should wallow in the unclean or un-beautiful, for its own sake. Even Zola, the king of realists, only held the delineation of evil to be desirable, for the stern and strict purpose of emphasising the ideal that was outraged and forsworn. Evil that merely resulted in the reader's aimlessly spending his time in unworthy company, would have seemed, even to Zola, a simple piece of nastiness. The portrayal of the bad is permitted in art, but it is known as satire, and should be full of PURPOSE. There is, in fact, no artistic justification for this determined choosing of low company. European fiction which has presumably furnished the ideal, has never been without some writers--take Henry Seton Merriman, Maarten Maartens, and Mrs. Voynich, for example—who rejoice in delineating society and persons with whom the reader feels it an honour to have associated. Why should this not always be a dominant impression, after the reading of a story? Why should we visit, in the pages of a magazine, people we would not look at in real life? It must be remembered that not only are people known by the company they keep, but also, people become like the company they keep. Nothing has so moulding an influence upon us, as the companions who haunt our dreams. In filling the sub-conscious mind with images of those who fall below the ordinary standards of good taste and good breeding, we are really hanging leaden weights on the wings of the soul, by which to prevent its rise. We are first contented to make the written page interpret life at its lowest and worst, and then the cynical mood invades the

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garden of our own life and habit, and we make our actions repeat what our favourite writing and reading have declared to be the truth. We lose the sensitiveness that ought to protect the well-born against degradation.

Let us fairly understand the matter once for all. There is no embargo upon loftiness of conduct. There are few who are not glad to find themselves in noble company. Fine dreams are after all the best. And the world, every world, contains quite a number of grand and generous characters. Men are quite often both brave and tender. Women are sometimes exquisite in strength and sweetness. And the gradations *up to* these things are at least as numerous and as often met with, as those down to their opposites! These statements are not less true of Hindu than of European society, not less true of the middle classes than of the peasantry. They are true of all, and a man whose art is to endure must be a genius in character and moral insight, as well as an artist in the choosing of beautiful words and pregnant phrases.

The little that I know of modern Indian fiction teaches me that it is still seeking, as was Indian art, till a short while ago, for a glimpse of the true Indian spirit of beauty. It is often exquisitely gentle and humorous in manner. It is sometimes full of feeling and pathos. But the true Indian spirit is full of the highest idealism, with the most restrained expression. What it would tell, it hints, and life itself it regards as a play of light and shadow above the depths. Can we venture to claim that we have yet expressed this?

I read one story once, that held the true spirit captive, like the light in an opal. Who wrote it and where it came from, I do not know, but the name of the tale itself I can never forget. It was Dulal Boatman, or Dulal Maji, I suppose. It told of the boatman and his wife and child, and their home in a hut by the river-side. One day Dulal Boatman came home and found that his wife, and with her the water-vessels, had disappeared. He knew at once what had happened. She had gone down to the river, to fill the pots, and the crocodile had carried her off. Like a madman, he seized the child, got out the boat and set off up the river, to the place two miles away, where he knew that the crocodile had his haunt. As he came near the spot, a squall suddenly rose and upset the boat. Then, for the first time, Dulal Boatman remembered the necessity of saving his child. He caught him in his arms, clung to something that had floated out of the capsized boat,—and lost consciousness. When he awoke, he saw his wife's face. Round him were the familiar things of his cottage. In a corner lay the baby sleeping. Over him bent his wife. "Ah, dear heart!" she exclaimed, when she saw that he was conscious, why were you so frightened? Did you not remember the wedding at the neighbours? Then came to me for our water-vessels, and I was only a few minutes late, in getting back!" Slowly a look of surprise broke the calm of Dulal Boatman's face. "What!" he said incredulously. "*Are we not, then, dead?*"

When we consider all that is revealed in this story without being stated, all in reserve, and all the depth of emotion that it conceals, it may perhaps be admitted that the praise accorded to it is not too high. It has caught and expressed the very essence of the Indian genius. In fiction, it represents an insight as great and characteristic, as the finest works of the new movement in art. And it is ennobling. Whoever has read, will for the rest of his life make a habit of drawing reverently near, now and again, to the little hut by the river in which dwell Dulal Boatman and his wife. One watches her go about her household tasks. One watches her man go out to his day's work, and again return, grave, tender, and quiet, a man, every inch of him. The baby has long ago grown up, and there many a day there has been a daughter-in-law, with her own children about her, in the little household. But still the hour of quiet has its place in the grandmother's scheme of life, and still Dulal Boatman can look up to the stars that shine at night, fall above the palms, and repeat to himself his wondering question, "Is this, then, not Heaven?"

May we not hope for more of such pictures, in the fiction that is growing daily more popular?

M. R.

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CURRENT LITERATURE: ENGLISH AND AMERICAN MAGAZINES

(AUGUST)

GENERAL REMARKS: DECLINE OF THOUGHT.

STUDENTS of current literature here, especially those who were familiar with the English magazines of the last century, can hardly fail to mark a distinct depreciation in their present intellectual standards and values. At one time, Ruskin and Carlyle, Huxley and Tyndall, Herbert Spencer and Frederick Harrison, Green and Caird, Matthew Arnold and F. D. Maurice, Gladstone and Disraeli,—to speak only of Victory. ter half of the last century,—and is raised that giant race, gave frequently the best and noblest through the pages of the monthly essence journals. Earlier in the century, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Fortnightly Review*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, the *Quarterly Review*, all these, fashioned and advanced contemporary thought with a power and authority that have scarcely been attained by their successors. Judging by those standards, our present-day reviews and magazines seem to have very decidedly deteriorated. For one thing, there are not many men of those old giant types here to-day. The flow of literary or philosophic inspiration seems to have almost completely ceased for the time being. Such depressions come always and everywhere after a period of great intellectual effort and activity. And, then, there must come a fresh impluse from some new source, the revelation of some new ideal, to revive the drooping mind of the race. England, and indeed, the whole of Europe seem to be waiting for this new inspiration, that will come evidently now from the revived and rejuvenated life and culture of the East. But at the moment she seems to be passing through the desert, a period of intellectual barrenness which is manifest in her current literature. There is scarcely anything of abiding scientific, or aesthetic, or speculative interest in the magazine literature of the present day. One oftentimes finds it difficult, indeed, to know the difference between a well-written leader in the daily press and an article in a first-class magazine, except that the former is much shorter than the latter; but the intellectual level and even the literary style of both are practically the same. The same ephemeralism characterises both. There is the same attempt to catch the popular fancy or appeal to passing interests and passions and the same desire to please rather than to instruct, to admonish, to guide and edify. The fact is that literature, like everything else here has become a trade; and like every other trade it is more or less in the grip of the capitalist. The capitalist here, as elsewhere, looks primarily to his profits. He produces the wares that will sell. The larger the sale the greater is his profit. Inspiration is a quality of the soul; and the soul can never work in fetters. Thought is not produced to dictation. On the other hand, the machinery for the publication of thought have become so complex and costly that few can command them. The invention of printing marks, no doubt, an important epoch in the history of human progress. But the evolution of the modern printing machines has not been an unmixed good. As in other lines the elaboration of machinery has to a large extent upset the normal economic relation between consumption and production, so also here, in the field of literature, the outlay of capital required by the printer, has created an artificial need for the production of printed matter far in excess of the actual intellectual needs of the people. Consequently, there is a necessary deterioration of quality. The printing press cannot lie idle. It must work continually to

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prevent the outlay upon it being reduced to a dead-stock. The wares that it produces must also be such as will sell well and sell quickly. They must suit the taste of the multitude. That taste is nowhere very high or refined. And this economic factor of the literary trade is largely responsible for the decline of literary quality in current English literature. A complete reconstruction of the entire economic structure of the British nation will be needed before we have anything like a real revival of thought and literature in these Isles.

Take any of the current magazines, and you will find the general truth of these remarks. In the last quarter of the last century, the *Nineteenth Century* justly held the position of premier English Review. And, what do you find here today? Take the

August Nineteenth Century

for instance, and I do not think there is a single article here which will bear reproduction in any permanent form, or to which the reader will have to turn back again, except for purposes of current and ephemeral political controversy. The place of honour is held by an article by C. J. O'Donnell on Ireland and Conservatism. Who this writer is, I cannot say. But the thesis which he tries to prove here is that Conservatism, in the broad sense, has greater chances in Ireland, among the Catholic populations of that country than it has now in the United Kingdom. His idea of Conservatism is that it

> has nothing national and still less racial in it though it gives strength and permanence to every race and nation. It is not bounded by any creed, though a deep respect for religion, together with obedience to authority and the defence of property lawfully acquired and honestly employed, is its most sacred tenet.

It is easy to see from this definition of Conservatism, what the real *motif* of the article is. It is clearly an attempt to bring about, to quote the writer's own words, an "*entente* between the forces of Conservatism and the Irish people". It is the British Liberals only who have so long flirted with the Irish Party in Parliament. Since the last General Election, the Irish Party has once more come to hold the balance of political power in the British Parliament; and there has been an evident desire in certain sections, at least, of the Conservative Party, to try and exploit the Irish Nationalists in the interest of Conservatism. The so-called Independent Irish Nationalist under the leadership of Mr. O'Brien, have actually entered into some sort of association with the Unionists. Mr. O'Donnell's attempt is directed towards helping a more close alliance between Ireland and Conservative Party-politics in Great Britain. But what about Home Rule?

Irish Home-Rule and British Conservatism.

Mr. O'Donnell recognises in the Home Rule movement, which has got such a strong hold on the Irish mind, a grave obstacle to the establishment of an *entente* between "the forces of Conservatism and the Irish people." Personally, he is not, he admits, as much enamoured of Home Rule as most of his countrymen are. The Home-Rule policy has, in his opinion, "the disadvantages of a narrow outlook united to a slender purse." And, "as things stand at present", he believe, the Irish Party in the House, and all tons in alliance with Conservatism could do infinitely more good to Ireland than any local legislature can." But he knows that the Irish people will never take this opportunist view. He admits this.

> National pride, it had been said, is to a nation what her fair fame is to a woman, and no material gain will turn aside the Irish race permanently from its determination to wipe away the dishonour of the national ravishment at the time of the Union.

The Conservative Party will have, therefore, to seriously find out some method of compromise between Home-Rule for Ireland and the maintenance of the unity and integrity of the British Empire. Such a compromise is not possible, thinks Mr. O'Donnell. And half a dozen unprejudiced Englishmen and half-a-dozen level-headed Irishmen can easily find a solution by meeting in a friendly conference, in half-a-dozen months.

> The idea of self-government is of the very essence of British policy, even in the minds of the most reactionary Tory. At the same time, Irishmen fully recognise that it is of the essence of British policy that the British Empire must be maintained one and undivided. Is it impossible to elaborate some formula combining these two political actions, the one strengthening the other? There are for things an imperial legislature can yield to its subordinate law-makers: foreign policy, the Army, the Navy, and Imperial finance. On the other hand

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very much now within the purview of the Home Office, the Local Government Board, and the Board of Trade, might with great advantage be delegated. Conservatism in England has been too much of an Anglo-Saxon and Church of England coterie. It must drop the poor ideal of a merely tribal ambition and dare to be the leader of peoples. It must go down into the streets and factories and out among the classes and nations and creeds that make up this agglomerate Empire. It must seek for Conservative allies among them all. It must delve and dive in search of them. Above all, England must be satisfied with the hegemony that is her right. She must be predominant partner by virtue of her stature and her strength, but the other nations must be on their feet and not on their backs, with heads erect justly proud of their ancient nationalities, propping her up and working with her, having forgotten that they ever were conquered. The policy of Home-Rule all round radiating from the centre of a really Imperial Parliament, representative of every race and every colony, is the only hope of a united Empire, and can alone give a sure foundation to a broad and true Imperialism.

I have given this rather long quotation because it is the best in the whole article. Yet what feeble light after all does it throw upon the problem of Imperialism? The whole *receipe* is absolute quackery. And the fact that such quackery is raised to the dignity of statesmanship shows the shallowness of the thought of the age in which we live.

The Third French Republic.

The next article in the *Nineteenth Century* is by Professor Dicey who discourses upon the Third French Republic. It is a study of the strength and weakness of the present French Constitution. It is something more. It is an attempt to work out certain broad political generalisations from the experiences of the French Republic. The central idea of the article is that there is really no absolute value of Constitutions. At one time Republicanism had almost been raised, specially in France, to the dignity of a faith. But now, in the words of a Frenchman, Republicanism has not only ceased to be a heresy, but it has also ceased to be a faith, and throughout the civilised world, and not in France only, there prevails a singular scepticism as to the value of Constitutions.

The American Negro as a Political Factor.

Professer Kelly Miller's article on the above subject is perhaps of larger interest. It presents an able and informing estimate of the political capacity, and the patriotic services to the American Republic, of the American Negro. Whatever the position of the Negro in his old habitat in Africa, whatever his stage of evolution or peculiarities of culture, it is impossible to deny, holds Professor Miller, that the transplanted African has manifested surpising capacities and aptitudes for the standards of his European captors, so that the races must now be separated, if at all, by purely artificial barriers.

This upward struggle on the part of the African has been against continuous doubt, ridicule, and contemptuous denial on the part of those who would profit by his inferior status. Those who once assumed the piety of their day and generation at one time stoutly declared that the negro did not possess a soul to be saved in the world to come, but was merely as the beasts who perish; but he is now considered the man of over-soul, as Emerson would say, by reason of his marvellous emotional characteristics. Then the wise ones maintained that he did not possess a mind to be enlightened according to the standards of European intellect, and hence he was forbidden a knowledge of letters. The same dogma affirmed that the black man could not work except under the stern compulsion of the white man's beneficent whip, and that he would die out under freedom. But all these dogmas have been disproved by the progress of events.

The negro in America is an organic part of what may be called the American nation. Even the helots were a part of the Greek nation, though slavery was their lot. Even before the American Revolution the negro, though a slave, was still an essential part of the body politic. But his emancipation has made him even a more intimate part of the body politic. A nation, says Professor Miller, consists of the people living in a prescribed territory who hold the same general belief, sentiment, and aspiration. The negro is, therefore, though not an Aryan but undoubtedly an American. He is not only a recipient but a partaker in all of the objects and aims of Government. But the present re-actionary political tendency has produced a class of political leaders who base their motive on race-hatred and strife. It is these people who declare that the negro is incapable of self-government. But what is self-government? asks Professor Miller, and answers it thus:—

If by the power of self-government we mean the ability of any people to exist according to the requirements of their own stage of development under their old autonomy, and to adjust themselves to that environment, then all the peoples on the face of the earth are capable of self-government. If, on the other hand,

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it implies the ability of the retarded races to regulate their affairs after the fashion of the most advanced section of the European people, then the question is not only unnecessary but preposterous. Ireland has for years been waging a gigantic struggle for the priceless boon of self-government, as the Englishman understands and exercises that function. But England on the other hand is determined to with-hold it on the ground that the wild hysteric Celt is not prepared to exercise so high a prerogative with safety to himself and to the British Empire. The masses of the population of Europe with centuries of inherited freedom and civilisation behind them are not deemed fit for self-government in the most exalted sense of that term. Indeed it is only the Anglo-Saxon race that has as yet demonstrated the capacity to use this prerogative as a means of social and political progress. The revolutions and counter-revolutions and rumours of revolutions which are almost daily occuring in South and Central American Republics show that the forms of government copied from Anglo-Saxon models are far in advance of the development of these Latin copyists. Self-government is not an absolute but a relative term. The Red Indian governed himself for centuries before the advent of the pale-face, and throve much better under his own autonomy than under alien control. The negroes of Hayti under their own form of government are as happy and contented, as thrifty and progressive, and are approaching the standards of European civilisation as surely and as rapidly as the corresponding number of blacks of Jamaica under British control, or as a like number of negroes in Goergia under the dominion of the Stars and Stripes. If it be true that the negro has never shown any conspicuous capacity for self-government after the European standard, it is also true that the white race has not yet shown any conspicuous success in governing him.

The Fortnightly Review.

The leading articles in the August *Fortnightly* are devoted to British naval and military affairs. In one article the writer tries to dissipate the Jingo panic regarding England's unpreparedness for defending her traditional naval supremacy against the rising naval organisations of other powers. In the other article, the writer Mr. George F. Shee, puts in a plea for conscription as against the scheme of what is called the Territorial Force. He contends that the efforts of those who oppose the adoption by Great Britain of the modern, just, and democratic principle of manhood's service for home defence, are injurious to the best interests of Empire.

For in an age when every other civilised nation has organised the whole of its resources, physical, moral, and material, by passing its manhood through the public school of the national army, these opponents of reform would tie us for ever to the haphazard and obsolete methods of the past, methods which, by their very nature, make proper preparations for war in time of peace impossible, and result inevitably in extravagant waste of blood and treasure when war comes, and in that "muddling" which may not always be "through". The type of mind which Mr. Hurd (the writer who opposed conscription, in previous articles in the Review) represents would, in fact, through its short-sighted and partial view of national defence, expose our home army to destruction at the hands of a trained enemy, leave our over-seas dominions at the mercy of a bold attack, and, in the name of sea-power, hamstring the navy and tether it to our shores, so that, huddling behind it, and putting our money on machinery rather than on Man-Power, we may wait until the growing naval power of some virile rival breaks through the cordon and aims at our heart the blow which must end for ever, not merely our position among the nations, but our Empire.

The student of English literature will find the article on Byron and Mary Chaworth, of some interest; while the article on Talleyrand presents a fairly good and interesting picture of European, and particularly French, society and politics during the close and the beginning of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century.

The Contemporary Review.

The place of honour in the August *Contemporary* is given to an article by Sir C. P. Ilbert, one-time Law Member of the Viceroy's Council in India, and at present Clerk of the House of Commons, who draws upon the records of the House to present the story of previous conferences between the two Houses of Parliament in Great Britain. It has a special interest to the British public in view of the Conference between the leaders of the two dominant Parties that is now sitting over the question of the Lords' veto. The article by Dr. Sven Hedin, the celebrated explorer, on

The Policy of The Dalai Lama.

has received added importance from the latest developments in Tibet. He defends Lord Curzon's policy of the socalled Tibetan Mission. But regrets that the fruits of that Mission had been allowed to be dropped from the hands of the British who had plucked them. Tibet was under the suzerainty of China. But when the British went into the Tibetan territory with an armed force, fought the Tibetans and drove their ruler, Dalai Lama, accross the border, they did not take full advantage of the occasion. While Britain was fighting the Tibetans, China, their real over-lord, complacently looked on the game. But

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as soon as the British retired from the country, after signing a Treaty with a number of people none of whom, it seems, had actual responsibility for so doing, the Chinese Government commenced to tighten their hold on this distant province which had never been made into a consolidated Chinese province before.

And the treaty itself, with its ten paragraphs, ignored China, the suzerain state, in an extraordinary way. It was only Great Britain and Thibet who were parties to it. But the future belonged to China, and the Dalai Lama was on his way to Peking. When paragraph nine states that "no representative or agents of foreign power shall be admitted to Thibet," that is aimed at Russia, for China had had representatives and agents in Thibet for centuries. No one then suspected that it would be China who making use of her unfettered freedom, would upset things in Thibet and take steps against it which *de facto* annulled all treaties, however many red seals were affixed to them.

The Government of India was not entirely blind to this fact, and within less than two years of the signing of the above-mentioned treaty, in April 1906, a convention was signed by Great Britain and China in regard to Thibet. This treaty which ordained that "The Government of Great Britain engages not to annex Thibetan territory or to interfere in the administration of Thibet; and the Government of China also undertakes not to permit any other foreign state to interfere with the territory or internal administration of Thibet", recognised the suzerain authority of China in Thibet, and left China to do in Thibet whatever was suited to her wishes or her interests. In the Anglo-Russian Convention of the following year, (August 31st, 1907), England and Russia engaged to respect Chinese suzerainty over Thibet and only treat with Thibet through the Chinese Government.

There was not then much of England's prestige in Thibet. How quickly had the Thibetans forgotten the expedition of 1888! That they forgot the invasion of 1903-1904 even more quickly was the fault of the English themselves. To begin with, it was a mistake on the part of the English statesman who then governed India from London to cut down the war cost to be paid to one-third of the original sum. It was still more fatal that he let Russia frighten him into evacuating the Chumbi Valley. One need not think how absurd it was that the Secretary of State for India allowed a foreign power to dictate what he was to do on the frontier of India, especially as it was a territory that *ought* to belong to India. But the natural result of the evacuation was that the Thibetans saw a sign of weakness in it. Several prominent Thibetans explained it to me by saying that the English neither could nor dared keep the Chumbi Valley. Every other Asiatic people would have reasoned in a similar way. The greater was their respect for Chinese, who, without sacrificing one soldier, at the same time took not only the Chumbi Valley but the whole of Thibet. They reaped all the gain for which the English had worked.

Blackwood's Magazine.

This magazine, which held, at one time, a very high position in British periodical literature, has decidedly fallen off from its old level of literary excellence. Indeed, one rarely hears of it now. The August number before me, contains little of any high merit or large intellectual or social interest. And my reason for noticing at all here is that it has an article of some interest to the Indian reader, under the heading of

The Silent India.

It is admittedly written by an Anglo-Indian; and there are internal evidences of the writer having been a member of the Civil Service in the United Provinces. He has the common prepossessions of his class; and has little love for the English-educated Indian, the class which supplies the lower ranks of the Government service in India. He is not without the usual leaven of liberalism either. His ideal of Government is that of the old *Ma-Bap* or paternal type. If there were less laws, and no lawyers, and the offic als were allowed to peacefully do their duty by the teeming populations of the land, treating them perhaps like little children but all the same with real kindness and affection, all would still be well in India. And he strongly supports the present policy of conciliation and repression inaugurated by Lord Morley; only he thinks that the new and expanded councils should be so constituted that they will find room not for the egoistic pleader or politician but for the real leaders—the natural leaders of the people. All this is old story, and would not deserve any notice at all. But there are glimpses in this article of the soul of the real Indian people, which makes it really interesting and even profitable reading. Though his politics may be crude, his opinion on public questions deeply coloured with the prejudices of his caste, and lacking in both breadth and insight, his picture of Indian village life is true and charming, in its own way.

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Speaking of the position of the Indian woman, the writer says:—

Much ignorant nonsense is spoken and written about the miserable and degraded position of woman in India. She holds the same power and influence which woman, as women, exercise all the world over.

She is not enlightened, in the European sense of the term; but though illiterate, she is really not uneducated. Her life is not dull from her point of view, and she is quite content with her position, though she can not read or write. She has considerable freedom, especially in the village, and goes about freely, doing her work either at home, or sometimes even in the field. These fields

in India are teeming with life and colour: men, women, and children at work, or passing along the roads or footpaths, give a bustling aspect to the scene, and the blue and red garments mostly worn by the agricultural women, dotted about among the green crops give a very bright and pleasing impression to the eye. During the day the village is practically abandoned, and somehow or other there seems to be something or other to employ the people—sowing, weeding, irrigating, harvesting, and planting out rice.

Our Eastern farmer is an industrious and thrifty man, and he and his sons and employees are up at day light, and having repeated some texts from the Puranas, made oblations to the sun, cleaned their teeth with sticks which they throw away, proceed muffled up in blankets over their heads and bodies and with nothing round their legs, to the scene of their labours. They will wash themselves over at a well in the fields, say their prayers, take their food, smoke the pipe of peace, sleep for an hour or two during the great heat of the day and return home after their work at sunset. Then they again pray, take the principal meal, and after more smoking and per chance a chat under the council tree, lie down to rest wrapped up in their blankets on a rough bed constructed of wood and laced with stout string.

The little community is a distinct unit in itself, and differing from conditions in other countries, most of the labourers work for themselves and not for employers, —a fact to be borne in mind by oracles on wage statistics. Lalloo the weaver and his caste fellows provide most of the clothing and blankets; Buddhoo the sweeper and his class look to the conservancy of the place; Paiga the watchman (a modest servant of the Government, clad in a blue jean coat and red puggri, registrar of births and deaths, and the usual ultimate sources of evidence in police cases) rends the air at night with wild howls to keep off marauders; Seetul the water-carrier dispenses that commodity to consumers from his leather bag; and the barbar shaves the community, retails gossip, and usually acts as the preliminary go-between among the parents when arrangements are made for alliances between the young folk of the village, before the family priest opens negotiations. The brahmin at the shrine attends to their religious wants, while the "Patwari" keeps the revenue accounts and records the changes of tenure of land on curious, portable and dirty maps.

Life proceeds very quietly in the village, with few excitements beyond the religious festivals, the visits to the neighbouring weekly markets, the occasional inspection by a "Sahib" connected with one or other of the State departments, or the outbreak of epidemic disease. Literature is at a discount, for few can read, and the tastes of those who can run mostly towards descriptions of the remarkable deeds and exploits of worthies in the distant past akin to the classic legend of the Great Panjandrum, or else to the counsels and wisdom of religious sages.....Of crime, there is very little—the circumstances of all are so well known that theft is almost certain of detection; female frailty is attended with more deterrent consequences than the divorce court; and outbreaks of violence between individuals are few and far between. The village council settles very many disputes, and ostracism from the caste is a terrible penalty.

American Magazines.

Harper's.

All the prominent American magazines are illustrated publications and in a general way rank with monthlies like the *Strand* or the *Wide World Magazine*, *Royal*, *Pall Mall*, and others of the class published in England. There is a preponderance in this class of magazines of light literature,—short stories and interesting and sensational writings. And so far as all these are concerned, it is hardly possible to deny that the American publications reach a far superior level than the English ones. It is always a delight to read the stories in the *Harper's Monthly*. Their humour as well as their pathos, their plot and their literary execution are immensely superior to those of the illustrated monthlies published in England. The August *Harper's* has as usual a number of exceedingly readable stories. The first story depicts with considerable power the story of a mediæval maiden "that was convent-bred from her babyhood, she had no other strangeness than being beyond Nature maidenly. The depths of a maid are worship and wonder, the nearness of God and the remoteness of man: in Ysobel (that is the name of the heroine) these lay as it were open to the eye, and there was little else." She was the daughter of a nobleman who spent his days and nights in prayer and study, in fasts and meditations, and the reading and writing of huge books. He was called saint and sorcerer, but without proof of either: whether or no his lore spread into other

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worlds, at least he was without all care for this. She was the sister of two brothers, who "rode forth to plunder and rode back to revel: saving the nobility that gave an edge to their ill-doing, they were no better than common robbers and rioters." With brothers such as these she could have no communion. With her father, she might have a dry converse of mind and soul, but any confesser would have been more fatherly. Ysobel dwelt within herself, little regarded and very lonely.

Being thus parted from earth, she dwelt in the fellowship of things unearthly; the hosts of heaven and hell, and the soulless spirits of enchantment. She spoke aloud with angels in the morning, and shuddered in her bed because the wickedness in the castle drew devils as flies to carrion. And because men were loathly to her and the saints chill, she made in her imagining a prince of fairy that was marvellously strong and beautiful whereof she told herself numberless tales. Therein she did not otherwise than as other maids that have commonly in measure of their misknowledge of man some dreams of angel purity and giant force, white wings upon a pair of mighty shoulders. But she went beyond the common. Her prince grew almost visible to her through much brooding: she knew every hair of his head, every color of his raiment: and from fashioning tales about him she came to talking to him as with the powers of holiness. Herein her heart misgave her so that she implored the saints whether it was idolatry thus to worship a graven image of the mind. But thereto the saints answered nothing: and she would speak of it to no human creatures. What is most strange, there was in this fantasy no warmth nor color of love. Her prince was a companion, a brother glorified, a familiar saint. His hand was kindliness, and his kisses were as flakes of snow. Marriage was to her like death, a thing unthinkable; only after death at least was a clear vision of Paradise.

It will be easy from this short extract for the reader to judge of the style of the fiction that *Harper's* treats its readers with. There is not only a superior literary art but a very high order of psychological analysis and oftentimes deeply religious tone that characterise the stories published in this magazine. In the August *Harper's* there is in addition to the usual complement of stories an eminently readable article on

Idealism in Modern English Art.

In this article the writer deals with those British artists who have "as a rule led that independent existence which is the portion of all dreamers, and have used nature merely as a back-ground upon which to picture their own more insistent fancies. To this class belonged as great masters, painters, like Turner and Watts. They deal in ideas and forms which are more or less creative. Against the sturdy actuality of their colleagues, they array the vague and appealing symbols of an abstract world. With the passing of the late George Frederick Watts, it was generally assumed that as far as England was concerned, imaginative painting was substantially at an end, but the writer of this article contends that

Though for a time the fresh vision and sun-tipped brushes of the out-door painters of the day swept all before them, the dignity, austerity, and tender inspiration which have always characterised a certain portion of the British consciousness remained in tact. The movement away from the shimmering brightness of impressionism of the specific observation of the realist shows itself in various channels of activity. In common with most modern British art it is decorative in feeling, its exponents touching their every theme with a beauty and balance unknown to those who take their compositions direct from Nature. As a rule these new idealists rely chiefly upon the past for their material, though no congenial subject is foreign to their taste. Their motives are as various as human invention itself. The stately symmetry of Hellas, the deep humanity of sacred story, or the gay nonchalance of a park scene, all fall within their province. Unlike the painters of daily life they do not form a compact body No particular society binds together their disparate efforts. They exhibit here, there and everywhere, and their activities are as scattered as their several sources of inspiration.

Charles H. Shanan, Charles Ricketts, Augustus E John, these are the principal artists who represent what the writer calls the idealism in modern English art. Their aim is to maintain the broad tradition of beauty throughout the ages rather than devise newer more complex forms of expression.

London, Aug. 5, 1910. Haridas Bharati.

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THE ART OF ENAMELLING ON METALS

II.

Manipulation.

SHEET of wrought iron is generally used for enamelling. Cast iron is rarely used; because it has many disadvantages, such as, it requires gradual cooling, and molten mass freely settles on it. Specially prepared sheet iron in England is largely used throughout the world. This iron sheet should contain sufficient quantity of carbon, so that they are capable of being driven out to various forms and depths by stamping press. In order to give shape to big things hydraulic press was used and for small things screw press and lever press were used. These two were worked with hands. But now-a-days the drawing presses are being used. The drawing presses are for the purpose of forming seamless cups, bowls, boxes, baths, saucepans and other hollow ware from round and other shaped blanks. The method of producing stampings in these presses is very simple. First of all, possible number of blanks are to be cut from one iron sheet. A blank having been placed upon the die, the attendant sets the press in motion by means of the hand lever at right hand, causing the blank-holder to descend and press evenly all round the outer edges of the blank. While the pressure plate remains stationary dwelling with a constant pressure on the blank, the punch descends and draws the blank from between the pressure plate and die into the shape required. On the upstroke the extractor lifts the article out of the die, ready for removal by hand. This is far in advance of the older methods of stamping. The dies are subjected to considerably less strain, and article in this case is produced in one operation, whereas under the older methods it requires about 5—20 operations according to the nature of work.

To remove oil and to loosen the scales these wares are submitted to heat. Next these are dipped into a sulphuric acid bath made of one part of acid and twenty parts of water, and the last traces of acid are removed by dipping them in boiling soda solution. Following the bath they are rinsed in water, after which they are thoroughly scoured with fine sand. Again they are rinsed in boiling water, and allowed to dry which should be done immediately, because if kept for any length of time the surface of the metal again becomes oxydised.

The bath is constructed of hard wood, but as it is corroded and spoiled by the acid, it is advisable to coat inside with suitable varnish, and thereby to protect the wood from contact with the acid.

The wares are now ready for the reception of ground enamel or first coating. Ground enamel may be applied to the metal either in the form of powder or of a liquid. A few years ago the powder coating was in general use, but at the present time the liquid form is in practice, as it is easy to apply and capable of forming a coating more uniform in thickness and less costly. In using the liquid material the wares are dipped into the liquid, any surplus being drained off, any parts that are not to be coated being wiped out by a clean cloth. The coated wares are then dried, putting them on rests in a drying stone heated to about 10° C. In the factory these coated wares are dried by the waste heat of the muffle furnace. Before charging, the temperature of the muffle must be raised to cherry red heat inside. The coated wares are introduced into the muffle with a long fork and are arranged over the fire-clay supports. The fork is then withdrawn and the door of the furnace is closed. The enamel coating will be uniformly melted within three to five minutes, and the wares are ready to be removed with the help of the fork in the same manner as they were inserted. Before preparing them ready for the next operation these ware

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should be carefully examined and the defective ones should be put aside.

The next operation is the coating of the wares with cover enamel *i.e.* second coating. The temperature required to fuse the cover enamel is lower than that of the ground enamel. In order to regulate this temperature the wares will be kept for a shorter time in the furnace or will be submitted to a somewhat lower temperature. The latter system is preferable, because there is no possibility of fusion of the groundmass. The application of the cover enamel is performed in the same way as in the case of ground enamel. The cover enamel should be made as liquid as possible, as the thinner the layer the handsomer and more durable the enamel. The temperature of the furnace should be below 1000°C.; and the time taken is about five minutes.

The last operation is the application of the blue enamel. This operation is similar to that of cover enamel. One coat of blue should be sufficient, but if any defects are apparent a second layer is necessary. When coloured enamels are used, the ground mass is generally of low quality, made from impure materials. Then after brushing and packing, the finished wares are sent to the market.

Frit Furnace.

The best results are obtained in enamelling when the thoroughly ground and mixed ingredients are fused together, reground very finely, and then applied to the metal surface in liquid state. In cheap enamels the ground enamel is sometimes applied without being melted, but it weakens the durability which can be obtained by fusing the ingredients at first and regrinding. Two kinds of furnaces are generally used for melting, *viz*:—tank and crucible. The tank furnace is used for melting a considerable quantities of enamel, and crucible is used for smaller quantities and as well as for finer enamels. A description of crucible furnace is given below. The crucibles are generally made of fire-clay. The best crucibles are sold under the name of "Hessian crucibles". These are very expensive, and scarcely last beyond one period of fusion. The life of the crucibles can be lengthened by (i) gradually raising the temperature, (ii) not introducing cold mass into the crucibles, (iii) carefully protecting the hot crucibles from sudden cooling. The crucible will be put into the melting furnace in such a way as it may be protected from chills.

A Hessian crucible is placed in the furnace, with a lid on the crucible. It stands on a tubular fire-proof support. At the bottom there is a hole, through which molten mass runs off into a tube of water, which is placed just under the crucible.

Muffle Furnace.

The muffle furnace should be of such size that it may contain the quantity of work being turned out. For different classes of works, different sizes of furnaces are used. For this reason, it is better to have four or five muffle furnaces of different dimensions. The front of the furnace is closed in by a sliding door, and in this an aperture is cut, through which the process of fusion can be seen.

Preparation of the Matrials.

Hard substances must be broken up and pounded in a stamping mill or in any other suitable machines, thus reducing the lumps into an extremely fine state of division. Hard substances such as quartz and felspar are difficult to pulverise in their ordinary state. It is advisable to calcine the materials first and then put them into cold water, and after drying, powder them in a stamping mill, the resulting coarse powder being sifted. The fine siftings are ready for use. The remaining coarse powder is again treated in edge-runner mills. The coarse powder is ground very finely by the edge-runners. If more homogeneous and finer product is required, then the powder coming from the mills is washed by sedimentation. The coarser particles are used for ordinary enamels. Other raw-materials, such as, lime, soda, borax, nitre, etc., are reduced to fine powder in a stamping mill or in a mortar and then passed through 900 meshes. All the materials should be finely powdered and carefully protected from dust, and thoroughly dried before mixing.

The prepared materials are mixed in a proper proportion and mixing with about three times their bulk of water, are introduced into the glazing mills for thorough mixing through a large bung-hole

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which is then closed over by a close lid. The cask into which the mixed materials are to be introduced, should not exceed the five gallon size and should not be more than two-thirds full. The cask containing materials will rotate until a condition ready for enamelling has been reached.

FUEL.

A large quantity of fuel is consumed in the enamelling factory to raise the masses to high temperatures in order to bring them into a state of fusion. In this respect the calorific power of fuel is not only a matter of importance, but it also may exert its influence on the quality of enamel mass. Therefore the consumption of fuel is one of the most important items to be considered. In the tank or crucible furnaces, the character of the fuel, should not be neglected, because light ash, iron oxide or injurious gases that fuel yields, may enter into the enamel mass aud affect its colour. Almost any of the various kinds of fuel may be used, but the system of combustion differs in different furnaces. Charcoal is the best fuels available, as its calorific power is very great, but it is very costly. Any coal that burns freely and clean, giving off little smoke, and capable of complete combustion, is suitable for enamelling. The deep black shiny varieties are the best kinds of coal. Anthracite is excellent in every way, as it consists almost entirely of pure carbon, giving off a high degree of heat without smoke. In order to burn anthracite properly, the hearth requires constant compressed air from a blower, which is not practicable in manufacturing scale. Coke is the best medium for obtaining the necessary temperature required in enamelling furnace. Coke is the by-product obtained from gas-works, consisting mainly of carbon, therefore it is somewhat similar to that of anthracite. Owing to its porosity, it burns more freely than anthracite and can be used without difficulty in any furnace, where the arrangement for draught is excellent. It is an excellent fuel for smelting enamel mass and it can be had cheaper in all places.

SOME PRECAUTIONS :—

1. To make the surface of the sheet iron as nearly as possible like that of cast iron, so that the metal and enamel can be adhered each other intimately as offered by cast iron.

2. The enamel masses intended for use on sheet-iron ware must possess the highest co-efficient of expansion possible for vitreous substances.

3. The ground enamels should be of fairly refractory character, those rich in felspar being the best for use on sheet iron.

4. The firing of ground and cover enamels on sheet-iron ware requires a great skill and should be carried out as quickly as possible.

5. In all cases it must be remembered that the thinner the coat of the enamel the better it will be distributed over the iron wares, and the greater will be its adherence to the wares.

6. The finer the iron sheet the greater must be the care used in coating it with enamel.

7. A careful record should be kept of the loss in weight of the dried materials at each operation. The weighings should be made before and after melting and after crushing.

8. There should be always a reserve of mill-stones ready for use in the factory, as the stones wear away very quickly, and frequently need trimming.

(Concluded).

SANTIPADA GUPTA,
Ceramic Engineer, Tokyo.

NOTES ON SELF-RULE IN THE EAST

II

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

THERE are many "authorities" possessed of extensive ignorance of ancient and modern India who hold that Indians have never been a self-governing people. We have always held a contrary opinion and stated the facts on which our opinion is based in many articles and notes. We add a few more.

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The late Dr. Leitner wrote :—

"Above all would I venture to draw your attention to a consideration of the circumstances which serve to prove that the constitution of the native society in India is emphatically autonomous and republican (whether aristocratic as with the Hindus or democratic, as with the Sikhs and Sunni Muhammadans), and that this autonomy has ever been respected under the most despotic governments that preceded the advent of British power.

* * * *

"There is, indeed, scarcely a domain of human knowledge in which we cannot learn as much from, as we can impart to, 'the East'. The careful study of the caste-system of India will suggest thoughts that may throw light on problems in the solution of which we are still engaged in Europe. The more we know of the politics of Muhammadanism, Hinduism and Sikhism, the better must we be able to co-operate with our fellow-subjects of those faiths in measures of public utility and in the administration of India. Certainly, in education, they ensure its dissemination more by treating piety and knowledge as one and indivisible, than by the dualism which threatens to dissociate religion from science in Europe,**" (Indigenous Elements of Self-Government in India ; Introduction, pp. v and vi.)

"The Republican, if aristocratic, instincts of the province (Punjab) are subdued under a practically irresponsible bureaucracy of aliens in measures, feelings, interest and knowledge, although ennobled by good intentions. For say what one may, the traditions which have maintained Indian society for thousands of years, are Republican. If its fabric, taken to its foundation, is to be consolidated in a manner worthy of British rule it must be by the spread of Republican institutions. That these are not a novelty may be shown by a brief reference to the three great communities that inhabit the Punjab.

"I.—The Sikhs

from whom we took over the responsiblities of rule,***. All their affairs, secular and spiritual, ** were regulated at the four great 'Takhts'—literally Boards, Platforms, or Thrones—of Akhalghar, Anandpur, Patna, and Abchalnagar, where every Sikh, great or small, had a voice, for did not Guru Govind himself, after investing four disciples with the 'pahal,' stand in a humble attitude before them to be invested in his turn? Again whenever Sikhs meet in the guru's name there is the *fifth* Takht, and it is not long ago that at one of them the idolatrous practices, justified by the Durbar of Amritsar, were condemned by the consent of the faithful assembled at Akhalghar. **** Men and women, clergy and laity, of sacred and profane descent, all, is merged in the one standing of '*Sikh*',—learner or disciple.

"II.—The Muhammadans

in so far as they are Sunnis and people of the congregation (Ahljamas'at), have no *raison d'etre* if they do not acknowledge the elective principle in political matters, the ground on which they separated from the adherents of the hereditary principle, the Shiahs. Indeed with the latter the Sovereign has sunk below the priesthood, whilst with the former the greatest ruler is only acknowledged if he rules theocratically. The experience of their institutions, the absence of class or caste in pure Muhammadanism, and the partial success of the "Umuma" Turkish Parliament, so long as it lasted, not to speak of the Council of all races of the revered Al-Ma'mun and other Khalifas, the autonomy of every race and creed under Turkish rule, are the examples, if not proofs, to be held out for *our* encouragement in the noble task which the Government has undertaken, if not for the guidance of our Muhammadan fellow-citizens.

"III.—The Hindus

are an agglomeration of innumerable commonwealths, each governed by its own social and religious laws. Each race, tribe and caste, cluster of families and family, is a republic in confederation with other republics, as the United States of Hinduism, each jealous of its prerogatives, but each a part of a great autonomy with Panchayets in every trade, village, caste, and subsection of caste invested with judicial, social, commercial, and even sumptuary authority discussed in their own public meetings. What did it matter who the tyrant was that temporarily obscured their horizon and took from them the surplus earnings which his death was sure to restore to the country? Even now, if the bulk of the lower castes did not settle their differences at the Councils of their Boards, and if the respectable and conservative classes did not shrink from attendance at Courts of Justice, we might increase the area of litigation a hundredfold and yet not do a tenth of the work that is still done by the arbitration of the 'Brotherhoods'. [Do. pp. 1—3]."

Dr. Leitner speaks above of the Hindus as an agglomeration of social republics. We have shown in our last number that republics, in the political sense, existed in ancient India for at least a thousand years.

Are Indians fit for self-government?

In June or July, 1908, Mr. Ratanshaw Koyasji, B.A., L.L.B., solicitor, of Blantyre, Nyasaland, contributed a telling letter to *India* on the above subject and quoted the following words of the late Mr. Anstey :—

"We are apt to forget when we talk of preparing people in the East by education, and all that sort of thing, for Municipal government and Parliamentary government, that the East is the parent of municipalities. Local self-government, in the widest acceptation of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what portion of that country, there is not a portion of Asia, from West to East, from North to South, which is not swarming with municipalities; and not only so, but like to our municipalities of old, they are well bound together as in a species of net-work, so that you have ready-made to your hand the frame-work of a great system of representation, and all you have to do is to adopt what you have there.

...Take the case of China. I happened to be called upon to prepare a scheme of police administration for that portion of China which has fallen into our dominions. What did I do? Did I go to Germany, or the United States, or England in quest of models? No, I looked across to Canton : they had the tithing, the

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hundred, the shire, the province and the kingdom. I adopted that system, and that is the system by which I believe that part of our dominions is governed at this day. Take Bengal; open that most admirable of all collections of State papers, the celebrated Fifth Report of the Committee of 1811, and read there if you wish to know of what mighty thing the municipal system of India is capable....Now let me go to what I call political representative government on a large scale. Can any man who has in his memory the marvellous history of the Sikh Commonwealth tell me that the natives of India are incapable not only of sending delegates to a Council sitting in Calcutta or Bombay or Madras or Agra, but if the emergency required it, of governing themselves? What was the case of the Sikh Commonwealth? Who were the Sikhs when their prophet first found them out? Poor miserable starvelings from Bengal, of whom their great founder, knowing well the stuff from which Asiatics were made, looking with a prophetic eye into the future, said, 'I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle.' In comparison with the great dynasty of Aurangzebe, it was the sparrow as compared to the eagle, and in less than a century the sparrow did strike the eagle....We ought to profit by the moral, and we ought to believe that those poor Bengalees who in three generations (for it only required three generations to effect that marvellous change) were able to find a Commonwealth may be reasonably considered to be fit to exercise the much less exalted function of meeting village by village, taluq by taluq, and there, electing in their own quiet way, some spokesman on their behalf to go and confer with the Sircar. For that is the meaning of representative Government.

"Let us not be frightened by that bugbear incapacity; there is no nation unfit for free institutions. If you wait for absolute perfection, the world will come to an end before you have established your free institutions; but you must take the world as it is, and there is no nation so ignorant but knows its wants; or some of its pressing wants; there is no nation so poor, but it has some proprietary or possessory interests for the perfection of which it is solicitous; and there is no nation which is not entitled, therefore, with a view to its own wants, or what it conceives to be its wants and interests to be heard in its own defence."

Self-government in India in the pre-British period.

Mr. R. H. Elliot wrote in *Fraser's Magazine* for April, 1872:—

"In former times there existed in India reigning powers that lived on the resources of the people; but though these powers levied taxes and waged war on each other at pleasure, the internal management of affairs was left to the village communities, and the people had the power of modifying their customs in accordance with what seemed to them to be expedient. Now this power we have entirely taken away from them; and not only have we done this, but we thrust our meddling noses into all the details of life, and refine here and reform there, and always, it must be remembered, with increased and unceasing taxation. It still, however, remains to explain how we have deprived them of the power of modifying their customs: and this has been done simply by seizing on the existing customs as we found them, writing them down, and turning them into laws which the people have no power to alter in any way. And, to make matters as bad as they can be, where we have found gaps we have filled them up with a kind of law-stucco of express rules taken very much at haphazard from English law books. The old rights of communities of Hindoos have thus been entirely absorbed by our Government, which has now deprived the people of every particle of civic power. * * * * We thus see, as was very clearly pointed out in Maine's *Village Communities* only the other day, that if the people have gained some benefits from us they have also lost others; and we need hardly add that the results of this entire deprivation of free action are altogether deadly and destructive to the very existence of the most valuable powers of man.

Village Government in Ancient India.

That in ancient times many parts of India possessed free and representative institutions has been proved in our last number. Elphinstone says in his *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*:—

"There are traces in the village government of India, of the existence of a system resembling that of the Afghaun Ooloosses*; the remains of it, which have survived a long course of oppression, still afford some relief from the disorders of the government, and supply the solution of a difficulty, which must be experienced by all travellers in the centre of India, respecting the flourishing state of parts of the country, from which all government appears to be withdrawn." Vol. I, p. 284.

So it is clear that these village republics were so strong and so firmly rooted in the soil that even in the midst of anarchy they were prosperous. But it is not our ancient village communities alone, that show that we have the instinct of self-government. Our caste brotherhoods are democratic institutions, and our joint families are democratically conducted. Some people might be disposed to consider it a long leap from domestic government to the government of a State. But, as Tacitus says, "Domestic rule is more difficult than the government of a kingdom." And it is not unreasonable to think that the government of the home fits persons for the government of larger aggregations of individuals. For a family is the state in miniature, and in it all the functions of the government have to be exercised by its head: he has to be judge, jury, treasurer, law-maker, etc., in the harmonious management of the household and the orderly bringing up of the children.

* See p. 189 of our last number.

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Ancient village Associations in Southern India.

It was not in Northern India alone that local self-government existed, but they were a feature of Southern India, too, as the following extracts from Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* will show :—

"The records published by him [the late Mr. Sundaram Pillai] show that at the beginning of the twelfth century Travancore, a Southern Kerala, formed part of the Chola empire of Rajendra Chola-Kulottunga, and to all appearance was well governed and administered. The details of the working of the ancient village associations or assemblies are especially interesting, and prove that the government was by no means a mere centralized autocracy. The village assemblies possessed considerable administrative and judicial powers, exercised under the supervision of the crown officials." Pp. 413-414.

"Certain long inscriptions of Parantaka I. [a Chola King, 907 A. D.] are of especial interest to the students of village institutions by reason of the full details which they give of the manner in which local affairs were administered by well-organized local committees, or panchayats, exercising their extensive administrative and judicial powers under royal sanction. It is a pity that this apparently excellent system of local self-government, really popular in origin, should have died out ages ago. Modern governments would be happier if they could command equally effective local agency. The subject has been studied carefully by two native scholars, whose disquisitions are well-worth reading. Whenever the mediaeval history of Southern India comes to be treated in detail, a long and interesting chapter must be devoted to the methods of Chola administration.*" Pp. 414-419.

Municipal Administration in Ancient India.

The following extract from Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* will show the nature of municipal administration in the days of Chandra Gupta :—

"The details recorded concerning the civil administration of Chandra Gupta's empire, if not so copious as we might desire, are yet sufficient to enable us to realize the system of government ; which although of course, based upon the personal autocracy of the sovereign, was something better than a merely arbitrary tyranny.

"The administration of the capital city, Pataliputra, was provided for by the formation of a municipal commission. consisting of thirty members, divided, like the war office commission of equal members, into six Boards or Committees of five members each. These Boards may be regarded as an official development of the ordinary non-official *panchayat*, or committee of five members, by which every caste and trade in India has been accustomed to regulate its internal affairs from time immemorial." Pp. 124-125."

* S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, 'The Chola Administration. 900—1300 A.D. (*Madras Review*, 1903) ; V. Venkayya, 'Irrigation in Southern India' in 'Ancient Times' (*Archælo. Survey* Annual Rep., 1903-4, pp. 203—11).

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N.B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observation as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space. We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

A glimpse into Mrs. Besant's Translation of the Bhagavadgita—a review by Babu Dhirendra Nath Chowdhuri in the Modern Review of August, 1910.

Babu Dhirendra Nath Chowdhuri, who seems to have had a glimpse lately into Mrs. Besant's Translation of the Bhagavat Gita, has found fault with her in one or two places. Mrs. Besant does not claim to be a Sanskrit Scholar, and it would be no surprise if she had failed to catch the true meaning of the sacred scripture here and there. But what we are struck with in this review is the bitterness of feeling which Babu Dhirendra Nath has thought fit to display against Europeans in general and Mrs. Besant in particular. Where was the occasion for making remarks like the following ?

"Europeans must be compelled to sit and learn ancient wisdom at our feet and should never be tolerated as teachers and priests." Why should Europeans, we wander, be compelled to sit at the feet of the Hindus (all Hindus are not wise) to learn ancient wisdom ? Who is to compel them ? Is it not sheer waste of time and energy to write such stuff as this ?

Then in another place Babu Dhirendra Nath indulges in a bit of sarcasm, almost Mephistophelian in its character, against Mrs. Besant and her cult. He writes :—

"I wander who is the great and illumined Mahatma, human or astral, visible or occult, that has revealed this profound meaning of Prakriti to this inspired teacher of ancient wisdom." If Mrs. Besant has failed to understand the meaning of the term *Prakriti*, there was no necessity of attacking her in so offensive a manner. We are all apt to make mistakes.

Let us, however, examine the head and front of Mrs. Besant's offence. She has described *Prakriti*

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in a footnote as "matter in its widest sense including all that has extension." Babu Dhirendra Nath seems to think that this definition of Prakriti in the Sloka

भूमिरापोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च ।
अहङ्कार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ॥ (Ch. vii. 4.)

will undermine the bulwark of Hindu spirituality by materialising the spirit. For how can Prakriti which produces *Manas* (sensorium), *Ahankara* (egoism) and *Buddhi* (intelligence) be constituted of matter? Surely it is blasphemy, if matter be taken in its ordinary sense. Babu Dhirendra has, I think, no objection to call the five gross elements as matter, but he is furious at the idea of manas, ahankara and buddhi being called material.

But the question is "Is this doctrine newly invented by Mrs. Besant, or is it part of a system of philosophy of hoary antiquity?"

The Gita speaks of the two aspects of Brahma calling them *apara prakriti* (lower nature) and *para prakriti* (higher nature). Apara prakriti is the *pradhana* of the Sankhya philosophy, and is the material side of Brahma and *para prakriti* is the spiritual side of Brahma corresponding to Sankhya's *purusha*.

It is very difficult to find an English equivalent for the word Prakriti. The English equivalents usually employed are: primordial matter, undifferentiated matter, nature, rootless root of the universe etc. Purusha is soul, consciousness, self etc. In another place, the Gita speaks of क्षर ब्रह्म and अक्षर ब्रह्म corresponding to अपरा प्रकृति and पराप्रकृति. Beyond क्षर ब्रह्म and अक्षर ब्रह्म there is the पुरुषोत्तम (the highest being) in whom these two aspects of Brahma पुरुष and प्रकृति वा चित् and जड़ are merged and synthesised.

Matter, then, according to the Gita is the objective side of Brahma. The term matter is ordinarily associated with everything that is gross and therefore ungodly. We can therefore well understand Babu Dhirendra Nath's pious indignation when matter is attempted to be associated with Brahma. But we must take things as they are to be found in the Hindu scriptures and no amount of vilification will set matters right.

Now what is the nature of this scarecrow, matter? Numerous attempts have been made by renowned scientists within the last century to analyse it. It baffles all Analysis and like Proteus assumes different shapes at will. The greatest scientists of the 19th century have however come to the startling conclusion that "it is nothing but etherealised energy," "a centre of force," "a non-matter in motion". Professor Gustave Le Bon says, "Force and matter are two different forms of one and the same thing. Matter represents the stable form of energy, force represents its unstable form." Thus matter seems gradually to be vanishing away from the ken of the scientists and they find only force or energy at the root of this visible universe. The three entities of science, matter, energy, and consciousness, may now be conveniently cut down to two,—energy and consciousness or in the terms of the Hindu Philosophy Prakriti and Purusha.

If what the scientists say be true, there is nothing to be afraid of in matter. It is our old friend energy or sakti of Brahma. In the ladder composed of the twenty four tatwas (principles) of the Sankhya philosophy the lowest rung is भूमि (earth) and the highest pradhana or prakriti (undifferentiated matter). How prakriti, the undeveloped matter, the subtlest of all subtle things, developes into an objective and material world after passing through buddhi, ahankara, and manas is a process no doubt hard to conceive and is very trying for the ordinary human intellect accustomed to look upon the objective and subjective world as essentially and fundamentally different.

Mrs. Besant's definition of prakriti as matter in its widest sense including 'all that has extension' is not therefore so outlandish as it appeared to be at first sight. Matter in its widest sense, as we have been told by science, must come to be perceived as "power" "maya" or "creative energy of the supreme" "the ultimate principle from which the phenomenal world has come into existence." Materialism in its ordinary sense is quite out of date in these days, and the term "matter" is used by scientists in a sense quite different from that in which it is commonly employed. "Experimental science proves that matter and energy of the perceptual world are convertible." In these circumstances, the expressions "spiritualising matter" and "materialising the spirit" have no meaning srrictly speaking, and need not breed confusion and wrangling. Then again, the terms *buddhi* (intelligence), *ahankara* (egoism) and *manas* (sensorium) as used in the Sankhya and the Gita in the sloka above-quoted cannot be taken in their psychological sense. *Buddhi* or *mahat*, the first product of matter (in its widest sense) cannot be the samething as the intelligence of a Buddha or a Plato. It must be taken in a cosmic sense, as a phase in the cosmic growth of the universe. Ahankara similary is something developed out of primordial matter after the matter has passed through Buddhi. This is the view taken by Max Muller and Dr. Satis Chandra Bannerji the famous Indian commentator of the Sankhya philosophy. I don't know whether Babu Dhirendra Nath will accept this explanation.

This much about the material or objective or *jada* aspect of the divine nature. The next aspect viz. the subjective side of Brahma is described in the Gita in the following sloka.

अपरेयमितस्त्वन्यां प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे पराम् ।
जीवभूतां महाबाहो ययेदं धार्य्यते जगत् ॥

Mrs. Besant has rendered जीवभूतां by 'life element' Babu Dhirendra Nath has employed all the resources of his powerful mind to hold up Mrs. Besant to ridicule for what he calls 'this piece of absurdity' Babu Dhirendra nath, I must say, is very inflammable and anything that comes into collision with his pre-conceived notions of things sets him on fire.

The translation is very literal, no doubt, but if the most literal translation expresses the best sense why should we have recourse to circumlocutory phraseology?

If *apara prakriti* is the *jada* principle of Brahma, the *para prakriti* must necessarily be the life-giving principle call it consciousness, or chit or soul, or anything you like. The rendering of जीवभूतां by

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element' seem therefore to be very appropriate, and with due deference to Babu Dhirendra Nath's wisdom, I must confess that Mrs. Besant has expressed the sense of the sloka in a very clear and sensible way.

As I have already said, the distinction between these two aspects of Brahma, is only nominal and conventional. To the *gnani* these two merge in the One by a mysterious process and they realise the presence of only the One without a second.

P. N. CHATTERJEE.

The Possibilities of the Bengali Language.

An article under the above title by "Bengalee" advocating the claims of the Bengali language to be accepted as "the international language of all India" appeared in the Modern Review for July 1910. I would make a few observations on the remarks of the writer. It must be borne in mind that I could present here only the opposite view; for a more thorough criticism requires a deep study of all our important vernaculars and going into details which "Bengalee" himself has not done in his article. Further we may not be wise to lay bare our weak and strong points by carrying this controversy to its logical limits seeing that it treats of such questions as 'which of our communities is the most politically advanced?' 'which of our languages has a really good nationalistic literature" and so on.

One class of arguments put forward by "Bengalee" deals with the peculiarities of the Bengali language;—that it has the power of thoroughly assimilating new words from Sanskrit, that its grammar and syntax are easy, that it has a richer literature than any other indigenous language, &c. "Advocates of Hindi and Marathi *and Andhra Bhasha (or Telugu)* will perhaps claim that they too possess these characteristics, *and not a* few will be prepared to deny that in these respects Bengali occupies a pre-eminent position among the Indian languages." (The italics are mine). For my part I admit that the grammar and syntax of the Bengali language are very easy, that a non-Bengalee Hindu could easily learn the language in a few days, the only stumbling-block and repulsive feature being the strange manner in which it is spoken by the Bengalees—I mean its pronunciation.

Another class of arguments runs thus. "If we refuse (why?) to identify Western Hindi with Eastern Hindi, the language which is found to have the largest numerical following in India is Bengali. The Bengali speaking people are admittedly the most intellectually endowed and politically advanced community in India." Again, that "in the field of poetry Bengali literature stands unrivalled," and so on. It may not be out of place here to state that the Brahmans of Southern and Western India and the Parsees may be pardoned if they think themselves not inferior to the Bengalees in the matter of intellectual endowment, that the Andhra (Telugu) people think that their literature rivals Sanskrit in poetic beauty and grandeur, that about the beginning of Christian era Andhras ruled over Magadha for several centuries, and that later on in the 16th century they were the masters of the whole of South India from Jagannath to Cape Comorin, and that till very recently the Sikhs and Mahrattas were independent nations. Certain statements are made to show that Bengali "has greater chance of success in the southern country" than Hindi. Personally I am a fond lover of Bengal, but I must say that the Madrasi have not always looked up to Bengal solely, for light and guidance; for, the only good trait of these benighted people is their open-mindedness and readiness to admit light from all quarters impartially and even enthusiastically. You have to omit the littoral tract of Orissa to make Bengal border on the Madras Presidency. The Andhra, the Karnataka and the Maharashtra people actually live side by side, and, what is more important, without friction. I am afraid it is not quite correct to say that "many educated Madrasis have not even heard the name of Hindi." Most people in the South are familiar with the Birâgi beggar pilgrims hailing from Muttra, Brindavan, Ayodhya, Kâsi and other "Punya Kshetras" of the North, as they travel to Rameswaram. Every year hundreds of people from the south go north for purposes of pilgrimage. There is a theatre in Masulipatam, founded about twenty years ago, which exhibits its performances mostly in Hindi. All the actors are Telugus.

Lastly an attempt is made to push the limits of Bengal by absorbing Behar, Orissa and Assam. But if the claims of the Bengali language are to be considered on the possibility of such a union, the people of the Dekkhan and the Southern peninsula have perhaps greater chances of bringing about and presenting a similar and more formidable combination. Telugu and Kanarese are very similar, the mode of writing is almost the same. There is as much affinity between Tamil and Malayalam as there is between Bengali and Oriya. All the people of the Madras Presidency (the higher classes at any rate) with the Maharashtras and the Guzeratis come under the common name "Pancha Dravidas"—(it does not necessarily mean they are of Dravidian origin. Probably they have been so distinguished from the name of the country they colonized)—in contradistinction to the "Pancha Goudas". (The latter class contains communities which have no objection to eating fish or flesh, such as the Bengalees, the Punjabees, the Kanyakubjas). All the "Pancha Dravida Brahmans" can and do interdine without any such distinction as "Kachchi Rasoi" and "pukki rasoi." They can also intermarry even according to orthodox opinion. There have been many instances of intermarriages from very old times between the Telugus, the Marathas and the Kanarese. When these people interdine and intermarry, it is not difficult to evolve a common language, if they consciously work for it.

Now let us consider for a moment the merits of the assumption upon which the attempt to unite the peoples of Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Assam is made.

I believe with "Bengalee" that Oriya and Assamese are very closely allied to Bengali and that the two former languages may become merged in the latter ultimately; but only on this terrible condition that they are "incapable of putting forth any high degree of activity." When we come to Behari we are not on debatable ground. The assumption I referred to is this. "Bengali, Behari and Oriah constitute, in fact, the Magadhi branch of the ancient Prakrit and their close philological alliance is well established." As otherwise my remarks will not be clear, I beg to quote also part of the foot-note with the extract from the census report of 1901, by which the writer supports

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his statement. "We have found by experience that the common illiterate Behari people, of Bankipur for instance, find difficulty in understanding and speaking Hindi as it is spoken, for instance, at Allahabad .....the language of Bihar has often been considered to be a form of the "Hindi" said to be skoken in the United Provinces, but really nothing can be further from the fact. In spite of the hostile feeling with which Biharis regard everything connected with Bengal, their language is a sister of Bengali, and only a distant cousin of the tongue spoken to its west. Like Bengali and Oriya, it is a direct descendant of the old Magadha Apabhransa." Census of India, 1901. "The Maithili script is practically the same as the Bengali." I do not pretend to possess the scholarship of "Bengalee," nor do I ever think of comparing myself with the learned authors of the report on the census of India, 1901. But in all humility and hoping to be excused for this audacity, I would throw a suggestion—a mere suggestion for what it is worth— regarding the relationship between the 'Hindi' of the United Provinces and Behari. Not only the common illiterate people of Bankipur, but the common illiterate people of Bareilly or Shahranpur, or Jaipur find it equally difficult to understand and speak Hindi, as it is spoken of at Allahabad. The fact is that Hindi is broken up into more divergent dialects than any other Indian language. Even two adjacent districts seem to have two different dialects. But the affinity between the various dialects can be easily seen. For this one thing is necessary. We have to neglect wholly the language of the towns, such as, Allahabad, Agra, Lucknow, Benares, etc. This is too full of Arabic and Persian expressions and constructions. Although the townspeople (of U. P.) think that they are more refined than the countryfolk in the language they speak, the language of the villagers and especially of women is soft and musical and more Sanskritic. So if we pass from district to district, say from Agra to Bankipur, examining the country dialects, we cannot fail to observe their close affinity and the gradual transition that Hindi undergoes. And after all Bengali itself might be a "distant cousin" of Hindi. Only in course of time, on account of the peculiar influences to which it has been subject, it has acquired more marked features and its present independent and distinguishing shape. Behari may have many points of resemblance to Bengali owing to propinquity, but its affinity to the country dialects of the United Provinces can not be questioned.

And then sentiment goes a long way in determining which way a people should go. In spite of the present administrative divisions whose purpose we all know too well, the Beharis and the Maithilis, with their dress and manners which resemble very much those of their brethren to the west, think they are one with the people of the United Provinces and generally care to study and cultivate Hindi more than any other vernacular especially in these days of reaction against Urdu among the Hindustanees in favor of their own tongue. By the way, I may be allowed to say here, that Urdu or the Persianised form of Hindi is unintelligible and unpleasant to non-Hindi-speaking Hindus. We of South India can understand Bengali or Marathi or Brajabhasha better than the "Hindi" as ordinarily spoken of in the towns. But the Sanskritised Hindi of the publications of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha is to us more welcome than any other vernacular.

Now I would very briefly indicate why Hindi has a better chance of becoming "the international language of all India."

(1) Instead of "refusing to identify Western Hindi with Eastern Hindi" and thus cutting down the Hindi-speaking population to a small figure, strictly speaking the people of the Panjab, Kashmir, Rajputana, Central India and the northern half of the Central Provinces, must be added to it. At all events Hindi is the literary language of all Hindustan from Srinagar to Indore and from Lahore to Patna inhabited by about ten crores of the purest of Aryan children, the proudest of Royal Houses, and the noblest of races; and containing the most historic scenes and the holiest of holy places.

(2) The Mohammadan State of Hyderabad in the Dekkhan indirectly popularizes Hindi in the South, by making familiar through Urdu the common words and constructions, as these are almost the same in both Hindi and Urdu.

(3) The Southern people are not complete strangers to Hindi, as I have already said, in spite of the fact that it is very easy to learn compared with the 'gender' difficulty in Hindi. Only I hope our Hindi-speaking brothers won't mind whether we say, "pani girtee hai"or "pani girtee hai". So if our present circumstances do not allow us to think of Sanskritic Hindi must be "elevated to the dignity of a national language."

K. Narasimha Rao.

Note by the Editor.—We have tried to show in a note in our last number that no Indian vernacular is likely to supplant all or any of the highly developed literary languages of India, that if any becomes a *lingua franca* it will be only a second vernacular, that only that vernacular can become the *lingua franca* which is both widely spoken and understood as well as possesses a rich *modern* literature sufficient for the purposes of culture and education, and that no vernacular at present satisfies both these conditions. We do not think many persons will take the trouble to learn a second varnacular in addition to his own simply to carry on conversation with people in provinces other than his own unless this second vernacular has also rich literary treasures to offer him. That seems to us to be the practical main point of view.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Christ and Non-Christians.

The interpretation of the character of Christ to non-Christian races.—By Charles H. Robinson, M. A, Hon. Canon of Ripon &c. Longmans, Green and Co. 3/6 Net.

We extend a hearty welcome to the book lying on our desk. It is divided into nine chapters and some of them may be said to be short disquisitions on the other principal religions of the world, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Islam. The author has attempted to establish the claims of Christianity by measuring it against the religions just mentioned, and seems to enjoy the self-complacency that comes of having accomplished a thing to advantage. Christianity is, indeed, a power in the world and we cannot appreciate it too highly. Christ is a regenerating force and the cross a venerable symbol of complete self-surrender to the will of God. It is one thing to interpret Christ, it is quite another to set Christianity above the other faiths of the world. Each religion marks the different stages of evolution the human mind is passing through, nay, each religion represents the respective phases of the grand universal federation of mankind that will come to pass in fulness of time. This federation is nothing else than a whole-hearted recognition by the entire world of the divine graces that all religions possess. In view of this complete fusion of the human race, the book lying on our desk is an unwelcome production; for anything that tends to keep alive the odium that one religion openly or covertly flings at the other is a clog upon the progress of humanity. The world needs the interpretation of the character of Christ, the total unveiling of his divine virtues but away with anything that pushes Christianity up into rude stilts and makes it ride savagely over its sister-religions which have also contributed largely to the civilisation of the world. Canon Robinson has, however, steered clear of savage attacks upon the other religions of the world but there is no doubt that he has endeavoured to maintain that no religion but Christianity is sufficient. This is, indeed, a parochial view and must be condemned as such.

The writer has urged strong pleas in favour of Christian Missions. We are in full sympathy with anything that preaches the noble Jesus; for Jesus is a force, an inspiration that we daily need. Nevertheless, we feel that the methods of propagation will have to be largely modified and we are quite at one with Canon Robinson when he says that the best way to preach Christ is to live a Christ-like life.

CHUNILAL MUKERJI.

Manual Training in School of General Education.

Special Report on Manual Training in Schools of General Education by H. J. Bhabha, M.A. Inspector-General of Education in Mysore. Published by the Department of Public Instruction in Mysore.

We have here what is tantamount to a full publication of the notes on education—especially in its general manual and non-technical aspects which were made by Mr Bhabha, during his nine months' deputation to the West for that purpose in 1906 to 1907.

The book as a whole can only be described as a treasury of descriptive and explanatory matter, which might be found valuable by all those teachers and school-committees who are at present so sorely exercised by the demand for educational commodities of which they know nothing but the names. By following the extraordinarily rapid and energetic Mr. Bhabha in his meteoric flight from centre to centre, we are able to neutralise a good deal of our own very painful state of ignorance, for if we want to know what a kindergarten is, we have only to read his suggestions for schools in India, accompanied as that is by a tabular statement of kindargarten activities, to form a very good idea. His Chapter Six again contains a very clear description of Sloyd, or educational carpentering, from which we may gain all the information we want as to what is actually meant by this word, when it is used. He has visited the negro-institutions at Hampton and Tuskegee, and faithfully describes them. And he has pursued after manual training in all its grades and developments, in England, America, and Switzerland and has here faithfully set down his impressions. Besides all this, Mr. Bhabha has made visits to famous Western educators and gives us in his report, not set interviews, but very strong impressions of their theories and individual significance in the world of scholastic thought.

We must realise from the outset that Mr. Bhabha is a convert to the theory of manual training. That is to say, he has accepted Western, and more specifically American, views on the inadequacy of an education which is purely literary, and includes no elements of practicality in the form of fine muscular development. He is thoroughly convinced of the vast reflex action of the limbs and motor organs on the brain. He goes out to gain light on how to bring these principles into play in Indian schools, not in order to win conviction for himself.

His mind, therefore, is open to the significance of many other things besides the value and details of manual training itself. He is quite able to enter into the theory of the compression into each child's development of the historical phases through which the race has passed. He sees, with Dewey, the importance of socialising education, that is to say, of recapitulating the successive phases of sympathy with primitive industry, with hunting,

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fishing, herding and so on One of the most valuable chapters in his report is that on the place of Industry in Elementary Education. He even follows up this question so far as to deal with the transition from school-gardening to the consideration of agriculture Mr Bhabha, moreover, on his return to Mysore, has not been slow to put in practice as much as he could of all that he has seen and learnt. In this he seems to have had admirable facilities afforded him by His Highness' Government, which appears to be most generous and enlightened. An educational museum has been established; Sloyd classes were organised under the most famous of specialists; and gardens have been begun in connection with every school where it was possible.

Our own difficulty as Indians is to remember duly the very experimental nature of all such attempts. It is inevitable that when beginning an effort of this character, the details of Western application should influence us, much more prominently than they ought to do later, when we have assimilated the idea, and have found our own footing in the matter of its realisation. It cannot be too clearly or too often pointed out that our first efforts are entirely tentative, and that, from sloyd and the kindergarten up to the elements of science and agriculture, our educational representations are today very different from what they will be, when we have thoroughly Indianised the ideas which they express An Indian village of the old type is the most perfect synthesis that can be imagined of the activities and industries that make up the social expression of human faculty. It is that village, therefore, and not these renderings of primitive energy which have been thought out in Germany or America, that must be reflected in the Indian kindergarten. It is in the work and materials of the orthodox Indian home, with its abundance of clay, thread, coloured powder, pattern-making and symbolism that we must eventually find the natural basis for an Indian kindergarten. Before that day can come, however, there must be a great concensus of study. Changes in educational methods of this importance will not be worked out without the labour and experiment of many workers. And undoubtedly the first steps must be largely imitative Only we must remind ourselves constantly that this imitation is only provisional. We must not allow ourselves to think of it as the end in itself. Even in our most ambitious attempts we must constantly say to ourselves that we are only seeking to learn what it is that western children gain from this particular thing. When we have determined this, we must next proceed to ascertain whether there is a simpler and more direct means of attaining the same end, by using methods and materials more familiar to our own civilisation. Sloyd is an excellent discipline, and there is no doubt that educational carpentering has a most beneficial effect on the brain and on the whole of our mental vigour and originality. But we must not forget that Sloyd as it stands is exactly what a Swedish notion of carpentering and of education would make it. If it had originated in India it would have been quite different. Our ideal must be to get back to that form which it would have had, had the same ends spontaneously suggested themselves to an Indian educator, and the scheme for their realisation been designed by him.

Similarly, Indian manual training in general may begin by being American, but it must end by becoming Indian. We must remember that manual training as an element in the education given in schools of a higher than elementary grade, is not primarily intended to turn out carpenters, plumbers, and artisans generally, who can read and write, though it is not averse to doing this, as a secondary issue. The first and main object of manual training in schools in general education is to deepen and enrich the faculties of thought, observation, and self expression. It aims at broadening the basis of feeling and knowledge. It aims at increasing originality and fostering individuality and practicality of mind. It is clear that all these ends would be best achieved by an acquaintance with the rudiments of the mediæval Indian industries, rather than with the highly artificial and mechanical arts of the West. In putting knowledge into the hands of the higher classes, which would enable them to react on the Indian industries and bring the knowledge and skill of the village workman once more up to such a general standard as it might for instance attain in China, we should have the fine social result of the new educative factor. It is the intelligent use of the hands, during educational development, that matters, not the thing on which they are employed. Even if the course of manual training culminates, in the higher classes of a school, with Western mechanical industries, it should begin, lower down, with the recapitulation of the simple Indian crafts. The loom, the spinning-wheel, the art of the potter's wheel and clay, the printing-block, the spindle, the fishing-net, these are the eternal educators, the perpetual civilisers, and these, with the social developments that belong to them, are present in every Indian village, and can be brought into every school The education synthesis should form a natural reflection of the social synthesis in which it takes place. How wonderful would be the fruit of such an organic connexion, in the revival of taste! Let one consider the fact that one is sometimes tempted, in view of Indian needs, to abandon the whole position about manual training! One sometimes thinks that had western educators been faced by the peculiar problems of Indian education instead of by their own, they would have preached the Gospel of Athletic Education, and have let the delicate, plastic, fully-tactile Indian hand alone. Owing to the habit of eating with the fingers, and doing without tools or utensils in a thousand ways in which Europeans habitually employ them, the Indian hand is already one of the most perfect things in the whole world, whereas the European is stiff and expressionless. It is not for the training of that hand, but only for the vivifying of the brain by its means that it has to be admitted and recognised in the school course.

We can also, by reflecting the primitive industries, stage by stage,—and by centring round them the song and story, the play and picture of the children in their classes—farther extend and ameliorate the social sympathies. Here manual training becomes a part of moral education, and in this aspect it should not be ignored. The garden, regarded as the nucleus of agriculture and made into the dream-world of peasant stories, and culture-histories, brings us in imaginative touch with ancient Egypt, China and modern India, as a whole. Similarly, if fish-

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and boating be treated as the true industrial basis of aggressive and piratical civilisations, how organically related to itself will the child hence-forward see the great root-industry that has played in the world's history so august a part The sight of the fishing boats on the river will waken in him, the complex response of love, sympathy, and knowledge. Hunting, again, represented in Indian story by the Kirat-Arjuna or the legends of Rajputana, as well as by the traditions of the humbler poacher, becomes another of the royal and imperial occupations. Thus the heart is broadened, and social harshness and narrowness are made things impossible. The poetry of the primitive civilisations is wakened in us, and our sympathies ripen as they ought to do. We see the gradual climb that Man has made from point to point, from level to level, and our conception of Humanity is henceforth more generous and noble. All this is the deeper because it mingles with our earliest associations, and forms part of the fibre of our childhood's memories.

We must congratulate the Government of Mysore on its possession of a public servant so conscientious and indefatigable as Mr. Bhabha, and ourselves on the addition to the national library of education of the valuable report which that Government has so wisely made public.

N.

Routledge Rides Alone: by Will Levington Comfort. J. P. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia and London, 1910.

Routledge, the hero of the story, though an American by birth, is a war-correspondent on the staff of the London *Review*, and old Jerry Cardinegh, of the *Witness*, 'by profession dean of the cult of the British word-painters of war,' and by birth an Irishman of Tyrone, is his friend. Jerry Cardinegh's daughter Noreen Cardinegh is the handsomest woman in all London, and the heroine of the story. Routledge is somewhat of a mystic, loves Asia, has penetrated into the secret soul and the byways of India more deeply than any other European, save and except the friend of his childhood, and his ideal brave man, Rawder, who after a chequered career of heroic self-sacrifice and misunderstanding in America and the Philippines, becomes the *chela* of Sekhar, an Indian Sannyasi, who possesses great occult powers. Routledge was not an ordinary war-correspondent, for he had 'a tendency to make the world see that war was a hang over from the days when men ate their flesh hot from the kill, not from the fire. Veiled under all his work, and often expressed only in a stinging line, was his conviction that war was a ghastly imposition upon the men in the ranks. The sudden recall of an Indian expedition on Bhurpal, to the great disappointment of all the war-correspondents assembled there, is found to be the outcome of the betrayal to Russia of a secret document which had come into Jerry Cardinegh's possession. Russia exploited the secret so cleverly that she succeeded in rousing the harted of the Indians and the Afgans against the ruling power, and England was compelled to conclude an alliance with Japan (described as a boy, 'cruel, unlit from within, formidable') in order to play her off against Russia, and so divert the attention of the Great Bear from India 'for at least another decade' (p. 162). The point of the story runs on the fact that though Jerry Cardinegh was guilty of the treachery, suspicions fell on Routledge who was blackballed by English society, though Noreen, the only woman in the story, held fast to her faith in him and when she found out at last from the lips of her dying father that Routledge who knew the truth had locked the secret in the chambers of his heart and did nothing to avert suspicion from himself out of love for Noreen and regard for her father, her love for Routledge reached white-heat and she set out to discover her lover on the outskirts of the war-zone in Manchuria, where Russia and Japan presented each other 'fifty-mile battle-fronts' in the mightiest war recorded in history. She succeeded at last in effecting a meeting with her lover, who was wounded, as was predicted by Sekhar, by his rival Bingley of the *Thames* in his attempt to be the first to reach an uncensored cable in Southern China to convey the news of the battle of Lyoyang to an American paper to which he had attached himself after his services on the *Review* were dispensed with owing to the suspicion against his name. The superhuman efforts of the two rival war-correspondents to earn for the papers they represented the distinction of being the first to publish the news of the Japanese victory has been superbly narrated, and is one of the most effective in the whole range of fiction. Routledge wins the race, and after his wound heals under the gentle ministrations of Noreen, the two travel together to the Leper valley, somewhere on the border of China and Thibet, as predicted by Sekhar, and there they meet him and his *chela*, and the story closes with the union of the faithful lovers by the hand of Rawder, who then takes a last long farewell of the newly married couple and departs with his revered master up in the mountains to finish his life's work.

The picture of an Indian village in the Central Provinces during a great famine has been powerfully drawn. The language is vigorous and forceful, but full of slangs and shocks to those who are unaccustomed to up-to-date American journalism. The author's references to the spirituality, the occult wisdom and the capacity for suffering of the Hindus are exceedingly sympathetic. But his story is practically devoid of any plot interest.

The Indian Arms Act Manual: compiled by G. K. Roy, Home Department, Government of India. The City Book Society, 64, College Street, Calcutta Price Rs. 5/4/0.

This is a very handsomely got up volume which in view of the numerous Arms Act prosecutions, must be said to be a timely publication. The compiler has done his work very creditably, and nothing worth knowing on the subject has been left out. The High Court rulings and the various Government circulars which the author's connection with the Home Department gave him special facilities for collecting have been duly incorporated and an elaborate index contributes not a little to the usefulness of the publication. We recommend the book with pleasure to those for whom it is intended.

The Collections of Hindu Law Texts: A Quarterly Magazine. Nos. I & II, Girgaun Back Road, Bombay, Annual Subscription, Rs. 10.

Bombay has always taken the lead in the matter of Sanskrit publications. The present venture is ambitious in scope, but from the specimen copies presented to us, it promises to be an entire success, as indeed nothing less could be expected of the distinguished band of

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lawyers, headed by Justice Sir N. G. Chandravarkar, who constitute the Advisory Board. The publishers propose to cover the whole field of Sanskrit legal literature and bring out all the Sanskrit texts which have any direct or indirect bearing on Hindu Positive Law, together with their English translations. The printing and paper are excellent. Scholars and jurists who want to have direct access to the sources of Hindu law, as well as workers in the field of legal research, will welcome these publications.

M. K. Gandhi: A Sketch of his life and work. By G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras, Price annas four.

This little book of 48 pages gives a short account of the ideal Karma-Yogi who has built up a common Indian nationality in South Africa, including extracts from some of his speeches. The name of Messrs. Natesan & Co., is a guarantee of the nice get up of the book:

X.

The Vaishnavite Reformers of India, by T. Rajgopala Chariar, M.A., B.L. Price One Rupee. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co. Esplanade, Madras.

This is a collection of seven essays on the life and writings of some of the chief Vaishnava reformers of India. The first six are all South India reformers. They are: Nathamuni, Pundarikakoha, Yamunacharya, Ramanujacharya, Sri Vedanta Desika and Manavala Mahamuni. The last is Sri Chaitanya, whose life is prefaced by a sketch of Northern India Vaishnavism. Ramanuja's life is followed by a brief account of his philosophy. The lives are all well-written and interesting, but their brevity leaves an unsatisfied desire in the reader's mind. We hope the writer will find time to expand them into a full history of Southern India Vaishnavism.

Godward Ho! compiled from Annie Besant and Herbert Spencer by N. K. Ramaswami Aiyer, B.A., B. L., F. T. S. Printed by V. Gooindan and Brothers at Shri Vidya Vinodini Press, Tanjore. Price two annas or two pence.

The extracts contained in the pamphlet comprise a variety of subjects, earthly and unearthly. They are in the form of short paragraphs several of which contain only two or three lines. We cannot pronounce any opinion on their usefulness.

A Critical Survey and Summary of the Leading Upanishads by Shambbuprasad Shivprasad Mehta. Shree Saraswati Press, Bhabnagar.

The author says in his preface: "The pregnant saying of Schiller that 'the history of the world is the judgment of the world' was deep laid into the heart, and as a result, the premature pangs of a widower's state were drowned into the cooling and comforting effects of the study of Vedanta." It was all right. But "the cooling and comforting effects" of such study might very well remain unpublished before they could be put down in readable language and brought out in the form of a decently printed book.

SITANATH TATTWABHUSHAN.

Old Dacca, by Sayid Aulad Hasan Khan Bahadur, Northbrook Hall Library Lecture, (Gandaria Press, Dacca.) Pp. 14.

This pamphlet does equal credit to the lecturer who has told a fascinating story of Dacca and its Muslim remains, and to the Gandaria Press, which has given us a pleasing surprise by such a proof of the excellence of mofussil printing. The Arabic terms, however, required more care on the part of the proof-reader, and mistakes of this class of words make almost every page an eyesore to Oriental scholars. The author has entirely relied on tradition and on equally untrustworthy compilations of the early British period. Hence his lecture, apart from its accurate observation of local details, has no value as history. In two instances which we have tested, the Khan Bahadur's accounts disagree with the contemporary official history of Aurangzib, *viz.*, the *Masir-i-Alamgiri*. On page 10, l. 18, *Mahrattas* should be *Rajputs*. The date of Azam Shah's departure from Dacca was not August 14, but 2nd October, 1679 (=7th Ramzan, 23rd year of the reign), as we learn from the *Masir*, p. 183. Again, no daughter of Shaista Khan was married to Prince Azam Shah (p. 12), for a match between two such important persons could not possibly have been ignored both by the *Masir-i-Alamgiri* and by the *Masir-ul-Umara*. Bibi Pari, therefore, seems to have been that daughter of Shaista Khan who was married to Itiqad Khan (afterwards Zulfiqar Khan, Nasrut Jang Bahadur) and who died in September 1688, (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*. p. 312.)

Sketches of Indian Economics, by R. Palit, (Ganes & Co., Madras), pp. viii×337, Rs. 1. 8 as.

This is a collection of the articles which Mr. Palit wrote as editor of the now defunct paper, the *Indian Economist*. Some of them are necessarily of a topical character, others mere sketches or exhortations which no doubt did useful work when first published, but have no abiding value. The very title of *Sketches* chosen by the author shows that it would be unfair to criticise his work in the same way as a serious and elaborate treatise. But in our present deplorable ignorance of India's economic condition, several of these sketches will serve a good purpose by imparting much-needed information and "opening our eyes." In spite of much that is commonplace, much that is mere rhetorical padding in this book, the author's earnest desire to improve his country's condition entitles him to a respectful hearing.

But I think Mr. Palit has done an injustice to his fame by printing *all* his former editorials without selection and excision. In a second edition all ephemeral sketches and all rhetorical commonplaces should be left out, and the volume made smaller but more uniform in value.

A Note on the Antiquity of the Ramayana, by Nobin Chandra Das, (Hare Press, Calcutta, 1899) pp. 14. Annas four.

This rather desultory pamphlet represents an earlier stage of Oriental Scholarship than that in which we live, as will be evident from the following theories of the author:

(a) Valmiki dealt with *historical* events and correctly and minutely described *all* that came within the scope of his epic. (p. 2)

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(b) I do not endorse the theory that the Aryans came into India from some place beyond the Indus. (p. 3)

(c) The caste *system* was originally based on personal character and calling of the people. (p. 10)

A Note on the Ancient Geography of Asia, compiled from Valmiki-Ramayana, with a Map, by Nabin Chandra Das, (Buddhist Text Society, 1896), pp. viii+77, One Rupee.

It is a painstaking attempt to trace the geopraphy of India and the lands around it, as known to Valmiki. The author is a loving student of the Ramayana, and his book has some value as a sketch of the mixture of travellers' reports and current legends which did duty for geography in the infancy of the world when the epic was written. But it cannot be accepted as the *actual* description of India in any age. The Ramayana is a picture of the popular beliefs of the age of its *author* and not a history of the age of its *hero*, just as the Iliad gives a correct view of Greek Society in Homer's time and not in the age of Agamemnon. Here, in the words of Grote, "the curtain is the picture."

The attempt to construct history (or geography) out of myth is like twining ropes of sand. To the scholar in search of accuracy the book under review is not critical enough. For one thing, it is based on a translation in rhymed verse, which from the nature of the case must be inaccurate. It would have been better if Mr. Das had given prose translations of his own and quoted the Sanskrit text of *every* extract. Secondly, miracles and facts are narrated in the same breath without a word of comment. Thirdly, all authorities from the primitive Schlegel to the modern French scholars of Indo-China are cited without any discrimination of their relative values. The author relies on Dowson without going to and verifying Dowson's sources. Lastly the book was written 14 years ago, and much water has flowed under the bridge since then.

The map will be appreciated; but it was a mistake to print Rama's route in the same colour as the boundary-line of Aryavarta. Bharata's route is not distinct enough on a red background.

J. SARKAR.

Youths Noble Path.

Youth's Noble Path: Being a book of moral lessons for the use of schools and families in India, by F. J. Gould. Issued for the Moral Education League, 6 York Buildings, Adelphi, London W. C. Price two rupees.

Preceded by a few words of warm commendation from Sir George Clarke of Bombay, the Moral Education League in London has issued a few pages of a forth-coming book of moral lessons for boys and girls in India. These few pages have been to ourselves a delightful surprise. Hero-tales of Arabia, Persia, and India, tales of Mohammedans, Hindus, Buddhists and Parsis, tales from the Mahabharata and Ramayana, and Krishna and the Snake Kaliya, side by side with Herakles and the Hydra, are all to be found in this delightful booklet.

We confess that the prevailing talk about the need of moral and religious text-books had not prepared us for anything so admirable. We felt that the talkers were making themselves ridiculous by the assumption that the deepest truths of human life could be taught by words, read out of books. Did they not know that it was the teacher, and what he loved, that the child learnt from, not what he said? After reading this booklet, however, we think it may be well to give some set time regularly, more or less in the way of recreation, to the consideration of this particular end and its compassing, at least for young children. The wide sympathies of the author, together with his great simplicity, enable him to furnish the teacher with the raw materials of character-building, ammunition, as it were, for the assault on inertia. He has true aims and conceptions in his architecture of the moral life. He knows how to fire the deeper passions, those of helping others, of aiding the lowly to rise, and of self-sacrifice. And above all, he has learnt the great secret of finding the illustrations he needs in a people's own literature. It is of course clear that a book like the present is only intended for the very young. For boys and girls of fourteen or fifteen we would advise the abandonment of even those elements of didacticism which inhere in this book. In their case, it would be desirable to quote immortal fragments of literature without comment or criticism.

We were much struck on one occasion to hear from a Russian that the Lament of Gandhari was to be found in Russian schoolbooks, and is therefore familiar to all those in that country who can read. We cannot imagine any thing better than a textbook made up of such extracts. The entry of Yudisthira into Heaven needs no explanation. As it stands in the Mahabharata, it explains itself. And the literature of the whole world contains perhaps no other moral lesson like it. In filling the minds of the adolescent with pictures and ideals such as this we are giving them the highest and noblest of companions to live with them. Beside this, there is no other moral education worth the name. But for younger children a word of introduction is necessary. The teacher teaches, by dint of his own love and aspiration after all that is great. But it is well that he should be able to call on something that will expand and enforce the hints he himself can let fall on such a subject. A child's criticism needs a word of guidance here and there. This guidance, straightforward, unobtrusive, it is Mr. Gould's aim to give. He 'does it well.' We live by admiration, hope and love, says Wordsworth. Mr. Gould's service in lighting up the great ideals is no little one.

That of the Moral Education League in drawing up the syllabus of moral and civic virtues which we have also received, does not seem to us so valuable. A syllabus of this sort is bound to be complicated, and to have the effect of crushing the enthusiasm of the teacher who refers to it, under the weight of what has to be done. The beauty of the concrete personal ideals of mythology lies exactly here, that they are seeds of life, and therefore unfold later, under a proper fostering of the imagination, into infinitely more significance than the most careful analysis could have got out of them. A single story, told at a sympathetic moment in childhood, will have effects on a life, that the most agonised setting out of pans to collect the dew will never compass.

Nor should we like it to be thought that because we admire so deeply Mr. Gould's little work, therefore we are converts to the idea of set courses of moral instruction in general. We have a good deal of regard to the fact that this task, when next done, is not likely to be done so well. And we realise the disas-

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trous farce of a scramble for the commercial production of text-books in such a department, as vastly worse for the national conscience than is even the present spectacle in the matter of secular knowledge.

Our Indian ideals may be said to centre in purity, patience, and faithfulness. The English on the other hand worship truth, courage, and discipline. There would be a great deal of good done to both sides by a mutual expression of these ideals. Amongst our many needs we have none like that of recovering a manly discipline, at once free and unfaltering, and perhaps the present state of the marriage-laws in the west is a sufficient evidence of all that they have to learn from us, in the ethics that knit society together. It might be said indeed that in civic discipline westerns are incomparable, and in social, orientals. We might learn from each other. But we are not sure that it is of much use to try to turn the process into a school course, and furnish text-books on the subject. The virtue of Mr. Gould's lies in the fact that he never ceases to be concrete. The abstract has its own place in moral teaching, but we do not know how far most of us would be willing to go in making Emerson the Bible, and the Ramayana, into school-books. It is clear that every step in the organisation of education puts a multiplied strain on the tact of the teacher, and tends increasingly at the same time to find us teachers who are incapable of exercising it.

N.

Essays in National Idealism:

By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy D. Sc. To be had from Colombo, Apothecaries Co. Ltd. S. Natesan & Co. Madras; Probsthain & Co. London; The Author; Campden, Glos., England. Rs. 2 as. 12.

The peculiar love which the author of these Essays is known to cherish, for Indian music and Indian art, will prepare the reader for many of the subjects treated by him under the title of "National Idealism." But one could hardly be prepared for the vigour of thought and masculine energy of English, by which they are marked. The language is peculiarly happy when a reference has to be made to the epics, or, as Dr. Coomaraswamy prefers to call them, 'the sagas'. We feel here a man who has moulded his expression on William Morris,—a twentieth century man who yet reads heroic literature! These Essays in Indian Idealism are fifteen in number and range over many subjects, from Yoga to Gramophones. Their author is a logical and uncompromising reactionary. His eyes are so firmly and determinedly set on THE IDEAL, as it might, under happier circumstances have been, that he would, if he could, erase Lord Macauley's name from the chronicles of time, and destroy power-looms along with Christian Missions and Gramophones. Seeing that the world is as it is, and not as it might have been, we are unable to wish, with him, that Lord Macauley had been radically different, unless our environment had been radically different also. As thorn extracts thorn, fire extinguishes fire, and poison proves the antidote to poison, so one evil may be necessary to counteract another. Yet we cannot deny the beauty and truth of the pure ideal as he so nobly and persistently holds it up before us. This comprehension of the ideal is itself the greatest and best because the most spiritual, of all the forces that are to make for our salvation. How true are the words at the end of the beautiful essay on Indian music:

"All this is passing away; when it is gone, men will look back on it with hungry eyes, as some have looked upon the life even of mediæval Europe, or of Greece. When civilisation has made of life a business, it will be remembered that life was once an art; when culture is the privilege of bookworms, it will be remembered that it was once a part of life itself, not something achieved in stolen moments of relief from the serious business of being an engine-driver, a clerk, or a governor.

Let those who are still part of such a life take note of it, that they may tell their children of it when it is nothing but a memory. A 'practical' and 'respectable' world has no place for the dreamer and the dancer; they belong to the old Hindu towns where the big temples and the *chatrams* tell of the faith and munificence of kings and merchant princes. In Madras there is the military band, or the music-hall company on tour,—what does it want with ascetics or with dancing girls?"

"Let those who are still part of such a life take note of it, that they may tell their children of it, when it is nothing but a memory." Aye, and let those who have been long banished from the beautiful old life take note of it, that they may do what in them lies to win back what they can of that life for others.

We of the present generation in Indian cities, are born to a certain extent orphans and foreigners to the culture of our own motherland. All who have thought deeply know that the renewal of our old life means for India all that 'Union with the People.' 'Restoration of the villages,' and 'Back to the Land' mean, for other nations. For this reason we cannot value too highly these readings from the old life within their study of Indian culture, which a patient and devoted student has made. He says:

"(The future of India) lies in the lives of those who are truly Indian at heart, whose love for India is the love of a lover for his mistress, who believe that India still is (and not merely may be, when duly 'educated' the light of the World, who to-day judge all things by Indian standards, and in whom is manifest the work of the shapers of India from the beginning until now. Without these, there can be no Indian future worth the name. How may they be known? Like answers unto like; but, if an empirical test be asked for, I believe that the love of Indian music and the comprehension of Indian art are tests unfailing." We do not think Dr. Coomaraswamy says a word too much about the importance of Indian music, as an element in Indian culture. Gramophones, and even the bastard performances on the harmonium, we hate as heartily as he does. Only we would point out that in every country the end of native culture is to open the mind to universal culture, and that Indian music is no exception to this rule. Its labour is justified when the really beautiful in Western music is appreciated. Western study also, has a value for Indian life in its own time and place. Its defect is that Western study aims rather at the efficiency of the many than at the deep cultivation of the individual.

The author's services to the Indian arts of form and colour are many and incessant. His essays on this subject therefore, and especially the chapter in which he compares Ravi Varma and Abanindra Nath Tagore, are of great value. The work done by the

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Indian Society of Oriental Art receives his emphatic elucidation and support. Finally, in a notable passage comparing idealistic and realistic aims in art, Dr. Coomaraswamy says:

"The great cat-gods of Egypt, the sublime Buddhas of Java, the four-handed gods of India, even the great Chinese Dragon, are greater imaginative art, belong more to the divine in man, than do the Hermes of Praxteles or the Venus of Milo. The ideal of the last is limited, and the very fact and possibility of its attainment show it. I do not mean, of course, that even post-Pheidian Greek art could be spared from the world, or that it is not one of the great achievements of humanity: only that it was in certain respects definitely limited, and does not necessarily stand on a pinnacle by itself as the greatest of all art the world has seen. Once the spell of this limited ideal is broken, you can never again be satisfied by it, but seek in art for that which has often been suggested, but never can, and never will, be perfectly expressed—the portrayal not merely of perfect men, but of perfect and entire divinity. *You seek for an art which,* however imperfectly, seeks to represent neither particular things, nor merely physical or human grandeur, but which *aims at an intimation of the Universe,* and that universe *conceived*, not as an empirical phenomenon, but *as noumenon within yourself.*"

The statement which we have here ventured to emphasise, is one of a great profundity and truth.

Our author has no toleration for counterfeits. He cannot pardon the gramophone, or the harmonium, of the mission school. But now and again he gives a larger glimpse, and it is for these that we think the book he has written to be of surpassing value:

"The great civilising force called Hindusim", he says, "is a literal attempt to realise the kingdom of heaven on earth. This is the explanation of religious art traditions, of the continuity in Indian music, architecture, and ritual. Those for whom the ideal was a matter of actual experience, who saw and heard the true realities and revealed them to less gifted men, willed that they should not be fogotten.

It is for us not to follow after our own vain imaginings in art or life, not even—though this might well content us—to follow blindly on the lines laid down by the ancient shapers of Indian culture; but so to refine ourselves that we may see and hear again the true realities and re-express them in terms of our present consciousness".

And so, with this hint of "the hope that lies in 'change beyond change'", we leave a book that we commend to every reader.

N.

Indian Heroes.

Heroes of Indian History and Stories of their Times by F. C. Allen. Published by Messrs. Longmans Green and Co. Price twelve annas.

It is a curious thing that amidst much that seems depressing, books begin to be issued by English authors which show a real respect and affection for Indian history and literature. 'Youth's Noble Path' and this little English schoolbook are both cases in point. Heroes of Indian history seems to have been written with a view to being made a text-book for the reading of English in schools. Nor can we imagine anything much better adapted to this end. It is quite necessary that in reading a strange language, one should be supplied with familiar ideas. These ideas we have here, in the Indian history, upon which Mr. Allen has drawn for his materials. There is nothing very detailed or complicated in the little book and nothing at all that could be called sectarian or disputable. Asoka is described, and Buddha and Mahavira are given, but there is little told in the way of their doctrines. The Entrance of the Parsis into India is told, but the bringing of the Sacred Fire, or the poetry of their Towers of Silence, is not even mentioned. Many persons and events dear to the Indian heart are altogether left out, but the whole tone of the book is one of admirable synopsis, and of hearty respect throughout. Mr. Allen has altogether avoided the famous mistake of treating the legendary and historic heroes of the Indian people as if they had been less worshippers of truth than others, instead of more so! It is true that he refers to 'writing, which we invented thousands of years ago,' as if letters had been a creation of some modern European people, but perhaps the 'we' in this case refers to Indians! It is perhaps of special interest to know how Mr. Allen refers to the great Self-Government Act of Lord Ripon. 'This Act,' he says, 'was intended to teach the people of India the system of Representative Government in their towns. Afterwards when people understood it, he hoped that this system would become the system of the Government of the whole of India.' It is little startling to read, further on, 'Under our present Viceroy, Lord Minto, *this great reform has been completed.* India is now Governed by a form of Representative Government.' However, the book is singularly free from the characteristic bias of European utterances, and we are heartily glad to welcome it amongst the resources of the teacher of English. Nor must we omit mention of the lavish illustration, much of it from the best Indian sources, in which the book abounds. When we see how many of the originals of these pictures are lodged in Europe, we do indeed feel that we have cause for sadness. It is all the more desirable however, that our children should have the opportunity of studying their reproductions. There is a photograph here from one of the paintings in the Caves of Ajanta. There are numerous portraits, and historical pictures; while there are also copies of many maps and photographs of places and persons.

The Open Sesame of English Srnonyms by R. P. De. Calcutta.

This handbook has been well-planned. It has been arranged on a new though an easy method, and the hope of the author that it will be really a book of reference is likely to be fulfilled. He has ranged over a wide field to select passages to the point to illustrate the fine shades of difference and the subtle distinctions between words which at first glance seem to convey the same meaning, thus leading the unwary writer whose mother-tongue is not English either into ridiculous errors, or serious blunders. It will be a help to the scholar and the Bengali equivalents will explain what is not quite obvious and make clear what may not be evident.

Synonyms are so to say, the very sinews of a language. All its strength, all its grace and glory, all its liquid flexibility or dewy sweetness or plangent resonance depends upon its rich and copious vocabulary.

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The vision of the poet, the fervour of the orator, the far-sightedness of the statesman are of avail only when each has an inexhaustible store of terms and phrases and a ready command to marshal them to illustrate his thought in a variety of ways.

It is essential that the student of English should have a thorough knowledge of English synonyms—the more so if he is ambitious of acquiring an elegant style. Vapidity, redundancy, affectation, ambiguity, circumlocution are some of the gravest faults that critics often notice in our compositions and these can only be removed by a careful study of words of analogous significance. Moreover a catalogue "of such words on a methodized system will often suggest by association other trains of thought, which, presenting the subject under new and varied aspects will vastly expand our mental vision." A perfect grasp of synonyms therefore will not only make for clearness but energise thought into active channels. We shall welcome without any reservation all attempts in the present direction.

H. L. C.

Through Solitude and Sorrow by Syam Sunder Chakraverty. Price eight annas only. The Kalpataru Agency, 14 Shyambazar Street, Calcutta.

The book before us is not merely a narrative of the story of the author's deportation—a dry and detailed account of the life he led during his incarceration—but an account of the struggle of the spirit to overcome the weakness the flesh is heir to—to reach a purer and clearer atmosphere. And this account is tasselated with splendid passages of picturesque description redolent of that poignant grief which is "more akin to pain—but resembles sorrow only as the mist resembles the rain."

The book reveals the man as he was and as he became after his trials and troubles. It deserves wide circulation, and we venture to add, wider appreciation.

G.

The Individual and Reality.

The Individual and Reality; an essay touching the First Principles of Metaphysics. By Edward Douglas Fawcett. Longmans, Green and Co., London, Pp 449.

Whether this book is a philosophical work or not the present reviewer, though he has read it carefully, is unable to say, but what is certain is that Mr. Fawcett's temper is not that of a philosopher. Throughout the book, he makes *ex cathedra* assertions only and it never seems to have occurred to him that in order to carry his readers along with him, it was incumbent upon him to give more solid reasons for his amazing conclusions than he has thought fit to do. He begins by informing us that "Absolutism in its German, English and Indian forms is rejected outright." To reject a system of thought outright is easy but to acquire an insight into it is very difficult. From the manner in which the author deals with what he calls Absolutism, it does not appear that he has ever taken pains to understand what exactly are the problems which it attempts to solve. He repeatedly tells us with an air of triumph as if he had made a discovery unknown to the poor, benighted, Absolutist that experience alone must be the solid basis of all rational speculation. And yet this is the principle on which all idealists of modern times continually insist. The only difference between them and Mr. Fawcett is that while they, on the whole, remain tr to this principle, Mr. Fawcett's acceptance of it only nominal, for in developing his theory he sin grievously against it. "Empiricism," we are informe several times, "is the only wear". This is th author's favourite expression. But his own theory such a medley of monadism, animism, idealis pragmatism, Heraclitus, Spencer, Darwin, Fechne Schopenhauer, clifford and others that he mig more appropriately exclaim, "motley is the on wear". It is no use shouting that we must n go beyond experience. The essential question what *is* experience, what are its constituent elemen and how are they related to one another. A thorou analysis of experience shows that it is a systema whole of inter-connected parts and involves t *duality* of subject and object *within* the unity of The Absolute is no other than the all-inclus system of experience. The merit of the Idealist that he is not content with merely laying down t principle that experience is everything, but tak pains to show in detail how every particular elem of it isolated from its context is in contradict with itself and by an inner necessity passes ou itself into its complementary elements which, togeth each in all and all in each, constitute the orga unity of the Absolute. This is, for examp the great task which Hegel sets to himself. In execution of it he, to the uninitiated reader incapa of getting rid of the abstractions so dear to unreflective mind, seems to move in an airy, unsu tantial region, though all the while his feet ar firmly planted on the solid ground of experience. Absolutist, not even Plato, has ever forgotten expe rience. Mr. Bradley, for example, in his well known work which Mr. Fawcett says he has had continually in mind, expressly calls the Absolut Experience. It is to be feared that what the latter champions of experience meant by it is merely *sens* experience. "Where", asks Mr. Fawcett, "does Absolute dwell? I examine the contents of my exp ence and he is not to be found." Even so Lalande declare that he had swept the whole hea with his telescope and found no God. Why exam the *contents* of experience only? Is there not su thing as form which is the correlative of con and may not a clue to the Absolute be found in synthesis of form and content? Taking experienc mean mere sentient experience, the radical empir commits the correlative error of identifying Abso Idealism with a one sided intellectualism. this, however, there is no excuse. The idealist not centend that logical concepts constitute Rea He fully realises that these concepts, apart from concrete experience in which they are embodied empty abstractions, but he insists upon the correl truth that sense-experience would not be what without being animated and sustained by thou The fact is that Mr. Fawcett and others wro imagine experience to be the same as appeara They forget that experience is the systematic totalit appearance and is, therefore, as much ideal as real. The real side of experience is obvious enc but, surely, it is an error to supose that it is the w of experience. In Hegelian parlance, we may that the *truth* of the real is the ideal.

The radical empiricist assures us that sense pressions are not isolated units, but are essent

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related to one another. He, however, maintains that the relations between impressions are themselves impressions. "The relations between feelings", declares Mr. Fawcett, "are themselves feelings." A slight reflection is sufficient to show how untenable such a proposition is. Impressions are related to one another only as they are held together in the synthetic act of thought. This synthesis of thought, because it necessarily over-reaches the impressions, cannot itself be an impression and it is not effected by a self foreign to the impressions, but is the other side of the impressions themselves. Much of the irrelevant objections of the critics of idealism arises from their failure to bear this important point sufficiently in mind. To say that A is related to B is to imply that both of them are co-present to a unifying principle, which is the *ideality* of them and is expressed in them. The ideal principle, from its very nature, cannot be a particular object of experience. It is a universal presupposed in the relatedness of impressions. To concede to the idealist that impressions are intrinsically related to one another and yet to refuse to recognise the logical implication of such a concession is a desperate attempt to combine two inconsistent positions and can only lead to incoherence and self-contradiction.

The theory which the author has propounded need not be stated here. It is as extravagant as it is groundless and has about as much connection with experience as a castle in the air has with a foundation on earth. Not a single cogent reason is given why we are bound to accept his astonishing conclusions. Mr. Fawcett, in fact, has given us not a philosophical theory but an Arabian Nights story. There is a great deal in the book which is valuable here and stimulates thought, but the author's constructive effort, as a whole, must be pronounced to be a failure. We are also bound to say that we cannot congratulate him upon his attempt to introduce the *Daily Mail* style in serious philosophical discussions. We are, however, not without hope that Mr. Fawcett will yet "sire" a book really illuminating to "folk" whom his present work only disappoints. He has already changed his opinions several times. Years ago, if we are not greatly mistaken, he came out to India as a 'Theosophical worker and commenced a series of philosophical lectures at the Adyar head quarters. In 1893, he published his *Riddle of the universe* in which he advocated a form of monadism and now we have this book which" is not a continuation of the *Riddle* but supersedes it" and in which the author makes this confession of faith,—"avoiding ambiguous language designed to conciliate critics, we shall avow ourselves atheists." We greatly hope that Mr. Fawcett's present theory will go the way of his Theosophy and Monadology and that in his maturer years he will finally produce something which will endure.

HIRALAL HALDAR.

BENGALI.

Hindu-Moslem Relations.

"Hemendralal"—a Society Sketch, by Babu Bhavani Charan Ghose. Published by Babu Gurudas Chatterjee, Bookseller, 201, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Though professing to be a society sketch, the book furnishes a good quasi-historical treat. The scene of the story is, of course, laid in a modest village in the district of Dacca, but the main incidents of the plot take place in Murshidabad, the capital of Serajuddowla—the old historic city of pageantry and glory, plots and machinations. The chief characters in the novel are Hemendralal, Kasim Ali, Suratunnessa and Faizi Bibi. Hemendralal is an orphan child left to the care of his uncle and aunt, who like him immensely, having no child of their own. As is the case with all spoilt children in the village, his education was not well looked-after, and his aunt was too fond of him to allow him to go abroad for the sake of learning. He learnt whatever he could of Bengali, Persian and Arabic at home. At the age of twenty he visited the capital of Eastern Bengal, Dacca, and cultivated the art of music for which he had some taste from the very beginning. Dacca was then the seat of a Naib Nazim, and the influence of Muhammadan civilization was there paramount. Hemendralal early felt this influence. He returned home after a short stay at the capital. Having nothing interesting to do at home, he was gradually growing into a vagabond. Reprimanded by his uncle for his do-nothing character at home, he sorely takes it to heart, and leaves his home, wife and children, in quest of fortune. On the way he makes the acquaintance of a nobleman of Dacca, Kasim Ali Khan, who suddenly takes a liking to him, and is impressed by his courage, intelligence and handsome appearance which had a very close resemblance to that of a child he had lost. Kasim Ali loves him like his son and takes him to Murshidabad. Through Kasim Ali's help Hemendralal gets an appointment under the Nizamat and early gets himself introduced to Nawab Serajuddowla then in charge of Hooghly. Hemendralal's character is heroic throughout. He endears himself to Kasim Ali Khan by the heroic rescue of his only daughter, Suratunnessa on two occasions, from the cruel hand of marauders that wanted to rob her for Mirza Gholam Ali—a rake mad after her. Saved from hanging through the intermediation of Faizi—a *Nautch* girl, raised to the eminence of a Begum by Serajuddowla, previous to his becoming Nawab,—Hemendralal refrains from all illegal connection with her, though put to very great temptations. Faizi changes her nature gradually, but is unjustly put to torturous death by Serajuddowla through mere suspicion. She is buried alive. But this seems too much for her sin of inconstancy to her lord whose salt she ate of, considering that she was nothing more than a mere *nautch* girl and harlot. It is also unfortunate that Hemendralal whose life had once been saved through the intervention of this woman, should have been associated with her final tragic fate. At least Hemendralal did not deserve it. Some instances of Serajuddowla's whims and caprices which generally characterized a youthful Nawab early abandoned to the exercise of limitless power, have been quoted in this book. The unbounded kindness of Kasim Ali Khan makes Hemendralal feel as if he was one of the members of his family. He is consulted by the old Khan Sahib in all family matters. He looks upon Suratunnessa as his own sister. She also looks upon him as her brother. A true idea of their relative feelings cannot however be formed, till the reader comes almost to the end of the book. The generally immoral character of Amirs and Omrahs of the time—both at Dacca and Murshidabad makes Surat decide against marriage and go to Mecca with her father, in

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spite of latter's earnest solicitude to make her over in marriage to some worthy hand. Kasim Ali also does not go against her wish. Her character is angelic and worshipful. Simple like a child, she revels only in reading. She at last goes with her father to Mecca. While leaving for Mecca Kashim Ali makes over all his property to Hemendralal. The parting scene is most sad and pathetic, and has something in it of more than ordinary leave-taking. It shows that religious difference has nothing to do with that affinity between heart and heart which association breeds. Hemendra gets all honours and becomes a Rajah by dint of merit, under the patronage of Serajuddowla, when the latter is installed to the *gadi* of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal. Steeped in wealth and honour Hemendralal eventually returns to his native village, much to the delight of his uncle whose chiding was the cause of all his greatness.

The author has shewn that religious difference can never operate as a gulf to prevent friendship between Hindus and Musalmans. The brotherhood which existed among them in the days of Akbar and Shahjahan, can still be restored, if the two communities only will not to feel differently. Though perfectly well-intentioned throughout, the author has, however, unconsciously lapsed into one of those mistakes, which, from a Muhammadan standpoint, are the bane of some of the late Rai Bahadur Bankimchandra Chatterjee's best novels, and have fatally estranged Muhammadan sentiment. On page 113 of the Volume, the altercations that take place between a Muhammadan guard of the Hoogly Fort and the Hindu servant of Hemendralal mark that mistake. The Muhammadan guard is in the offensive and Rammohan's "*mlechha*" is, no doubt, an apt retort to his "*Kafir*", but such words and expressions as have a tendency to accentuate estranged feelings between one community and another living like brothers on the same soil for centuries together, should always be avoided. It is hoped that in subsequent editions of this book, these expressions will be replaced by phrases that may not have the hall-mark of sectarianism.

The book is eminently fitted for being adapted to the stage. The abundance of quotations from standard Persian poets, of which Suratunnessa is made the mouthpiece, will probably interest Muhammadan readers. The author has shewn that female education for which so much cry is now raised, both in the press and on the platform, was a thing most common in by-gone times,—pursued for its own sake and without a fuss,—and that the "native" home like the present English home was the best and the most natural centre of education.

SYED ABDUL LATIF.

GUJARATI.

(1) *Shrikrishna, by Kahan Chaku Gandhi. Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press. Bhavnagar, pp. 49. Paper bound. Price 0-2-6 (1910).*

(2) *Arya Panchamrit by the same. Printed at the Kalbadevi Printing Press, Bombay. Paper bound pp. 44. Price 0-4-0 (1909).*

The first is a poetical composition narrating the birth of Krishna, and the second sets out in verse the virtue of self-introspection, self-realization, mercy &c.

Shishu sad bodh mala, by Vrajlal Purushotam Mehta, Head Master, Taluka School, Waduwan City, Kathiawad, and Kallianji Khodidas Shah, of Nagnesh, Kathiawad. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Kalvadevi, Bombay. Cloth bound pp. 2[illegible] Price Re. 1-8-0 (1909).

This is a collection of stories from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and the Puranas, bearing on the different human virtues. We see here, Aryan virtues set out at their best, and the book is written out in such simple style, that it is bound to be popular with the masses. That there was a great demand for some such book cannot be gainsaid, and its utility for being placed in the hands of our boys and girls, to teach them the better side of human nature as depicted in the lives of their great men and women, can hardly be doubted. The problem of the teaching of morals has come in prominence of late and it is such books only that can furnish a solution thereof. We need not say, we are greatly pleased with the book.

Kamala Kumari by Bhavanishanker Narsinhrao. Printed at the Jaswat Sinh Printing Press Limited, Kathiawad. Thick board-bound. pp. [illegible] Price Re. 1-0-0 (1907). Second Edition.

This novel presents a true picture of Hindu domestic life—in its worst and cruelest aspects—in a vivid form. It is prefaced in English by that well-known Social Reformer, Mr. Ramanbhai Nilkanta. Child-marriage, the agonies of young widowhood, the immoralities of the lives of those Upadhyayas who live in sacred places, and other social evils of those who live in Gujarat and Kathiawad. Such as the mournful beating of breasts by women in public &c., are mercilessly exposed and ridiculed here. It will do good to the heart of any one to read such books, and see where we are socially.

(1) *Vidur no Bhav, by Madhadakar Nagar, Kundla, in Kathiawad. Printed at the Chandraprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper-bound pp. 39, price 0-2-0 (1907).*

(2) *Yamuna Gunadarsh, by same pp. 53. Price 2-[illegible] (1908).*

(3) *Shikar Kavya by same Price 0-3-0 (1909).*

All these three pamphlets are written in verse, at times spirited verse. The use of English words like "lan[illegible]" and of mispronunciations like "Shikkar," instead of "Shikar" spoil however, the good effect of the verse. Still they promise plentiful and praiseworthy work in future, the aim and ideal of the writer being of a high order. We wish him success.

K. M. J.

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NOTES

Ninety lakhs of private money for Polytechnics.

As a nation, we can criticise the Government for not doing its proper share of the work to give us the kind of education which a community needs to be self-sufficient and happy. But when it comes to the question of digging into our own pockets and contributing our mite to further the very institutions that we profess to have most at heart, we usually shrink into the background, loudly cursing our fate because we are a poor people. India is not so much economically impoverished as unfortunately it is poor in the spirit of intelligent giving. We have rich men—some of them immensely wealthy. But either they are stingy or throw away their money to buy titles to adorn their names as tail-pieces, or they patronize shiftless, irresponsible beggars, who become still more useless drones through their patronage. To these purse-proud people we tell the following tale of an American millionaire who voluntarily has beggared himself in order to found a Rs. 90,00,000 polytechnic college at St. Louis, Missouri, in the United States of America, providing a chance for the poorest lad to learn a trade which will make him self-supporting and independent during his whole life. Today this man, David J. Rankin Jr., lives in three small rooms over a grocery shop. His income is just barely sufficient to supply his modest needs. But he is enjoying the peculiar satisfaction that comes alone from good deeds, as he watches his erstwhile millions moulding poor boys into useful citizens. He preferred rather to raise this monument to himself than to wait for roses to be scattered over his grave whose perfume he could not smell —he saw fit to practically beggar himself in life so that he could see the good his money was doing, rather than enjoy his princely income during his life, and leave it at his death, to accomplish good he could not see and appreciate.

This man, who was the possessor of ninety lakhs of rupees, at the age of seventy-five turned over his entire fortune to the Rankin School of Mechanical Trades. He had endowed the school, years ago, with fifteen lakhs of rupees, but, not satisfied, he decided to make it one of the largest trade schools in the world. The fees incident upon securing instruction in this unique institution are only Rs. 90 per year, and this small sum is payable in three instalments, in order that it shall not be oppressive upon the seekers after knowledge. The scheme of education in the Rankin School is intensely practical. Not a single theory is taught in the class room that has not some application to actual shop work. For instance, in teaching Geometry, the pupils are made to compute the holding capacity of a funnel instead of an imaginary cone of like dimensions. All the class-room work is similarly practical, whether the theories are applied to drawing, bricklaying, carpentry, painting or steam engineering.

David Rankin has grasped the fact that those who acquire a knowledge of trade are valuable additions to the wealth of his country, and he has proceeded to build an everlasting monument to himself upon this foundation. There is a lesson in his work of welfare for Indians who have wealth and wish to use it to the best advantage to their country and their countrymen.

Another great lesson for India lies in the fact that the St. Louis philanthropist is not content to leave the work he has endowed entirely in the hands of hirelings. Every day he visits the school he has built up and takes an important share of the responsibility of managing it, seeing to it that the teachers and other workers do their full duty toward the young people who are committed to their care. This is in direct contradiction to the conduct of the ordinary

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donor, who gives munificently to an institution and then drops the whole matter, satisfied with the immediate praise of the multitude for his beneficence, at best receiving but an occasional meagre report of the progress of the enterprise and the spending of his money.

The Life of the Seditious Meetings Act Prolonged.

The Seditious Meetings Act was given another five month's lease of life by the Imperial Legislative Council assembled at Simla on August 6th. We do not at all wonder that this pet measure of the Executive has not been allowed to lapse, as it would have done on the 31st of October next. Indeed, we should not be surprised in the least if in March next this Act is permanently put on the Statute Books. However, we cannot help confessing to a sense of despair at the manner in which some of the non-official members behaved themselves in the Council Chamber. Three of these gentlemen, including Mr. Madge, the representative of the domiciled community, actually propounded that, inasmuch as the Act was not stringent enough, it ought to be made still more rigorous. All Mahomedans, with the notable exception of Mr. Mazharul Haque, voted for the measure. Of the two Sikhs, one explicitly, the other implicitly lent his support to the motion. The Hindu members constituted a solid phalanx of opposition.

What really constituted the tragedy of this meeting was the fact that every one of the non-official members who spoke against the Act was distressed at heart with the firm conviction that no matter what he might say to the contrary, the measure under consideration would be carried through. Not only was this true, but he also felt that the official members were more or less bored by the speeches of their Indian colleagues—that if it had been in the power of the departmental heads they would have much preferred getting through with the matter without submitting to the formality of listening to the tales of woe of the "natives" before carrying into effect what they had all the time resolved to do. Doubtless they would have preferred the shorter course. Indeed, Mr. Jenkins, the Home Member, expressed this sentiment in almost so many words.

This does not mean, however, that we are absolutely pessimistic about the work of the educated Indians in the Viceroy's Imperial Legislative Council. Though they hopelessly are in the minority, and their views have no apparently direct effect upon legislation, there is no doubt whatever, in our mind, that their words contain a great deal of compelling moral influence which is bound to increase in effectiveness as awakening advances amongst us.

American contempt for the Asiatic.

Here is what an American missionary residing in the Philippine Islands writes about the way in which the "democratic" American behaves towards the Asiatic:

"No other people is so imbued with a small, despicable, unChristian race-prejudice as are the Americans. Where the Englishman looks upon the Oriental as an inferior and childish branch of the human family, and the Frenchman and German and Dutchman look upon the Oriental as a weaker people who it will be comparatively easy to exploit and turn into perennial fountains of revenue, the American in the Orient has more the air of being sole representative of the human race, and the Oriental is classed as a subhuman species that may eventually develop, through long periods of progressive development, into the *genus homo*."

Comments are superfluous.

Indian Unity.

A certain school of British writers would deny to India, ancient or modern, any unity except that which belongs to her at present by virtue of being under the same government. They would do well to read the following extracts from Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*:—

"India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and, as such, is rightly designated by one name. Her type of civilization, too, has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world, which they are common to the whole country, or rather continent, in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human, social, and intellectual development.

"But the complete political unity of India under the control of a paramount power, wielding unquestioned authority, is a thing of yesterday, barely a century old. The most notable of her rulers in the olden time cherished the ambition of universal Indian dominion and severally attained it in a greater or less degree. But not one of them attained it completely, and the failure implies a lack of unity in political history which renders the task of the historian difficult.

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"The same difficulty besets the historian of Greece still more pressingly; but, in that case, with the attainment of unity, the interest of the history vanishes." P. 5.

"Twice in the long series of centuries dealt with in this history, the political unity of all India was nearly attained; first, in the third century, B. C., when Asoka's empire extended almost to the latitude of Madras; and again, in the fourth century A. D., when Samudragupta carried his victorious arms from the Ganges to the borders of the Tamil country. Other princes, although their conquests were less extensive, yet succeeded in establishing, and for a time maintaining, empires which might fairly claim to rank as paramount powers." P. 6.

A Common Vernacular for India.

The question of a common vernacular for India can be discussed with reference to either of two possible meanings of the phrase "a common vernacular," *viz.*, (1) a vernacular which will supplant all other Indian vernaculars and will be spoken and written exclusively, by all Indians, and (2) a vernacular which will be a *lingua franca* all over India for purposes of business, travel, social intercourse, and the interprovincial exchange of thoughts and ideas on subjects in which all Indians are interested. It would undoubtedly be of the greatest advantage to have a common vernacular in the first sense, but we do not think India will have that blessing within any measurable distance of time. So those who feel inclined to discuss the question should do so with reference to the second sense.

Most of the factors that have a tendency to make some vernacular or other predominant over the rest, have been discussed in the press. But one very important factor has been so far overlooked, which is religion. It is well-known that the language in which the original literature of a religious movement is written, and which is or was spoken by its founder or founders, is sure to acquire great importance. Looking at present-day India we find that there are three important indigenous religious reform movements which are more important than the rest. Speaking in alphabetical order, they are the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, and the Order of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda. We believe Hindi contains the most important literature of the Arya Samaj; that is to say, those who want to go to the very fountain-head of Vedic interpretation according to Swami Dayananda, must know Hindi. Brahmoism had its origin in Bengal. Ramkrishna and Vivekananda were Bengalis. A knowledge of Bengali gives one a better idea of the Brahmo Samaj and of the Order of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda than if one had no such knowledge. It would seem, therefore, that the spread of the "Arya" faith would make for the spread of Hindi, and the propagation of the principles of Brahmoism and of the Order of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda would help to make Bengali known more widely.

An allied but very vital point for discussion would be, which of these three movements had directly and indirectly produced the highest and most human, and therefore the most influential and lasting literature? We are not sufficiently acquainted with any Indian vernacular except Bengali to be able to open the discussion. There may also be unconscious bias in favour of one's own mother-tongue and religious faith. It may, however, be allowable for us to state that so far as information goes the Brahmo Samaj has been directly and indirectly productive of the most virile, the most elevating, the most human, and, therefore, the most permanent literature to a far greater extent than any other modern indigenous religious movement. And this literature is for the most part written in Bengali.

Indian Costume.

Some months ago there was a discussion in the columns of the Allahabad *Leader* as to the comparative merits of Indian and European female costume, for Indian women. What we know and care for is this. The Indian *sari* is simple, cheap, graceful, decent, and good for the health, being suited to the climate and easily washable. Wearing the *sari*, the Indian woman can do the hardest work that she is required to do, and can take any exercise that is womanly according to oriental notions. When there are so many things to be said in its favour, it is sheer idiotcy to urge against it that one can not be so fickly fashionable in it as in European costume.

One most important thing in favour of the *sari* is that in it the Indian woman has a bond of unity and likeness to her sisters. As soon as she assumes European costume she makes almost a foreigner of herself

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and becomes inaccessible to them, and *their* hearts also become inaccessible to her.

We cannot speak for other countries, but in India no man or woman ought to think of being different from their fellows except upon points of conscience. Of course, we are not speaking of individual differences in point of intellectual or other attainments. Nothing that is national ought to be changed or discarded unless it conflicts with one's conscience or is clearly proved to be insanitary or stands positively in the way of national efficiency.

To be banished from the heart of the nation is a thing which no one should think of lightly.

Mr. S. P. Sinha's Resignation.

Speculation has been rife as to the cause or causes of Mr. S. P. Sinha's resignation. He knew when he accepted his appointment that he was going to make a heavy sacrifice of income. To suggest, therefore, that the decrease in his income has led to his resignation, is to accuse him of an unsteadiness of purpose of which, we do not think, he can be guilty. In this connection some journalistic wiseacres have preached him a sermon on self-sacrifice, calling upon him to emulate the examples of Messrs. Asquith, Haldane and Lloyd George, who have sacrificed their large professional incomes in order to be able to serve their country as cabinet ministers. Did it never occur to these "superior" journalists that Mr. S. P. Sinha's initiative and other powers are not even a tenth of what these cabinet ministers enjoy? We suppose nobody is bound to sacrifice a princely income for the fun of the thing; there is no virtue in doing so. Not to speak of Mr. S. P. Sinha, many Indian men of lesser note would gladly sacrifice all their income if they could exercise without let or hindrance even half the power of doing good to the nation which British cabinet ministers enjoy.

It has also been suggested that Mr. Sinha should disclose the real cause or causes of his resignation. This is to take for granted that he has not disclosed the real reasons. But supposing he has kept back anything, the suggestion is easier to make than to carry out. Whilst we are against the use of untruth in any shape or form, we must say that we can imagine a man being morally certain of the existence of a state of things justifying his resignation without there being the possibility of his being able publicly to prove the existence of such a state of things. Under such circumstances, a man may not feel bound to state the real causes of his resignation, nor would it be expedient for him to do so. Of course, the public at large have no means of knowing whether Mr. Sinha's case is at all similar to this hypothetical case or not.

It is idiotic and ridiculous to think that Mr. Sinha has resigned under pressure from below,—pressure from his countrymen, that is to say. What have his countrymen to gain by his resignation?

In spite of an "authoritative" contradiction, most people seem still inclined to think that there may be something in the allegation of the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* that Mr. Sinha has been obliged to recognise that he cannot expect to enter the inner circle of the Executive Council of the Government of India.

Our own guess is that Mr. S. P. Sinha has been obliged to recognise that his usefulness to his country in his present position has not been and cannot under present circumstances be at all commensurate with to the sacrifice he has made. It may also be that for some reason or other he feels like a fish out of water. We are not thought-readers, nor are we in the confidence of Mr. Sinha; but when a guessing competition is on, why should we not have our chance?

Presidentship of the next Congress.

So far as the personality of Sir William Wedderburn is concerned, his choice as the President-elect of the next Indian National Congress, is quite unexceptionable. His wisdom, his ripe experience, his sacrifice in the cause of India and his friendliness to Indians, are well-known. What we have to urge is that in selecting him, the Congress Committees have gone against the principles which Indian patriots have for a quarter of a century pressed on the attention of Government. It is that in filling offices, whenever a competent Indian is available, his claims should be considered superior to those of non-Indians. We can not say that there are in this year 1910 no

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Indians fit for the Presidential chair. Nor can it be said that the times are more critical than in December, 1909, when an Indian gentleman ably discharged the duties of Congress President.

It is unpleasant and ungracious to have to say these things. But duty leaves us no option.

The Annexation of Korea.

The annexation of Korea was formally notified by Japan last month;—the real annexation had taken place as soon as the Japanese occupied the country. British newspapers, for the most part, approve of the step and only express their anxiety regarding the safety of Great Britain's commercial interests in Korea. This is honest, though cynical and selfish. They could not with propriety shed tears for the extinction of an independent nationality. "The Daily Chronicle" commenting on the annexation says that the material progress of Korea under the Japanese cannot be questioned. Well, at any rate the Japanese will prevent the Koreans themselves from publicly questioning that fact. They will make it seditious for them to do so. "The Daily News" says that the annexation "has been carried out with a ruthlessness which is a terrible foretaste of orientalism." So far as conquest and annexation go, in what *essential* respect is occidentalism superior to orientalism? Perhaps in this that the oriental indulges less in the highly edifying talk of the altruism and philanthropy of imperialism.

Reuter wires from Seoul that Teraschi, the new Resident-General, in a statement said that no stone would be left unturned to make the Koreans and the world feel that Japan's rule was beneficent. The Koreans would enjoy exactly the same rights as the Japanese. This assurance will be to the Koreans what the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 has been to the Indians.

Indians do the dirty work.

Whenever some wicked and dirty deed done by some Police or other Government official comes to light, Sir J. D. Rees and others like him do not fail to throw it in our teeth that the doers are, mostly at any rate, Indians. Explain it as we may, that is a fact, and a most shameful and deplorable one. So far as the remedy lies in our hands, it has a material and a moral aspect. If people were not so poor and if there were not in India so few careers and means of earning a livelihood, they would not feel tempted to do dirty work for money. The material resources of the country should, therefore, be developed, and new careers opened. But as many of those who do wicked things are by no means poor, the material remedy alone cannot go very far. Unless there is effected a true awakening of the soul, a rousing and strengthening of the nobler instincts in the young, moral lepers in large numbers will always exist among us, men who will feel in their element in whatever is base and wicked. The real remedy lies in giving our boys such an ennobling training as in course of time practically to cut off the source of supply of such men. They must also be made to feel always and everywhere that their company is loathed.

There is a strong tendency existing among us to make money the end of life, though no doubt, many will add that this end is to be attained by honest means. The real mistake lies here. If one makes money the end and aim of existence, one is sure to be often sorely tempted to throw aside all scruples as to the means to be employed. And not many can come out victorious in such a struggle. No, let us all impress it on our minds, and impress it on the minds of the young, by precept *and example*, that the object of life is to be pure, noble, strong and loving.

The Young Liberals' League.

We have always held that no religion stands in the way of a man's becoming a patriot, but that, on the contrary, every religion, rightly understood, is calculated to stimulate our patriotism. Many a time have we felt prompted to begin the publication of a series of papers entitled, "Why I am a patriot," the question to be answered from his own standpoint by the follower of each of the various religions prevalent in India. We are, therefore, glad to notice the circulation of two leaflets by the Young Liberals' League,—"Christianity and Patriotism" by the Rev. C. F. Andrews, and "A

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Miss Kumudini Mitra, b.a., Sarasvati, in Academic Costume.

Conflict of Ideals: the Community or the Country," by Prof. N. C. Mukerji, M.A. We quote a passage from the first :—

It would be the most serious blow possible to Christianity in India, if it were to become separated and isolated from the new movements which are taking place in the country,—if the Indian Christian community were content to be occupied with its own internal interests, and to hold aloof from the larger life of India as a whole. I feel, more strongly than I can say, that the time has come for Indian Christians to make their influence felt, wherever possible, for all that is good and true and right and noble in the new spirit which is spreading over the East. The path may be beset with difficulties and demand sacrifices, but it is the pathway of courage and of hope.

This is true not of Christianity alone but of every other religion in India.

"Sikher Balidan".

"Sikher Balidan" or "The Sacrifice of Sikhs," about which so much fuss has been made in the Dacca State Trial, is a harmless Bengali booklet of forty-five pages. There is as much of politics in it as in Fox's Book of Martyrs or in the stories of the bloody persecution of Christians by Nero and some other infamous Roman emperors. It is essentially a book calculated to stimulate the reader's religious faith. If misguided men made a perverse use of it, as the terrorists are said to have made of the Gita, the book itself would be as little to blame as the immortal Song Divine. The authoress, Miss Kumudini Mitra, B.A., Sarasvati, describes in it in inspiring language the stories of the martyrdom of Teg Bahadur, Fateh Singh, Zorwar Singh, Mani Singh, Hakika Taru Singh and Subeg Singh. It is a very good book, as any one can judge for himself by buying a copy for three annas.

Scotch Home Rule.

To us outsiders the position of the Scotch in the British Empire has always appeared practically the same as that of the English. But here is a Reuter's telegram showing that the Scotch are not satisfied with it.

The Scottish National Committee formed of twenty-one Scottish Liberal Members of the House of Commons has issued a manifesto urging that the settlement of the Constitutional question is an opportunity of securing self-government for Scotland, whose claim is not less urgent than that of Ireland. The manifesto denounces present bureaucratic arrangements in dealing with Scottish affairs.

How ineradicable is the desire

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complete self-assertion in the human mind! How foolish it is to think that any political measure can finally and for all time satisfy a people!

Students trained Abroad.

In the East City and Guilds of London Institute Technological examination, Mr. Probodh Kumar Dutta, L.T.M., one of the present Guruprasanna Ghose scholars of the Calcutta University, studying at present in the Manchester Municipal School of Technology, has come out first in the whole of Great Britian in Cotton-weaving, and has thus obtained the clothworkers' company prize of £2, and a bronze medal.



SURESH CHANDRA BOSE.

Under the auspices of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, Babu Surendranath Bose proceeded to Japan in 1907. He got admitted into the Tohoku Imperial University College of Agriculture and studied in the Department of Agronomy. He took field-crops as the subject of his special study and made some original investigations with regard to some of the crops. After two years' training with laboratory and field practice, he obtained a first class certificate. He stayed one year more in Japan and travelled through various parts visiting many agricultural institutions, after which he has come back home. He is a member of the Agricultural Society of Japan.

Republics in Ancient India.

The Empire had the following leader in its issue of the 13th August, 1910:—

"One of the commonest sayings about India, as about other Oriental countries, is that it does not really want self-government. 'What the Oriental wants is a master,' we are told, and when we ask why he should want one any more than Western peoples, the only answer is that it is the nature of the beast and there is an end of it. This line of argument is much less frequently heard nowadays than it used to be, but there are probably many people who would be surprised to learn that between two and three thousand years ago the form of Government in India was as a general rule either democratic or oligarchic. Republics seem to have been the rule rather than the exception, and the editor of the 'Modern Review,' in an interesting note in the August number, makes it fairly clear that

> 'they existed at least as early as the days of Buddha and Mahavira (sixth century B. C.) and as late as the reign of Samudra Gupta (fourth century A. D.) and that they were situated in the extensive tract of country stretching from the Punjab to Behar and from Nepal to the southern borders of the Central Provinces. So the republican form of Government in ancient India had a duration of at least one thousand years. We know of no other country, ancient or modern, where democracy has prevailed for a longer period.'

"It is probable, of course, that these ancient Indian republics were no more truly democratic than the old Greek States or the Italian republics of the middle ages. Modern democracy, speaking generally, is the product of Christian social and political ideas, which regard a slave as essentially the equal of his master. But these instances certainly upset the complacent theories about absolute despotism, which is so often alleged to be the ideal Government for Oriental peoples. It hardly required this eye-opener to down the old notions about the inherent inability of certain races to

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govern themselves; but Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has done well to remind us of these hard old facts, which are testified to by the most renowned Orientalists in the world."

On this Mr. B. C. Mazumdar of Sambalpur writes to us:

"The Editor could not deny the *'hard old facts which are testified to by the most renowned orientalists'*, but yet he thinks (though he has got no information regarding the character of the old institutions), that the old republics of India could not possibly have been democratic in the modern sense of the term. The reason he assigns is nothing but a bias in favour of Christianity stated with editorial wisdom;—since Christianity, which always modern institutions, has alone given to the world the idea that the slave is essentially equal to the master, a good form of government could not exist in old days. I need not quarrel with Christianity, as all forms of religion are alike to me in my anthropological study of them. I need not also stop to inquire how far the Christian idea spoken of prevails in the world, or influences the institutions in America, Europe and elsewhere. I only ask the Editor, if he is in possession of information regarding the influence which was at work in ancient India, when the Sramanas were suffering and dying for suffering humanity, and for the softening of the heart of the world all around.

"How the slaves were treated in ancient India, and whether slaves existed when the noble influence of the Sramanas prevailed, cannot be known by any reference to the rules regarding the Sudras as are found in some later works of the Hindu Dharmasastra.

"It is on the other hand on record, though the work of Megasthenes survives only in a few fragments, that when that celebrated Greek came to and resided in India, he could not find a slave in this country. "All Indians are free and no one of them is a slave", is the statement. (Arrian, *Ind.*, Ch. X)."

Our note has been commented upon by a few other editors. For obvious reasons, we quote below only the opinion of another Anglo-Indian paper, the *Indian Witness*, which says:—

The brilliant editor of *The Modern Review* has a strikingly interesting note on the subject of the method of governing in Ancient India, in which he gathers together from various sources evidences of the fact that in ancie India the spirit of democracy had full play. *** T subject is one of considerable interest to the stude of Indian history and would well repay furth research.

An appeal for a History of Ancient India.

The Panjab Hindu Sabha has issued a appeal for funds for a history of the Hind Period to be written in Hindi. Ever patriotic Indian and every earnest studer of history will support this appeal. W suppose the Sabha includes the Buddhis Period in the phrase Hindu Period. Whil there is not the least doubt that such history written by a competent Indian group of Indians is a great desideratun it is also certain that a mere rechauffe what Western orientalists have writte cannot give entire satisfaction. Suc material should, of course, be used. B there must also be original research. F such research, in addition to a thorou mastery of historical method and criticis one must have knowledge of archaeolog epigraphy and numismatics. A me knowledge of Sanskrit will not do A knowledge of Pali is much mor necessary. To this may be added a knowledge of Greek, Tibetan and Chinese. Now, one man cannot be expected to be widely qualified. There must be a kn of single-minded workers. Among Benga there are a few archæologists and perha half a dozen Pali scholars, a smaller numb of Greek scholars, and two or three wh know Tibetan. We do not know of a Bengali who can pretend to scholarship Chinese, though there are some who ha a little knowledge of that language. M Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, B.A. (Oxon.), Mirzapur, U. P., is perhaps the only Indi who is a Chinese scholar. Probably owi to the paucity of workers of the right stamp as indicated above, no attempt has yet be made in Bengal to write a Bengali histo of Hindu and Buddhist India; for if we h the men, money would soon be forthcomin We should be glad however if, whe Bengal has not yet ventured, Aryavart should succeed. But we do not kno how many archæologists, and Pa Greek and Tibetan scholars there a among Hindi-speaking Panjabis a Hindustanis. *The Tribune*, the *Panja*

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the *Advocate* and the *Leader* may know. The project will not succeed unless there are at least a dozen such qualified men. Money is easier to get than men.

Free Primary Education.

The Provincial Governments have all declared themselves against free education, mostly on the ground of paucity of funds. This is true now, and can remain true for all time. The richest government may not have sufficient money for education, if other departments of the State are first given the choice to satisfy all their needs, real or imaginary.

Among the claimants on the State purse, Education should not be alloted a back seat. Her place is in the first row.

However, as our duty is simply to pay taxes, but not to regulate its expenditure, let us all, rich and poor, tax ourselves a little further voluntarily, keep the proceeds in our hands, and spend them on the education of the people. Education is such a vital need that we must needs do our best for it.

Money is not the only form that this self-levied tax can or should take. He who cannot give money, can give knowledge and time, can give land for a school-house, or can give the labour of his hands for erecting it.

With every form of help should go the earnest prayer of a devout soul.

The Canadian Head-tax.

Speaking recently, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Canadian Premier, said that the head-tax cannot be imposed on a prohibitive scale on Japanese immigrants for imperial and other high reasons. But it can be made prohibitive on the Chinese and the Indians. How much more resfreshing it would have been if the speaker had frankly said that the Japanese can give a knock-down blow, but the Chinese cannot!

The Transvaal Indians.

The case of the Transvaal Indians is becoming more painful day by day. The Imperial Government does not yet seem inclined to move, and the recent Indian Act to restrict or prevent emigration has not yet been set in motion. From the first the moral victory has been with our countrymen; and should they eventually fail in their ultimate object, which God forbid, it will still be theirs.

In the case of the Madras deportees, we all feel, that next to Mr. Polak, Mr. G. A. Natesan of the *Indian Review*, has worked with the greatest brotherly enthusiasm.

Musalmans boycotting Hindus.

The deplorable news comes from some places in Sindh and the Punjab that Musalmans have taken to boycotting the Hindus. We cannot think of a more suicidal step. This mischievous movement should be nipped in the bud by all available means. Those who are at the bottom of such things do not know how wicked they are.

We try to be as optimistic as we can about India's future. But it is things like these that, momentarily, dim our hopes. May God give us all more neighbourly love and more light and guidance.

Religion and Patriotism.

The Christian Register of Boston says:

English people can die for England, but few Englishmen can see the politico-religion that takes heed for Ireland, and grasps in one great sympathy even the whole of the British empire. American can die for America, for one State as well as another; but we have not yet reached that Christian thought which loves our Chinese neighbor like ourselves. The only excuse for spending billions annually for naval vessels is that German religion and French religion and English religion and American religion all stop with patriotism.

It is good for Americans to feel and write like this; it is good for Europeans and Americans to try to rise to the pure heights of true religion. But we have no right to make any comment whatsoever on a paragraph like the above, seeing that large sections of our people are untouched by the influence of patriotism of even the narrowest type.

Court Jesters: old & new style.

In a recent issue we printed a short sketch of the life of Akbar's Court Jester, the Mullah Do Piyaza. The reader must have seen that though he was technically called a Fool, he had much wisdom, and courage, too, to give wise counsel in the garb of humorous rebuke to the Emperor. The recent Simla session of the Imperial Council has shown that there are court jesters still, though we do not in their case

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spell the word with a capital J and though they do not wear the well-known time-honoured uniform. They are humorous, these new style men are,—some consciously and others unconsciously. But as to their wisdom and courage,—well, that is another story.

An Indian Hero.

Mr. Ganguli, Assistant Superintendent of Telegraphs, was recently drowned in trying to swim across a river in full flood at mile 502 on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. He was endeavouring to re-establish telegraphic communication.

He has shown that he was a man, a hero.

We learn from the Bengalee that Mr. Ganguli was born of humble Brahmin parents at the village of Manirampur. He was brought up as a free student in the Ripon College and graduated from it with double honours in 1906. In 1909 he passed the Examination at the Rurki College with distinction. He was first in the swimming competition of his College. He has been cut off in the prime of life, as he was only 25 years of age at the time of his death. He leaves behind him a widow and a child and dependent relations utterly unprovided for.

Our contemporary has started a Ganguli Memorial Fund. All lovers of heroism ought to contribute to it.

Demand for National Parliament in China.

There is at present here in Pekin an assembly of delegates from the various provinces elected by the provincial assemblies, said Mr. Frederick Moore writing to the *Daily News* from Pekin on June 11. With them are also representatives from Chinese communities abroad, from Australia, the Philippines, Hawaii, Indo-China, and other places where the Chinese are more enlightened, as a result of living under foreign Governments, and where, in consequence revolutionary organizations have developed. The purpose of this assembly which is being watched closely by the Government—is to obtain from the throne a decree proclaiming a national Parliament. Eight of them are reported to have sworn, in their peculiar Chinese fashion, that they will kill themselves if the Prince Regent again refuses to grant their petition, while the whole number vow that they will not again show their faces to their people...that is to say they will not return to their provinces until the Regent assents.

We suppose Indian nationalists are prevented from taking similar vows by the fear lest Anglo-Indian bureaucrats die of the pang of separation from them, in case the former should carry out such solemn vows. Perhaps the Indian Police think that Mr. Aurobindo Ghose is making an experiment on Chinese lines.

A Yankee Yarn.

The following cutting is from *Los Angeles Times* of June 2, 1910:

The Hindu population of British Columbia contributes liberally to the funds of the leaders of the anti-British agitation in India, according to secret-service agents employed by the India Office in London. As much as 2,000 dollars was raised in Vancouver on a recent Sunday afternoon on a direct appeal to Hindus employed in and about the city for funds with which to buy rifles to aid the plot to overthrow English rule in India. Those appealed to in this fashion readily respond and it is declared that most of the Hindu population of the province have been whipped into line as subscribers by leaders of the movement, The funds obtained in Vancouver and at other centres in British Columbia, where Hindus are to be found in any number, are forwarded to agents of the agitation in London. The destination of the funds was learned by secret service men who traced drafts dispatched from Vancouver. The London agent says sums as high as 20,000 dollars have been sent from Vancouver in one draft.

So money would seem to be very cheap in British Columbia, if thousands of rupees could really be collected from ordinary workmen as the result of an hour's appeal for such a mad project as the overthrow of British rule by means of some revolvers and rifles. Those who seek their fortunes in a distant and inhospitable land, are generally hard-headed men, loth to part with their hard-earned money for foolish dreams. They are not such idiots as not to know, in the first place, that thousands of rifles cannot be surreptitiously landed on Indian shores and carried inland to different centres; and, in the second place, that even if this were feasible, the British Government is too strong to be overthrown by such means.

The project, if true, would certainly take rank in foolishness with the alleged objects of the "political dacoits." We do not think it can be true.

As others see us.

We print without comment the following article from *The Literary Digest* of New York, dated July 2, as an illustration of most foreigner's knowledge of the past and contemporary history of India and of the

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character for sincerity and courage which they give to Hindus.

HINDUS PAUSE IN SEDITION TO MOURN EDWARD.

Whereas, in years gone by, the death of a king spelled riot and revolutions in India, the year of our Lord 1910 sees the East Indians pause in sedition-mongering and bomb-throwing to mourn the demise of their late Emperor, Edward VII. Ever since May 6, the date of the king's death, native newspapers, conducted in English and vernacular, have been full of accounts of condolence meetings held throughout the length and breadth of the land, by all sections of Indians, Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Christians. The most curious fact of all is that the very communities that erstwhile were teeming with seditionists and anarchists now are the most vociferous in their expression of loyalty to the new King Emperor.

Even the Bengalis, who are blamed by the British for having worked up the "unrest" in the dependency, have held hundreds of meetings in various parts of the peninsula to convey their sense of sorrow to the royal family. The president of one of these assemblies is reported by *The Tribune* (Lahore, the Punjab) to have said:

"A sovereign, according to Hindu *Shastras*, is regarded as the father of his people and it is incumbent on them as Hindus to go into mourning on account of the demise of a sovereign who was in truth their father and the peacemaker of this world. The Bengalis have been the earliest comrades of the British in India and have profited immensely by this connection, and it behoves them to show their respect and gratitude in a special manner."

It is easy to dismiss disdainfully these effusions of native loyalty to the British Sovereign, but it must be remembered that during recent months the Hindus have become alarmed by the thought that the very foundations of society might be undermined by head-strong young anarchists. Thus it came to pass that a few weeks since a number of the most influential Hindus presented a memorial to the Viceroy in which they sought to suggest means to annihilate anarchism in Hindustan. As reported in *The Punjabee* (Lahore) the petitioners declared that "Hindus are naturally law-abiding and loyal to the core; and most of the irreligious tendencies of the modern Hindu youths must be attributed to the present materialistic civilization and secular education which deprive them of their ancient religious training, character, and intuition"; and the memorialists, therefore, pray that "religious education and training on thoroughly orthodox and non-sectarian lines may be allowed to be imparted to Hindu youths."

Whether or not the Government will see its way clear to arrange to teach Hinduism to Hindu school-children is not known; but it is widely felt that anarchism is really menacing Hindu Society. Young men who call themselves patriots do not at all hesitate to loot people's houses in order to find funds for their red propaganda. Alarmed at this turn sediton has taken, *The Bengalee* (Calcutta) declares:

"We fail altogether to understand what possible combination of causes could have led to this utter negation of common sense and perversion of the moral sense in the case of these youths."

The educated Indians are unequivocally condemning these nefarious tactics, and are also beginning to realize that if they keep up bomb-throwing they will have to pay the cost of additional police and magisterial forces required to cope with the evil. *The Pioneer* (Allahabad) points out this fact, and *The Capital* (Calcutta), an organ of the English commercial community, goes to the length of proposing that a heavy punitive fine be imposed upon the neighbourhood where a convicted anarchist has been born and bred. It adds:

"This would be an incentive to the people in such a district to keep their coasts clean from the foul cancer of sedition and allied disorders. I would even go farther. What are parents or gaurdians doing when they send forth from their home a young man who is not ashamed to be an assassin? They are responsible for his upbringing and education in right and wrong, in loyalty and disloyalty. They are responsible, as no one else is, for his real character.

As a natural result Hindus are coming to co-operate with the English to put down nihilism. *The Indian Mirror* (Calcutta) writes:

"The mass of the people have a solemn duty imposed upon them at this moment—the duty of strengthening the hands of the Government in every possible way. We all know what the factors are which are to be held responsible for the deplorable tension of feeling between Europeans and Indians. Why do we not come to a cordial understanding and remove the causes of misunderstanding?"

The Peshawar Riots.

Readers of the *Tribune* and the *Panjabi* can gather several uncontradicted facts regarding the recent Peshawar riots. Only Hindu shops were looted, Musalman shops situated between Hindu shops did not suffer in the least, the plunderers were all or almost all Musalmans, these Musalmans, too were for the most part trans-frontier bad characters, the general population were not to blame for the riots and the plunder of shops, it has not been shown that the inhabitants are generally turbulent or criminally inclined, with ordinary foresight and care the executive and the police could have prevented or at least stopped the riots and plunder, and no public enquiry has been made into all the circumstances connected with the affair. Under these circumstances we consider it highly unjust to impose a punitive tax of Rs. 48,000 per annum on all the inhabitants without distinction. The authorities are also bound to fully compensate all the plundered shop-keepers; they should not rest satisfied with offering them the beggar's dole of Rs. 13,000 in all.

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The Mackarness Pamphlet.

The latest news regarding the Mackarness Pamphlet is that Mr. Mackarness has given in the columns of the *Times* a crushing reply to all the charges brought against him by Mr. Under-secretary Montagu in the Commons, but that the latter has not yet attempted a rejoinder. The sound and fury of his speech should have led us to suspect that this young official had a very weak case to support.

Our Frontispiece.

The figure which forms our frontispiece this month was copied by Brahmachari Ganendranath Bandyopadhyay from a group in the Ajanta Caves frescoes.

Congested Colleges.

We take the following lines from the *Hindoo Patriot* (*July 19, 1910*) :—

The Presidency College was flooded with applications from boys for admission, but to our regret we learnt that a large number of applicant has been informed that there is no available place for them in the College classes. The admissions that have been made were due entirely to luck and good chance and that they were so was apparent from the mode of selection made. The choice of the College authorities that fell upon few was neither discriminate nor indiscriminate and was not confined to a prescribed limit. Some of the best boys were admitted while qualified boys of equal merit were refused admissions at the same time, which goes to show that there was no uniform rule to observe in connection with cases of admissions. Boys passed in other divisions than the first followed the same fate. This goes to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that those who passed the matriculation examination in the first division were not given any special preference and they were liable to rejection like others. Indeed several students who have passed the matriculation examination in the first division have been informed after dancing attendance for several days that they cannot be admitted and they must seek admission elsewhere.

This shows that many boys both meritorious and able to pay fees could not have the advantage of an education in the best equipped college in Bengal, and that those who had the advantage were made to feel that they had it merely as a matter of favour but not of right. The latter we consider the worse evil of the two. Where men cannot carry their heads erect, but must from their boyhood cultivate the arts of courtiers and bend their supple necks low to clerks and principals indiscriminately, and in their post-academic careers, again, seek to obtain appointments to the public service not by merit as tested by competitive examinations but by the favour of men in power, true manhood can not grow. As mercy is twice blessed, so is patronage and favouritism twice cursed ; it not only enfeebles the backbone of the patronised, but brings down the patron, too, from the heights of sturdy and simple manhood. Let patrons, therefore, beware of this natural nemesis.

The good of the new university regulations is not yet apparent, the evil is. The regulations have neither given us better professors, nor given the old class professors more leisure and opportunity to pay greater and more individualised attention to the needs of the students. Stiffer courses alone cannot give us better graduates.

All colleges are overcrowded ; some of them look like village bazaars on market days. And this, though many students have failed to obtain admission into any college. The reason is, the new regulations stand in the way of the multiplication of colleges to keep pace with the increase in the number of students. It is a strange country where one cannot get ordinary college education by paying for it.

We appeal to our rich men to emulate the examples of Mr. T. Palit, Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy, Babu Brajendra Kishor Ray Chaudhuri and others and found and endow colleges. There is no better way to earn the gratitude and blessings of their countrymen. There is no greater benefactor to the community than he who helps in the making of men.

As there is much less provision in our colleges for science teaching than the teaching of the arts courses, science colleges should be established by preference. And they should be situated in the healthy uplands of the Santal Parganas and Chota Nagpur.

Musalmans and Sanskrit.

It is a great pity that a Musalman graduate who wanted to attend the Calcutta University lectures in Sanskrit to enable him to appear at the M.A. examination has been driven away from the lecture-room by the orthodox Hindu professors. And the university, a non-sectarian institution, has supported them! Of course, the Pandits have every right to stick to their orthodox ideas, but this they are entitled to only in

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their own private schools. They cannot take the money of the university and at the same time exclude non-Hindus from their lectures. But what shall we say to them, when enlightened Westernised men support their action on the ground of expediency?

The Mahaparinirvana day.

The day on which Gotama Buddha attained Mahaparinirvana, has been fixed by Dr. Fleet with considerable certainty, to be the 13th day of October 483 B. C. The Sarvastivadins will no doubt admit the correctness of it, but there are still many who may not feel inclined to substitute Kartik-Sukla-Ashtami for Vaisakh-purnima. Though my firm conviction is that Dr. Fleet's date is sure to prevail, I do not enter into any controversy with those who adhere to the statement of the mighty and venerable Sramana Buddha-ghosha. The only purpose I have now in view is to get a day on which the people belonging to the various section of the heterogeneous mass of Indian population may most *conveniently*, come together to merge their differences, at least temporarily, in the common feeling of deep veneration which they all cherish for the great Tathagata. It is not uncommon that merely for the sake of convenience, a day is fixed for the celebration of a memorable event (say, of a birthday) which is not exactly the date for it.

Those who have not got any religious feeling in the matter, must remember, what influence such meetings may have upon the growth of at least social feelings. The value of it cannot be overestimated. I may state it without offending the feeling of any section of the people, that there is no such common festive day in India when men of diverse races and faiths may come together to evolve a social sympathy, a social sense, and a social habit. I have no right to speak against those festive days which have been recently brought into vogue by the political leaders of our country; but as they touch politics, or are concerned with sectional interest, many persons fail or become unwilling to take part in the celebration of them. Political ideas may one day unite the people of our country, but all that I maintain is that in India, ideas relating to the moral feelings of man (including the religious sentiment) are far more powerful and abiding. In the words of a celebrated scholar, "the texture of life in India is thoroughly impregnated with religious convictions and practices."

The orthodox Hindus all over the land worship the Buddha as an avatar of Vishnu; those of our educated people, who have lost all faith in religious creeds, or have adopted some form or another of a theism, consider the moral influence of the teachings of Gotama to be great; the mere scholars regard him as the greatest man of the olden times; the liberal Christians and the liberal Mahomedans utter his name reverentially. Since the teachings of Gotama do not militate against the essentially necessary religious practices of any church of the world, all may equally accept them with advantage. The great Buddha came to liberate the world from the thraldom of sins and miseries by shewing the *path* about which there is no such thing as sectarian limitations. The Christians may say, that their Lord has given them a fuller form and a perfected new dispensation, but they can not accuse Buddhism of possessing any such *positive* dogma as may be considered baneful in its influence.

It will be admitted by all, that antagonism existing within the people of our country, can disappear only as fast as tastes that are exclusive make for tastes that can be enjoyed by many. Nothing can be more universally attractive in India, suiting the taste of all classes of people, than what I have proposed.

We must also come upon a day which may prove most convenient to the majority of the people. As the 13th day of October is sure to fall every year within Pooja holidays, when all the public and private offices and institutions of Bengal and all the High Courts in India remain closed, a time more suitable cannot be thought in the commemoration of the great event—the Mahaparinirvana.

As I reside at a distant country place I am not in touch with the Buddhist brothers of my country. I do not know if they will kindly accept my suggestion. If they do, I leave it to them as to how a meeting or meetings may be organised on

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the ensuing 13th day of October 1910. May my appeal reach the Sramanas, the Bhikkus, and the lay worshippers!

B. C. MAZUMDAR,
Sambalpur.

Papya cultivation.

One bigha of land is equal to 80 cubits square. Sow the plants at 5 cubits apart in holes of one cubit deep. Hence a bigha may very well have space enough for 256 plants. More clearly as follows:—

On the North	16	plants.
On the South	16	,,
On the East	14	,,
On the West...	14	,,
and in the inner 14 lines at the rate of 14 plants in each line	196	,,
	256	plants.

On the whole, we may, however take 200 plants of sound health for granted.

EXPENDITURE.

1. The land should be ploughed, cross-ploughed till a fine tilth is obtained, after which leave the soil for a month or so to the action of the air and sun, &c. The probable expenses for ploughing, &c., for a bigha of land should not exceed ... ... Rs. 5 0 0
2. To make a seed bed to raise plants... ... ... ,, 0 4 0
3. To make 200 beds of one cubit deep each ... ... ,, 2 0 0
4. Fencing of the garden... ,, 10 0 0
5. Seeds ... ... ,, 2 0 0
6. Manure ... ... ,, 10 0 0

Rs. 29 4 0

Taking some more miscellaneous items, I may, safely say that the total expenditure for one bigha of land should not exceed. Rs. 35/-

INCOME.

You will get the fruits ready to be marketted in the second year and you may expect at least 20 healthy fruits out of hundreds from each tree.

∴ 20 × 200 trees = 4000 fruits.

Sale at the average rate of one anna each (while in Calcutta markets a small Papya is sold at least for -/2/- annas) = Rs. 250/- sale proceeds,

Less " 35/-

Rs. 215/-

Or to make it doubly sure I may very well take Rs. 200/- as the nett income and sure profit from one bigha of land. You can never expect such an amount from Paddy, Jute, Hemp, &c. Of course, I do not mean to say that the cultivation of Paddy, &c., should be stopped. Papya cultivation can be carried on only in high lands, while Paddy, &c., require low lands.

The educated Indians of to-day perfer a "Clerical life". There are men among them who have provision enough to make an independent start in life, but what pity it is to see them slaving at the desk, and dying by inches year after year!

NORENDRANATH MOZOOMDER,
Agriculturist, Serajgunge.

15th August,
1910.

To intending Contributors.

We are sometimes asked many questions by intending contributors regarding the nature, length, &c, of the articles that may be acceptable to us. In reply we may say generally that articles should be of general interest and as free from technicalities as possible. We should prefer to have type-written MSS., but where this is not practicable, they should certainly be written legibly on one side of the paper, with a fair margin, and some space between the lines. Editors always find it easier to print short articles than long ones. We like articles containing not more than 3,200 words each; and as a general rule no article should contain more than 4000 words. Contributors will greatly oblige us if they kindly mention on the first page of their MSS. the number of words their articles contain. We try our best to meet the requirements of the writers by frequently printing extra pages, but there is a limit to our resources.

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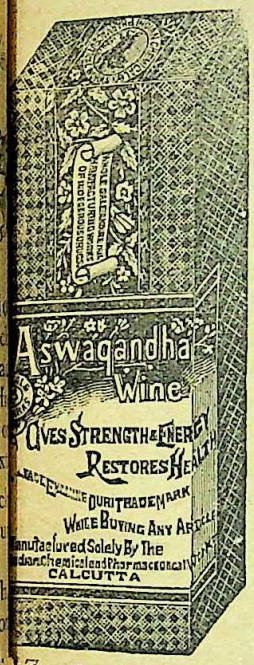
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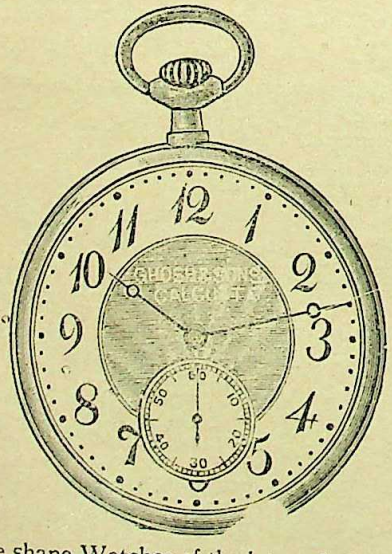
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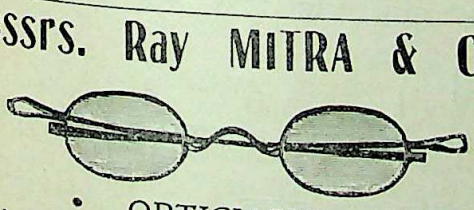
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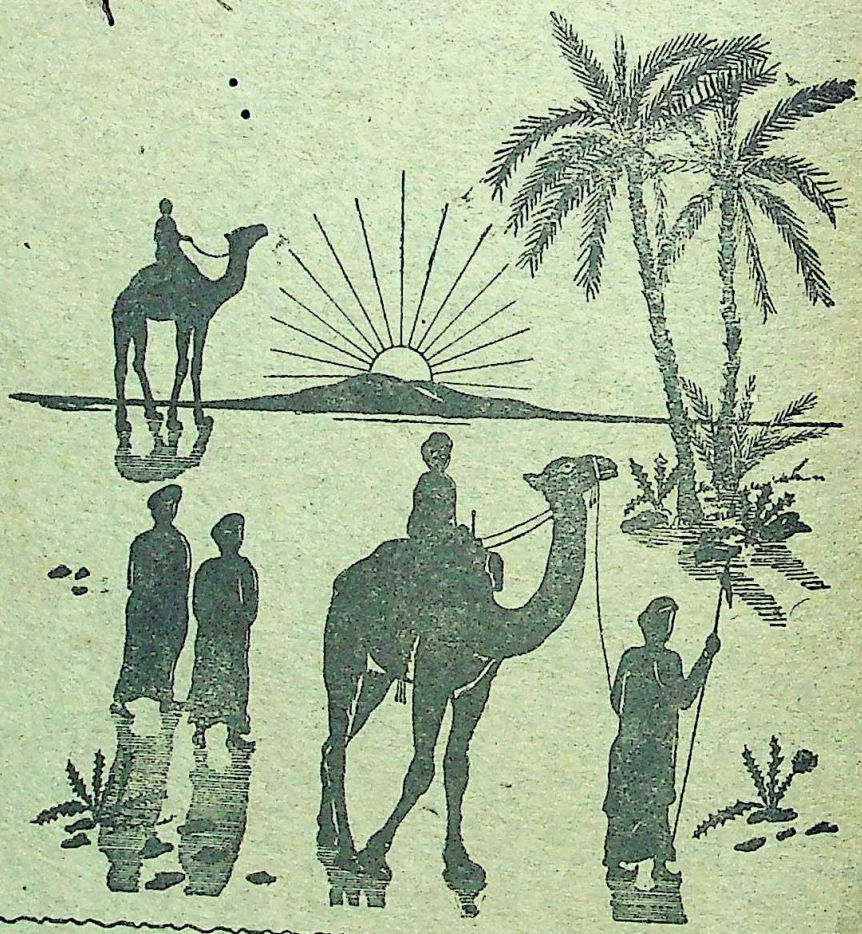
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THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

OCTOBER, 1910

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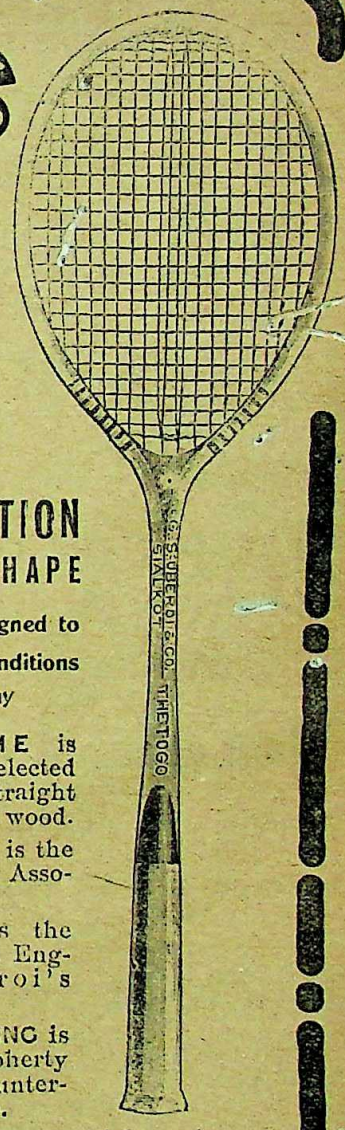
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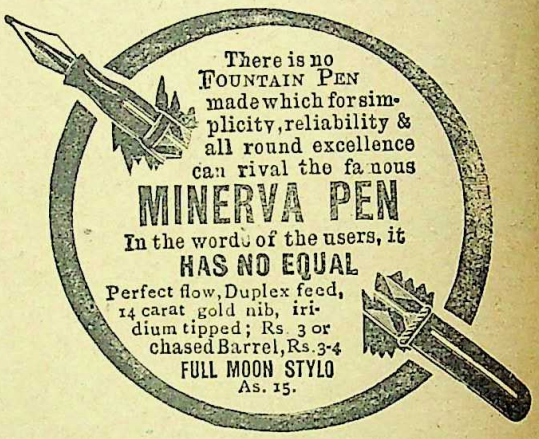
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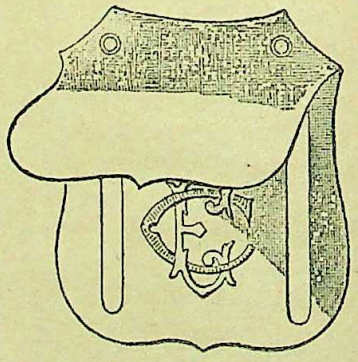


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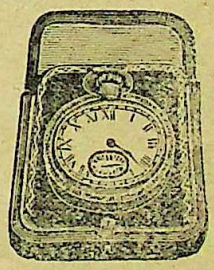
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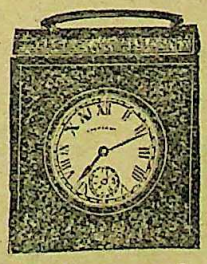
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THE VOTARESS.

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WHOLE
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A GRAVE MORAL DANGER

BY THE REV. C. F. ANDREWS, DELHI.

IT is in no sense with any desire to choose a sensational title, but with the most sober realization of the gravity of the issue, that I would call attention once more in the public Press to the seriousness of the Drink Problem at the present time. The Indian People have hitherto had the proud distinction among the nations of the world of being freest from the baneful influences of intoxicants and drugs. India has had no Opium curse like China, and no Intemperance like Europe. But now with a terrible steadiness, year by year, the total volume of intoxicating liquors consumed is rising; and in fresh districts every year the drink habit is spreading. What will be the end?

In such a matter, where the area is so vast as India, and where the plague spots of drink are still not numerous, the testimony of Government figures is most convincing to those who may not have witnessed in their own immediate neighbourhood the evil in question. There can be in such returns no danger of mistake or exaggeration. Let me state briefly what they reveal to us.

First of all we may take the revenue returns themselves. The figures of net revenue from intoxicating liquors were given in reply to a question in the House of Commons as follows:—

1874–5	£ 1,561,000
1883–4	2,538,000
1894–5	3,620,000
1904–5	5,295,000
1909–10	6,717,000

An examination of these figures shows that in the first decade the increased revenue amounted roughly to a million pounds sterling and again in the second decade roughly to a million pounds sterling. In the third decade the increase was very much larger, namely, £ 1,600,003, or more than half as much again. But, far more alarming still,—*in the last 5 years the increase has been roughly £ 1,500.000*, that is to say almost equivalent to the whole increase of the preceding ten years. Yet another fact, which adds further to the seriousness of the situation,—last year's increase amounted to £ 400,000, a terribly high figure.

The significance of these returns may be brought out in another way. The annual Excise revenue of the Madras Presidency alone exceeds today that of the whole of India, thirty-five years ago! In Bengal the increase of country liquors distilled during the last five years amounted to 50 per cent. while the population only increased 2 per cent.!

The more closely the figures are examined the more clear it becomes, that in nearly every province it is in the consumption of country liquors that the chief rise occurs. This means that the evil is growing chiefly among the poorer classes, who are getting a depraved taste for the raw country spirits. These are probably the most harmful of all in their evil effects upon the liver and stomach. They are little else than a slow poison.

There is one class of poorer people, which must soon become a very important factor

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in the community, if India is to develop her Swadeshi Movement. I refer to the workmen in the mills and factories. The close confinement and long hours of work make this special class peculiarly liable to the dangers of intoxication. They are cut off from their old surroundings and often packed into insanitary buildings. The more healthy village life is left behind, and money passes through their hands more freely than before. The dram-shop is near at hand, and they fall. The Governor of Bombay has recently lamented the spread of drinking habits among this working class.

It is a common-place that History repeats itself. The social anarchy and dissolution, which took place, when England turned from an agricultural to a manufacturing country, was one of the chief causes of the spread of drinking habits among the poorer working classes in England. This process may only too surely be repeated on Indian soil, unless statesmen and social workers have the wisdom and intelligence to forestall the danger. What prospect could be more gloomy in India than a drunken proletariat in all our great cities? What could be more destructive of the new Swadeshi enterprise, than the growth of intoxication among workmen wherever there was a growth of factories and mills?

India is the poorest country in the world. So far, it has managed by a frugality and abstemiousness, that wins the admiration of all who have witnessed it, to avoid some of the more terrible aspects of poverty that are common to other lands. There are no work-houses or Poor Law regulations as in Europe, no swarms of beggars as in China, but a wonderful system of family support exists instead, which only breaks down under the extreme calamity of famine. Should drunkenness, however, once become common among the poorer classes, the days of family self-respect and self-support will be at an end. The drunkard is one whom no family purse is deep enough to keep from squalour and misery. Rather, the whole family sinks, and is dragged down lower and lower in the dust. I can speak on this point from a knowledge of the effects of drunkenness upon the family life in England. Among the poorer working classes there is nothing which so completely breaks up the family as the drinking habits of one of its members. Often and often I have seen a whole household reduced in a few months' time to beggary and rags by a drunken father, or, what is far worse, a drunken mother. When the craving gets a firm hold of a man or a woman, no money or property is safe. Children may starve, relations may entreat, the home may be ruined, but the drunkard, lost to all sense of decency and shame, cares nothing, heeds nothing, as long as he can get his dram. This is no fanciful or exaggerated picture, but a fact of bitter daily experience in England.

With the knowledge, therefore, that I have of the terrible effects of drunkenness in my own land, the thought of what is happening today in India, as the drinking habit steadily grows from year to year, raises the gravest misgivings. It will be useless twenty years hence, when the insidious evil has caught a firm hold of the Indian poor, to cry 'Halt!'. The stream, which is now comparatively small in volume, will then have become a roaring torrent, which no legislation can restrain.

There is one remedy which, more than any other, appears to be suited to present Indian conditions. Local control of the drink traffic and its regulation by local public opinion would probably be found in many districts of India both feasible and salutary.

In putting forward this as a remedy, no imputation is made with regard to the sincere desire of Government to keep down the liquor consumption. But even the most strenuous efforts of Government are in danger of being defeated, when the control of licensing is in the hands of those who are collecting the revenue. Even if some of the worst abuses of the auction of licenses, by which the most immoral people obtained the rights of sale, have been done away, it still remains a fact, that, human nature being what it is, considerations of revenue will inevitably bulk large in the Government officers' eyes. This will often prevent recognition being given to the will of the community which suffers from the drink evil. There needs to be an absolute right on the side of the people to prevent liquor being sold in any given area. This has already been practised with good

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effect in the Baroda State. There, if 60% of the population in a certain quarter object to the opening of a liquor shop, no shop can be opened. Again if a shop is open, and the same percentage of the people in the neighbourhood signify their desire that it should be closed, the State closes it.

The evils of the lack of local control may be seen from a pitiable story recorded in the last Annual Report of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association. I give it as it is there stated. The Khonds of Bengal and Madras are a simple, aboriginal hill-people, peculiarly in need of protection from the drink-habit. A Temperance movement was started among them, and fifty thousand of them, through their representatives, took a solemn vow of abstinence. Crime decreased and the prison was empty for nearly three months. Never had the people so much money to spend before on rice and cloth and household things. Then, notwithstanding the protests of the people, shops for the sale of liquor were newly auctioned. Twenty-seven of the shops which had been closed were re-opened, with the most disastrous results. If local control instead of official control had been exercised in that district, there can be little doubt that no shops would have been opened. But the mistake that was made brought an end to the temperance reform.

It is not, of course, for one moment implied that the excise officials are bent upon increasing drunkenness in order to swell the revenue, or that Government is anxious to see the excise returns increase. Indeed it is only the extreme vigilance of the excise officials that prevents large secret distillation and smuggling of country liquor. The Excise Department has immense responsibilities which it ably discharges. But those responsibilities could be still more ably discharged, if the officials were dependent on local public opinion with regard to the issue of licenses, and had not to trust merely to their own judgment in the matter.

The demand for the right of public local control will probably be granted experimentally by the Government of India in certain districts before many years are past. The Bombay authorities are already moving forward in that direction. Meanwhile enlightened public opinion must be formed, and this can be done mainly through two channels, the Press and Education. It would be a sad confession of weakness, if rights were granted, and then were not exercised; if public control were given, and then the people themselves were found to be so apathetic and unintelligent as not to seize the opportunity of dealing a death-blow at the evil. There is needed, therefore, now in the present time an immense amount of educative work. In the primary schools this can be most systematically and effectively done for the rising generation. But Temperance Societies are the only organisations which can directly reach those who will have the immediate responsibility of voting, when local control is admitted in any district.

The labour of continuing year after year Temperance meetings and lectures is often painful and disheartening. The dull routine palls and the temptation is ever present to leave everything in the hands of the State. But not in such ways are great achievements wrought. There is needed behind the Indian Temperance Movement today a clear programme to work towards and a great purpose to accomplish.

That programme should be 'The control of the Drink Traffic by the Indian People themselves'. That purpose should be, to awaken the social and religious conscience of India to the evil which threatens the nation.

It will be found that wherever caste is losing its hold, or has not yet bound a tribe or race with its own restrictions, the drinking habit spreads with the greatest rapidity. This may be seen in the Indian Christian community, where drunkenness has become a serious evil to be combated with all the moral power of the Christian religion. The reason is obvious. Under the caste system, as Mr. Rabindranath Tagore so ably pointed out in the August issue, individual initiative is reduced almost to a minimum. The individual loses the power of acting for himself. But when those restrictions are withdrawn, as in the case of Indian Christians and others, a revulsion takes place. There is a large amount of individual freedom given, with little experience of its uses and its dangers.

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Among the higher classes the dangers of newly acquired freedom are greatly minimised by education and social position, but among the lower classes an entirely new social environment has to be built up, with new social sanctions, and the period of transition is specially dangerous. It is noticeable that in the North of the Panjab and in the new industrial quarters of Bombay, where caste restrictions are losing hold, intemperate habits are spreading. The remedy is not to go back to the un-individualised life of the past, but to go forward. At the same time, in going forward, the wisest statesmanship and the most careful provision are needed to tide over the time of transition.

It is at this point that local control offers itself as the most important means of building up a new social sanction, wider than that of caste. The people themselves in a given area are the best judges of the needs of their own district. The moral sense of the Indian people is still strongly on the side of temperance and sobriety. Wherever it was clearly seen that the drink evil is in danger of spreading, there is little question that the people, of all religions, would rally to the side of temperance reform. The prohibition or control of the drink traffic within each area would be the free expression of public opinion, and as such of immense educative value to the whole community. It would also give a golden opportunity to members of different religions to work together on a common platform for the common good. In this way it would be a unifying influence in the midst of much else that divides.

It is not for a moment claimed by Temperance reformers that local control is the panacea for all the evils of intemperance. It is quite possible that in some districts, where it is tried, it may break down, while in others it may be a success. It may need supplementing by other remedies. It may even, in certain districts, need supersession in favour of other methods. But what is claimed with reason is that local control of the drink traffic offers a solution that is far superior to the present system of licensing. It is also urged with reason that the experiment itself will have great educative and civic value. This opinion is shared by all Indian leaders, of whatever race or religion. It has had the unanimous approval, year after year, of the All-India Temperance Conference. It has been tried with a considerable amount of success in States such as Baroda, where conditions are the same as in British India. Its sanction, after so many years of waiting, would be a stimulus and encouragement to the earnest body of Temperance workers who are carrying on their labours in every part of India. It would lead on to new ventures and further steps being taken to make the sobriety of the Indian people under the more open conditions of modern life, no less notable among the nations of the world than it has been in past ages.

MEN I HAVE SEEN

III

Personal reminiscences of Ananda Mohan Bose.

BEFORE commencing the reminiscences of my friend Ananda Mohan Bose I must once more ask the reader to refer to other sources of information, notably to Mr. H. C. Sarkar's biography of Mr. A. M. Bose, for a complete account of his life. My object is to note down such facts alone as came within my personal observation and still linger in my memory.

I first came to know my late friend Ananda Mohan Bose personally in 1869, when we were both formally initiated together into Brahmoism by the late Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen, on the occasion of the consecration of the *Bharatbarshiya Brahma Mandir*, in the month of August of that year. Before that we, as young students, had seen Ananda Mohan and had heard of him. The distinction with which he had passed the University examination

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The Late Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose.

had placed him as an ideal before us. Besides, the eminent qualities of his character, as reported by his friends and associates, were also subjects of talk amongst us. To me he was specially dear; for though not personally acquainted with him, I was admiring him from a distance for his warm interest in the Brahmo cause. He was a Brahmo in faith, like myself, for some years, before our public initiation,

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and was taking an active part in Brahmo Samaj work.

The day we met we were drawn towards each other by some magical influence as it were. We came into the world in the same year 1847, entered the Church on the same day, and were from that day united in love and spiritual companionship. Within a few months, after our initiation, Ananda Mohan obtained the Roychand Premchand Scholarship and accompanied Mr. Sen to England, to finish his education in one of the English Universities.

He was in that country for nearly four years, during which period many important events happened in the Brahmo Samaj. There was a tug of war between the party of Mr. Sen and a party of advanced thinkers on the subject of Female Education and Female Emancipation. After his return from England Mr. Sen had established a school for adult young ladies, where I was a teacher, as already reported in my Dwarakanath Vidyabhushan article; but the ideal of female education adopted by Mr. Sen was not after the mind of a section of our fellow-believers headed by the late Messrs. D. M. Das and D. N. Ganguli; and they proceeded to found another school where a more liberal standard of education for girls was followed. There was also a conflict on the subject of allowing ladies to sit outside the screen in our places of public worship. Mr. Sen's friends were not ready and willing in the beginning, to allow that right to the ladies of the advanced families; accordingly there was something like a little schism in the Church. The advanced section gave up attending Mr. Sen's services and opened, in another place, a weekly Divine service of their own. In course of time Mr. Sen came to see the wisdom of reserving a wing in his Mandir for the ladies of the advanced section, where they could sit outside the screen, and the rival service was given up. Besides the formation of this party of Female Emancipationists in the Brahmo Samaj, another party had also made its appearance who clamoured for the introduction of constitutional modes of government in the management of the affairs of the Church. Of this party I was a member.

At this juncture my friend returned from England and joined the High Court as a barrister. I was living then at Bhowanipore as Head Master of the South Suburban School and he came to reside on the South Circular Road, within a few minute's walk from my house. So I met him almost daily. My love for him drew me into friendship with his wife, her sisters, and with all who were dear and near to him. I spent hours upon hours in his house talking upon matters relating to the work of the Brahmo Samaj, and the general progress of the country. My friend earnestly sympathised with the causes of Female Education and Female Emancipation and at once stood by the side of our friends Messrs. D. M. Das and D. N. Ganguli in keeping up the school for the high education of women which they had established and were maintaining with considerable difficulty. Properly speaking, from this time the maintenance of that institution fell upon him and Mr. D. M. Das. It was a good round sum that he began to contribute to its funds month after month.

With our idea of constitutional government in the Church also he warmly sympathised. He specially made common cause with us in our efforts to get trustees appointed and a trust-deed executed for the Bharatbarshiya Brahmo Mandir, Mr. Sen's Chapel, towards the building of which many of the constitutionalists had contributed. Somehow or other Mr. Sen was afraid of conceding to their demand, and the agitation was kept up for years, the constitutionalists publishing a monthly journal called *Samadarshi* or "The Liberal", of which they made me the editor, to ventilate their ideas.

Ananda Mohan's house became something like a club where all advanced thinkers met to discuss their ideas. At this time two subjects occupied our foremost attention. First, the necessity for doing something for the student population, secondly, the need for a political association for the middle classes of the country. The British Indian Association, under the guidance of the late Kristo Das Pal, was doing excellent service to the country in its own way at that time. But we all felt that it was rather aristocratic, and there was need for an association representing the middle classes of the country. Much of our

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talk at these friendly gatherings was occupied by the pressing necessity that we all felt on this subject. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, who came to reside in Calcutta at about this time, would be present at many of these meetings and threw himself heart and soul into the matter. At last as the result of our repeated conferences the foundation of the Indian Association was decided upon. One day I and my friend waited upon Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, to ask him to encourage and guide us by heading our movement. He could not accede to our request but gave us sound advice, pointing out to us the dangers that were to be avoided.

In due course the Indian Association was ushered into existence at a public meeting held in the Albert Hall, which Mr. Banerjea made it a point to attend, in spite of the death of one of his children on that day or the day previous. Of course, Ananda Mohan was a prominent figure amongst us on that occasion. As far as I remember, we made him the first Secretary of the newly established Association and I was given the charge of overlooking the collections.

Messrs. Bose and Banerjea had in the meantime opened operations amongst the student population of Calcutta, in which I also joined them. Hundreds of students flocked to hear the speeches of these two leaders of Young Bengal and returned edified and strengthened in their noble resolves.

At about this time, I think at the beginning of 1877, I fell seriously ill, so much so that my life was despaired of. I was then serving as a teacher of Sanskrit in the Hare School and living in a house on the Amherst Street, where my friend, in spite of his pressing business engagements, would pay his visits almost every day, and sit by the side of my sick bed trying to cheer me up by his conversation, which, all who knew him in life, must remember to have been characteristically sweet. He was known to all as the mild, gentle, loving, self-effacing Mr. Bose. His very presence had a soothing and elevating effect on all who were afflicted.

Indeed, ardent love and unostentatious goodness were his characteristics. The manner in which he loved his mother, his brothers and his wife and children, was often a subject of talk amongst us, his friends. How often did it happen that returning from the High Court, he found his dear old mother, quietly seated in his room, perhaps counting her beads, and then he would at once throw aside his over-coat and fall prostrate on the ground before his mother, placing his head on her lap, lying in that condition for minutes, till the old lady would pat him on the back and order him to rise.

Here again I am drawn aside to say something about my friend's mother who also was a remarkably pious woman. In point of religious devotion and dutifulness, we have seldom seen her equal. Her husband died very early when my friend was a little boy, and that good lady had to manage extensive estates, look after the education of her children, and keep up the power and prestige of the family in the village. All these duties she quietly performed with calm resignation and unflagging zeal. Her devotion to her husband was so great that from the time of his decease to the day of her death, she would never permit his name to be even casually mentioned in her presence, without stopping the speaker for a minute, joining her hands, and placing them on her head as a mark of respect for his memory. So great was her reverence for great and good men that she would never drive in a carriage even before the tomb of a Mahomedan saint, without alighting from her carriage, and walking before it in humble silence. On one occasion, when a number of pilgrims were sailing in a vessel to the shrine of Jagannath at Puri, they were overtaken by a storm, the ship went down, and they were all drowned. My friend's mother was to have formed one of the party in that vessel, but some cause had intervened to prevent her from so doing. When informed of the sad catastrophe that had befallen the pilgrims, the good lady instead of rejoicing that a similar fate had not overtaken her, was found weeping that her god did not deem her worthy of such a blessed death.

Is it any wonder that the gifted son of such a mother should also be remarkable for his piety? However that is a digression. To return to my subject: Ananda Mohan's love for those who were related to him or

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drawn to him by friendship was a characteristic feature. I shall never forget the day when his younger brother Dr. M. M. Bose returned from America after finishing his education there. I was present in his house on that occasion. We were all eagerly expecting his return that morning. Hearing his carriage driving in I went up to the door and gave him a hearty welcome; but Ananda Mohan ran forward and warmly embracing him led him to a seat where he held him for sometime clasped to his heart, as if they could not bear to part. We were all inspired with a sense of awe, as it were, by that manifestation of fraternal affection. His loving and reverential devotion to his elder brother, the late Haramohun Bose, was also characteristic. It was beautiful and elevating.

After recovery from my illness in 1877, I went for a change to Monghyr, in the province of Behar, for a few months. Ananda Mohan also came there shortly after with his wife and the family of his father-in-law to give a change to a sick brother-in-law, the younger brother of Dr. J. C. Bose. At Monghyr, soon after our arrival, my youngest daughter died a violent death from a fall from the terrace of the house we occupied. It was a very severe shock to my wife, who became quite prostrated with grief. After his arrival at the town, my friend made it a point to come to my house almost every day to speak to my wife and give her some consolation. She loved him and had great respect for him, so his words gave her great consolation. My wife would often say "to see him is a great pleasure in itself; and to hear him speak, would make one forget all sorrow. I wonder how one's words can be so gentle and soothing." His very advent in my house would be heralded by a chorus of joy that my little children would raise. They would immensely please him by lisping their observation—"you are an Englishman", referring to his mode of dressing.

Strangely enough it so happened that within a short time, my friend lost one of his sons by disease and death at that station. Then came the turn for me to look to his consolation and that of his wife. The calm resignation with which he bore that calamity was a lesson to us all. He spoke few words, but his very demeanour showed that his eyes were fixed somewhere else and that he was literally kissing the rod that had smitten him. One morning I went to his house and finding Mrs. Bose quite disconsolate offered to take both of them to the side of the river Ganges, which flowed near by, by way of a diversion. When standing by the river-side I found my friend entranced with a new thought, his whole countenance aglow with emotion, with his eyes transfixed on the river, apparently lost to all sense of things happening around us. But no, so was the condition of Mrs. Bose. The beautiful scenery somehow made her sorrow more poignant, and she was quite overpowered. Then my friend began to speak to his wife about calmly resigning our fortunes to the providence of God. That sorrow would certainly benefit them spiritually, he said, if they could only resign themselves to the goodness of God. No words of mine can convey an adequate idea of the sweet, gentle and loving care with which he bent over his sorrowing wife who had fainted away and the words of faith and trust in the goodness of God he spoke to her. Such moments are very precious. You can then see a man at his best, and I shall never forget the scene and the calm majestic faith that every word of my friend indicated.

The year 1878 was the ever-memorable year when the second great schism in the Brahmo Samaj took place, after the marriage of Mr. Sen's daughter with the Maharaja of Kuch-Behar. We both became involved in that great controversy and both had a hand in the formation of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. What words of mine can adequately express the deep, very deep pain that my friend felt on that occasion. He did not enter into it lightly. He was living then in his chambers, after having left his family at Monghyr. How many days and sometimes nights, I spent in his chambers, lying on a couch with my arms crossed on my bosom, and with eyes closed, lost in deep thought, my friend all the time walking by my side apparently lost in the same thought, stopping at long intervals near my couch, bending over my prostrate figure and saying, "Sivnath Babu, what should we do? A great responsibility rests upon us." In that state of agony of mind he wrote a letter to Mr.

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Sen imploring him to take certain things into consideration. This letter, though unheeded by the latter at the time, stands as a monument of the noble and lofty spirit that actuated my friend at the time. He also called more than once on Mr. Sen to have a personal conference with him on the subject of his daughter's marriage in contravention of some of our well-known principles, but nothing could ward off the danger.

The night of 2nd February, 1878, in which a number of friends held a meeting at 93, College Street, where the newly established Indian Association was then located and where I was residing at the time, under the presidency of the old and revered Babu Shib Chunder Deb of Konnagar, to discuss the question of sending a letter of protest to Mr. Sen, is ever-memorable in Brahmo history. The proceedings commenced with earnest prayer and we sat deliberating till about 2 A.M. when the question of sending the letter was decided upon and its points settled. But a new difficulty arose at that point. Our friends Messrs. D. M. Das, late Vakil of the High-Court, and D. N. Ganguli, late Assistant Secretary of the Indian Association, raised the question as to the next step we wanted to take, in case Mr. Sen gave no heed to our letter. Were we prepared, they asked, to start a new Samaj? Every one was taken aback, for they had not thought over such a contingency till then. Myself and my friend positively declared that such a thought was till then out of our mind, and that we were earnestly hoping that things would settle down, without leading to a rupture in the body. Whereupon Messrs. D. M. Das and D. N. Ganguli refused to sign the letter with us, declaring that they would not make common cause with persons who were not prepared to "go the whole hog with them," the characteristic expression used by Mr. D. M. Das at that meeting. So these two left without signing the document at that meeting, which they however did sign two days after.

How Mr. Sen treated that letter and what were the consequences are matters of Brahmo Samaj history and I need not dilate upon them here. My point is to note down what my friend did afterwards. We were soon involved in the tremendously difficult task of organising the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. We were all novices in the art of constitutional organisation Ananda Mohan alone, by reason of his residence in England, and his association with many Societies there, had some knowledge of it. So most of the meetings for laying down the constitution of the new Samaj and for framing its rules were held in his house. I wonder to think at this distance of time, how we sat at his dining table, after the table-cloth had been removed, day after day, till an early hour in the morning, deliberating upon the constitution of the new Samaj. One incident in that connection I vividly remember. That day I had to superintend the publication of our two journals, "Brahmo Public Opinion" and "Tattwa Kaumudi". So I had to work from early morning till 8 or 9 P.M. From the editor's table, after a short repast I had to run to my friend's house to take part in that day's deliberations, which were very important and from which my friends could not agree to see me absent. I went and sat till 12 P.M. when my whole frame absolutely needed rest, and I could no longer sit. I found I was not attending to the business but dozing. At this point, in order to avoid their notice, I quietly slipped down from my chair below my friend's dining table, and stretched myself in sound sleep on the matting. After an hour or so a question turned up which needed consultation with me, when every one turned round to see me, and how great must have been their surprise to find me missing. At once a search was made and after a few minutes my friend discovered me quietly sleeping below the table. So he dragged me out by my ankles, to the laughter of all present. As I am narrating this event I almost see my friend smiling at me, for this incident many times formed a subject of talk and merriment to both of us in subsequent years.

I was tired but my friend knew no tiring. He was indefatigable. Indeed, the very news that he was in town and was coming to the Committee Meeting of the Samaj would often fill the minds of the other members with the dread that they would be forcibly detained by him at the meeting till a late hour of the night; for

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his custom was, whenever any member wanted to depart, to rise from his seat, to hold the departing friend by the arm and forcibly make him resume his seat by saying, "Please wait a short time; we all must soon depart". That "soon" seldom came within one or two hours more.

In the beginning of 1879 we opened the City School. My friend and myself chiefly conceived the plan and carried it out. Our objects in opening the Institution were two-fold. First, we thought the school would enable us to have near at hand a number of earnest Brahmo teachers, who would render valuable help to us in carrying on the work of the newly established Samaj; secondly, we wanted to bring a pretty large number of young students within reach of our moral and spiritual influence. With these objects in view we opened the School. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea gladly consented to join us in opening the Institution, for his interest in the moral welfare of the student community, at that time as in subsequent years also, was great. So the prospectus was issued in the names of three of us. I became its first Secretary and organiser, Mr. Banerjea kindly undertook to give his services as a teacher and Ananda Mohan supplied the initial expenses.

A few months after, another Institution, in the spirit of the Brahmo Samaj, called the Student's Weekly Service, was also started, which held weekly meetings for prayer and the delivery of religious and moral discourses. Of course we did not ask Mr. Banerjea to join us in this. The City School and the Student's Service imposed further work on myself and my friend. These two institutions involved new work, in addition to the work, already mentioned, needing frequent conferences with my friend. I became almost a daily visitor to his house and spent hours upon hours in close conference with him. Some of these conferences would stretch far into the night, making the return home difficult for me, and obliging me to spend the night at his house. One day's occurrence still lingers in my memory. That evening we were shut up in his study, after dinner, absorbed in conversation till 1 or 2 A.M. We had no idea of the hour of night till Mrs. Bose, quietly stepped into the room through a side door, with wonder and amazement in her eyes. Her very looks excited our laughter; we felt as if we were two culprits maturing some dangerous plans and arrested in the midst of our nefarious work. But her remonstrances soon brought us down in our laughter and I apologized to her, telling her the important nature of our deliberations. We were forced to close up then and there and as it was too late for me to return home, I accompanied my friend to sleep in the same bed with him for the remaining hours of the night.

The question will naturally occur to many how could my friend afford to spend so much time on such matters and yet successfully carry on the business of a practising lawyer. That was a mystery to us also. How often have I heard attorneys and others connected with the High Court say—"Alas! if Bose could give more time to his legal practice, he would far outshine many others." But that thought was not in Bose's mind. He looked upon the law-papers, as he said to his wife one day, as so many serpents. Their very sight filled his mind with dread. How can successful legal practice be possible to such persons? Yet the genius of my friend made him a successful legal practitioner.

The truth of the thing is this that my friend's mind was somewhere else, in the service of God and of his country. No true patriot than himself have I ever seen. His addresses as President of the Indian National Congress, his oration in connection with the opening of the Federation Ground where he was literally carried on men's shoulders from his death-bed almost, and also the many speeches he had delivered in this country and in England bore testimony to the ardent love he bore to his country and to his people. He had a great mind to settle down in England for some years, as an independent counsellor to the friends of India in Parliament, and to the India Committee. That, he thought would be of greater use than to enter Parliament like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji or Mr. Bhownuggrie and become involved in current English politics. I saw the widson of the course suggested and we held conferences together about raising the necessary funds. Unfortunately my friend had a large family and he had not been able to lay by any

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thing like a fortune, and as there was no rich man to back us in carrying out our object, it was eventually dropped to his great sorrow.

The raising of the City School into a College in subsequent years was not quite after my mind. But in that matter I acceded to the wishes of my friend. After having raised it into a College he wanted to place it in the hands of a devoted brotherhood like that of the Poona Fergusson College, but in this idea he was opposed by many of his College associates and severely criticised by many of his Brahmo friends. His motives were misunderstood and many unkind things were said about him. Baffled in his noble efforts my friend made over the College to a body of trustees with a constitution that will stand as a monument of the high principles that actuated him in founding and keeping up that College.

To me, his close personal friend, his deep piety was the most attractive feature in his character. He was humble, gentle, charitable and forgiving and forbearing in all his dealings with others. He was prayerful and devout; and high, noble and holy in all his aspirations. But his nature was secretive in these matters. He always avoided display and exercised his piety in the solitude of his study. Day after day he spent long hours in prayer and meditation, and at times retired from the engagements of the town to some solitary abode far away, to be able to spend his time in devotional study, in meditation and prayer. How he could be alone with the Alone, even in the midst of the pressing engagements of the town, the diaries he has left behind bear witness to. Those diaries are filled with impassioned prayers offered during press of business for repose of the spirit and spiritual guidance. One incident occurs to me relating to this side of his nature. It was a Sunday, a day of rest. He had confined himself to his study from an early hour, and had ordered for a specially abstemious breakfast, with strict injunctions not to disturb him in his study. At the appointed hour his wife sent his tea by a servant. The tea was placed before him on the table. It remained there for more than two or three hours without his drinking it, himself being all the time engaged in devotional study, meditation and prayer. After three hours another cup was taken to him by his wife herself, which he drank. Then came the hour for breakfast; but he would not come. He sent back the servants with promises to come soon; but there was no sign of his coming. Mrs. Bose went twice, but had to return with the same assurance, till at last she too gave up the attempt in despair, and chose to patiently wait. It was near to 2 P. M. when I called for some special business with him. Mrs. Bose gave me the whole story. Finding her tired of waiting and disquieted in her mind, I went to the study of my friend, and before any explanation of my visit was offered, literally drew him by the hand into the dining room and made him sit to his breakfast.

During his residence in Calcutta he would often retire to his Dum-Dum house with a pet servant and give himself to irregular diet and the practice of devotion to his heart's content.

But his modesty was so great that he would shrink from the least display of his piety to others. He shrank from offering vocal prayers even in the presence of his wife and children, and to my remonstrances, against the consequent neglect of domestic devotions, he would always reply by saying, "Why don't you give us a book from which prayers can be read by some one else? I feel so shy when called upon to pray before others."

On our festival days and on other occasions, his sweet, humble, and devout-looking face, bedewed with tears and glowing with emotional fervour, was one of the inspiring spectacles to behold. He sat fixed to his seat for hours together, without stirring or showing the least impatience; and when any of my words roused his devotional feelings, he would come up to me after the service was over and clasp me to his bosom, as a mark of the pleasure he had felt at my words.

He was very shy and reserved, yet to me his dear personal friend, he at times opened his mind. To my complaints that he was over-working himself, made specially during his last days, he would make answer when we two were alone, by squeezing my hand, and whispering in my ears, "Sivnath Babu, Sivnath Babu, I have laid down

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my life at the feet of God and let me die in His service." Indeed, the inmost secret of his greatness and goodness, and of his multifarious activities, was his desire to lay down his life at the feet of God for His service and the service of his fellowmen. His was a life lived truly to the glory of God and the good of man, the significant aim he has laid down in the constitution of the City College.

I have spoken much about my friend's natural humility and habitual self-effacement, but when occasion demanded he could rise to manly independence and could stick to his sense of right in the face of all opposition; as was often witnessed at the meetings of the Senate of the Calcutta University. One significant occasion, when he manifested his sturdy independence, I shall never forget. He was at that time a Member of the Legislative Council of the Government of Bengal. Burmah had been recently annexed, a step he did not approve of. The official party were returning in a special Steamer from Burmah, and seats were reserved for Members of the Lieutenant Governor's Council, at the Chandpal Ghat, where they were asked to be present, to accord welcome to the returning party. All went except my friend who was conspicuous by his absence. I inquired into the reason of his non-attendance and had a conversation with him on the annexation, which he heartily deplored. It is a known fact that he never coveted official favour; his heart having been laid, as I have said before, at the feet of God for the service of his fellowmen, regardless of personal loss or gain.

The next thing worthy of mention is our close association in Temperance work. He had joined the Temperance movement from the early sixties under the late Peary Charan Sircar. My accession to it was later in 1871 under Mr. Sen. During his visits to England he took an active part in that movement and after his return spurred us on to do something for its promotion. As the President of the Metropolitan Temperance and Purity Association he never lost an opportunity to strengthen the cause.

Such was my friend Ananda Mohan Bose whose memory is a precious legacy to me and whom, taking all things together, I consider to have been one of the best of the great and good men I have come across during my life. Oh! how can I forget that modest piety, that mild and gentle disposition, that forgiving and forbearing temper, that warm-hearted love which it was our pleasure and privilege to see and enjoy for so many years. My friend's whole life was a uniform devotion to noble aims. It was a life laid down at the feet of God, as he had once whispered in my ears.

SIVANATH SASTRI.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN JAPAN AND IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

MUCH attention has recently been given in this country to the question of the education of boys and young men. But female education has not yet received any adequate attention. One does not feel happy when one thinks that even China, which has taken up modern education, in a serious way, only recently, is more enthusiastic and earnest in educating her girls than India. The need of a comprehensive system of female education has been long felt by those who take a broad view of Indian life. Female education will largely contribute to the solution of some of our perplexing domestic and social problems. It is, at the last analysis, about the only thing that can raise the social status of Indian womanhood. We need not be much concerned at the mistaken though honest opinion of many of our friends of the Christian missions that women have been oppressed in India. Our missionary friends should know, as the well-known Japanese writer Mr. Okakura

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has pointed out, that in the East woman has always been worshipped as the mother and what the Christian knight paid to his lady-love the Indian Kshatriya, the Japanese Samurai and the Chinese Mandarin placed at the feet of his mother. And, considered from all points of view, the Hindus alone of all the ancient peoples produced a worthy type of womanhood. Yet it cannot be denied that, generally speaking, woman's position in the contemporary Indian society is far from what it should be. And what is needed is her restoration to her ancient dignity and glory. Even if we leave aside the debatable question of the social disabilities of our womanhood, all sensible men will agree that expansion of female education is a fundamental requirement of national efficiency. Education to be truly beneficial should of course be organised in accordance with the needs of the particular community concerned. Yet the results worked out by others have also their lessons to teach. Comparative institutional study is essential to the efficient training of social workers, educationists and statesmen. The subject of this paper may, therefore, have some interest for Indian readers.

Having taken for granted, at the outset, the natural limitations of such comparison, if we proceed to compare the Japanese and American methods of female education, there are certain fundamental differences that should be borne in mind. The ideal of the American system is to develop every pupil into an efficient social unit. The Japanese system is designed to impart such training that every pupil may, in time, become a worthy wife and a good mother, and, while not neglecting to develop their faculties, the pupils 'being firm in their resolutions and noble in their aspirations...shall endeavour to make themselves mistress of all that make women loveable and adorable'. The Americans assume that if a woman has received sound general education, she will naturally make a good mistress of the home. Therefore, they think, in the educational system the social point of view should be emphasized. The Japanese, on the other hand, hold that in any sound educational system for women the family point of view should be mainly emphasized, although sufficient provision should also be made for the social point of view.

The Americans are so educating their women that they may co-operate with men in the advancement of social good. The Japanese are so educating their women that they may make the family a centre of refinement and the home, a nursery of patriotism, loyalty, truth, justice and bravery. Thus here woman is not so much man's *co-operator* as his *complement*, if we may use that mathematical term. Thus the Americans concieve a common field of work for both men and women, while the Japanese conceive separate though related spheres of influence for them. So much then for the point of view. Let us see how these ideals are practically carried out.

In accordance with the different conceptions of education in the two countries different systems have evolved. Thus the Americans have only one system for both men and women—with, however, one or two branches of learning, *e.g.*, domestic economy and music, which are specially though not exclusively intended for the latter. Neither do the Americans believe in separate institutions for women. Hence the system called *Co-education.** A visitor to an American University may easily find that here a man-professor is lecturing a combined group of men and women on literature, perhaps, and there a woman-professor is teaching perhaps mathematics to a similar group. The object in view is that, as women should be trained to be partners of men in the work of the world, they should be educated under the same physical and social environment with men, so that both sexes may grow in mutual understanding and sympathy before they begin life's work as husbands and wives. Economy of expenditure is also another point raised in favour of co-education.

The Japanese, on the contrary, have not only different systems but separate institutions also except in the case of elementary education. Even in these elementary schools it has generally been thought convenient to form separate classes. The

* There are only two educational institutions in the United States worth mentioning which are exclusively intended for women, the most eminent one being the Vassar College.

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object in view is that as women's functions are different from those of men, they should be trained not only in a special way but also under special environmental influence, so that they may freely develop their special virtues and acquired their special requirements unhampered by those restrictive forces which are necessarily incidental to a common system.

From what has been said it would follow that according to the Japanese conception and ideal women's education need not be as high as that of men. Accordingly the Japanese Government have not made any provision for collegiate education of women, the high school being the highest institution for their education. Even these high schools do not pursue such a high standard as the men's high schools do, and may be regarded as practically equivalent to men's secondary or middle schools. There is, however, one private institution of the collegiate rank which is doing excellent work. It is to be noted that even here the system of education followed is in harmony with the ideals pursued by the Government system. That is, the studies offered in this college (the "Japan Women's University" as it is called) are arranged in accordance with the special requirements of women, as conceived by Japanese educators. Thus, to speak in the official phraseology, 'this University aims at imparting higher education to the daughters of Japan with the object of enabling them to satisfactorily discharge their duties as women, wives and mothers fully equipped with ideas and knowledge in touch with the progress of the nation and the world'.

This system is in sharp contrast with the American, in which the University is freely open to women, and women students have equal freedom with those of the other sex in choosing their subjects of study. And the reader may be assured that women students fully avail themselves of these advantages. There is hardly a branch of study offered at these Universities, which is not graced by the attendance of some young ladies. The "humanities" are naturally their favourite subjects, but the natural sciences, both pure and applied, also receive their due share of feminine attention; and the writer is not sure that even such a technical subject as engineering altogether escapes the attention of the women scholars. If the reader will pardon the writer's reference to his personal experiences as a student at the University of Nebraska, he would also like to state that he had among his fellow-students quite a few ladies attending some of the advanced and technical courses in finance and commerce.

Now, if one would choose between the two systems of female education—the Japanese and the American—one will certainly find it very difficult to decide as to which one should be preferred. The choice will largely depend upon one's conception and ideal of woman's function and position in society. The writer has no mind to hazard an opinion on the matter. There is difference of opinion among the Japanese with regard to the utility of College education for women and the "Japan Women's University" though patronised by a large body of influential men, is strictly speaking a sectional institution not countenanced by the nation at large, although the opposition against College education is diminishing day by day; but they are decidedly against a common system and co-education. In America, on the other hand, there is certainly difference of opinion on the merits of co-education but the people there are all satisfied as to the utility of a common system and of College education for both men and women. This much, however, may safely be said that at the best each system has produced gratifying results. The Japanese system produces intelligent mothers of loyal, efficient, heroic children. The American system developes farseeing and resourceful women like Miss Adams President of the Chicago Hull House Mrs. Young, Superintendent of the City Schools of Chicago, and Miss Eaves who was a member of the Executive Committee in charge of the relief work of San Francisco after the fateful earthquake and fire that overtook that city a few years ago and who is now Professor of Practical Sociology at the University of Nebraska.

As there is no separate system of education for women, apart from that of men, in the United States, any further description than what has already been noted of female education in that country will be simply a description of its system of education for

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men as well. And the interests of this paper will not be served any better by entering into an examination of the grades, carriculum, etc., of that system than not. The rest of the paper will, therefore, be devoted to an examination of the Japanese method of female education.

The Japanese system of female education is organized on a broad class-basis. Educational thinkers of Japan do not deny the theoretical validity of the generally accepted principle that equality throughout, and no class differentiation, should be the guiding principle of education in the case of females as well as in that of males. Yet they are of opinion that in a distinctly classified community each class may conveniently possess a modified system to suit its own need. They observed that in no civilized country except Russia, where there is a Peeresses' School, are there special schools for the education of higher-class women, who generally receive their education at home; and believing that the best form of education is that of the school, they have established the Peeresses' School, of Tokyo, on the model of the Russian institution of its kind, 'to emancipate the daughters of aristocratic families,' observes a Japanese authority, 'from the thraldom of narrow ideas and cramped intellect, and to instil into their minds the light and power of new knowledge so that they might be regenerated as wives and mothers, broadened in view, made healthy in body and active in spirit.'

The Peeresses' School, which now forms a part of the Peers' School, consists of two departments, *viz.*, the Common School department and the Academic department, each of which consists of two divisions, higher and lower, and gives a course of study for six years. The subjects of study in the common school department are: Morals, Japanese, Arithmetic, Object Lessons, Writing, Drawing, Music, Athletic Sports, Sewing and Calisthenics, Japanese Geography, and stories from Japanese History; and those in the Academic department are: Morals, Japanese, Chinese Literature, French or English (optional), Foreign Geography, Arithmetic, Caligraphy, Painting, Sewing, Music, Calisthenics, Japanese History, Physical Geography, Chemistry, Physics, Foreign History, Natural History, Physiology, and Household Matters including lessons in tea-making ceremonies and the art of floral arrangement. The subject of household matters consists of such branches as etiquette, food, raiment, habitation, mode of life, book-keeping, nursing the sick, education of children, how to employ servants, etc.

It should be mentioned here that while the Peeresses' School is primarily intended for girls of noble families, its doors are open to girls of respectable families among the commons also.

To come down now to the system of education of the commons, they have first the elementary schools which consist of two divisions, *viz.*, the Ordinary Division, and the Higher Division. The pupil enters the Ordinary Division at her sixth year and leaves it at her tenth to join the Higher Division, where she must prosecute her study for two years and may continue it for two years more making up altogether four years in the latter division. Thus, study of six years in the elementary schools is compulsory. In these schools, as we have already noted, boys and girls are taken in without distinction, and the system of education is the same for both sexes. We do not, therefore, propose to make an enquiry into its courses of study, grades, etc.

Coming now to an examination of the girls' high schools, we are told that they have been established with the object of 'giving girls a general education of high grade, having for its aim the inculcation of moral and ethical principles and the sending forth of accomplished young women of good character,' so that they may become "worthy wives and good mothers".

The qualifications for admission into these schools are that the girl must not be below 12 years of age, and that she must have completed at least six years of work in the elementary schools or its equivalent.

The course of study extends over four years, and consists of Moral Precepts, Japanese Language, Foreign Language, History, Geography, Mathematies, Science, Drawing, Training for domestic affairs, Sewing, Music, Gymnastics, Pedagogy and Handicrafts. Of these Foreign Language, Pedagogy and Handicrafts are entirely optional, and Music may be omited in the case of those pupils to

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whom the art may be deemed difficult. The training for domestic affairs consists of the remarkable variety of subjects which we have noted in the carriculum of the Peeresses' School.

Besides the high school there is a girl's higher normal school in Tokyo to train instructors for the high schools. This school has three departments of literature, science and art. In the first department are taught Ethics, Pedagogy, Japanese Language, Chinese Literature, English, History. Geography, Music and Gymnastics. The curriculum of the second department consists of Ethics, Pedagogy, English, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Natural History, Music and Gymnastics. The third department offers Ethics, Pedagogy, English, Physics, Chemistry, Domestic Management and Family Education, Cutting-out and Sewing, Handiwork, Drawing and Design, Music and Gymnastics.

The above description practically covers the entire field of the public system of female education in Japan, for, as we have observed before, the only institution of the collegiate rank for female education that exists in Japan is not a Government concern. If now we take a broad, and somewhat critical survey of this entire system, certain characteristic features come out prominently. In the first place, we observe that the whole scheme is designed in accordance with the family point of view. The courses in general literature, science, mathematics and similar subjects are all intended to give an intelligent basis to the appropriate culture and training of the girl, so that she may in time efficiently occupy her natural position in the family polity. Thus the declared principle of Japanese educators that in their country female education aims at making "worthy wives and good mothers" is easily verified. In the second place, matters, such as those relating to household affairs which we in this country assume to be beyond the scope of academic instruction, are regarded by the Japanese, as also other advanced nations, as worthy subjects for systematic and scientific method of study. That is not a very strange thing. There were engineering enterprises in ancient Babylon, but engineering sciences are of modern origin. Years ago time-pieces were made in jewellers' shops, and lawyers and doctors were trained in the practitioners' firms. Now time-pieces are produced in great factories, and lawyers and doctors are trained in Universities. A vast field has already been occupied by Science, but immense regions are still to be explored and conquered; and who can predict the extent and boundary of the future empire of Science? Finally, we see that two subjects constantly occur in every grade of the entire educational system, *viz.*, Morals and Gymnastics. It should, however, be noted that morals as taught in Japanese schools are not based on any religious sanctions and are as secular as it could possibly be. Comparing this aspect of Japanese education with the American system, we find that, while like Japan America has no provision for religious education in her public schools, unlike Japan she has no provision for teaching morals as such either. The following observation of an American University Chancellor represents the general sentiment of the Americans with regard to moral and religious instruction. The Chancellor said:

"I am inclined to the opinion that the splendid example, the spirit of disinterested service and the practical every day living out of the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount on the part of the vast majority of the teachers in our graded schools, is doing more for the religious and ethical welfare of our people than all the normal religious instruction of the countries of the old world."

As regards Gymnastics as a constant subject of instruction, I need hardly say, the Japanese fully realise the necessity of regular and scientific physical exercises in the case of women as well as in that of men because, to quote the words of a Japanese educator, 'a weak and sickly woman can not but be an object of misfortune not only to herself but also to the home of which she is the mistress. But the evil does not end there, because there is a fear of her leaving trouble behind her in her posterity and thereby becoming a source of mischief to the society.'

Any study of women's education in Japan will, the writer feels, remain incomplete without a description of that unique institution called the *Nippon Joshi Daigakko* (Japan Women's University) of which something has been said in a previous part of this paper, because, although

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institution is not an organic part of the Governmental system, it is nevertheless a growing power which neither the Government nor the general public can any longer overlook. It has received substantial help from Her Majesty the Empress of Japan and the deep sympathy of men like the late Prince Ito, and among living men Marquis Saionji, Count Okuma, Baron Utsumi and other important personages; and, although only ten years old, it now possesses a total endowment fund amounting to nearly 750,000 rupees and is educating 1300 students under a teaching staff of over eighty. But its position as a very important institution is perhaps better indicated by the fact that in the educational circles of Europe and America it is regarded as a new experiment worthy of respectful watching. Personally the writer may say that this noble temple of learning at picturesque Koishi Kawa* made a very strong impression on his mind—not so much for its past achievement or its present organization as for its suggestion of certain principles which may help to solve the difficult and complex problem of women's higher education which shall have to be faced in right earnest by all civilized countries in the near future. I have called this institution "unique" advisedly. There are vital differences in the systems of female education of the states of Europe and America, but, generally speaking, *the curriculum of studies of the Universities is the same for women as that for men* all over the western world. But in the Japan Women's University the courses of study and their choice are designed to be in full accord with the social conditions peculiar to the country and *with the special requirements of womankind*, as conceived by Japanese educators. The object in view of, and the ideal pursued by, this university cannot better be explained than in the words of Jinzo Naruse, President of the University. President Naruse says:

"Viewed from the standpoint of the individual the ideal goal of the university is the realisation of self, the full development of the natural gifts of the individual, the fulfilment of Heaven's ordained duties. From the political and national point of view, it is the realisation of the idea of state and country. From the standpoint of the human community, it is the realisation of the idea of humanity. If we regard it from woman's point of view, it is a means of realising womanhood. Finally from the home point of view, it is the realisation of the ideal of home. Using the word 'realisation' in the sense of the full development of all good qualities and powers, the university devotes a large part of its efforts to realising home, since it is judged that the national trend of affairs makes this line of endeavour very important."

A careful look into the curriculum of studies offered at the university clearly convinces one of the justification of the above statement of the President.

The University proper consists of altogether eight departments, *viz.*, those of Domestic Science, Japanese Literature, English Literature, Pedagogy, Music, Art, Science and Calisthenics. Some idea of the character of the education given in this University may be formed from a careful look into the curriculum of studies offered in some of those departments. Thus the department of domestic science offers the following courses:—Ethics, theoretical and practical; Psychology; Pedagogy; Physiology; Hygiene; Applied Sciences; Domestic Science and Art; Economics; Constitution and Civil Code; History of the Fine Arts; Physical training; Japanese Literature; Chinese classics; English: French; History; Philosophy and its history; Methods of Teaching; Music; Drawing and Painting. Of these the last eight courses are elective.

The department of Japanese literature offers the following courses:—Ethics, theoretical and practical; Psychology; Pedagogy; Japanese literature and its history; Rhetoric; Chinese Classics; History of Fine Arts; Philosophy; History; Physical Training; Physiology; Hygiene; Applied Sciences; Domestic Science and Art; Economics: Constitution and Civil Code; Music; Drawing and Painting. Of these the last eight courses are elective.

It will be a tedious task to enumerate the courses of study given in all the departments. Now, therefore, the reader's attention may profitably be drawn to certain general features of the entire scheme of studies. In the first place, apart from the department of Domestic Science which aims at training women specially for home work, in every department, in addition to the subjects specially appropriate to it, the home point of view has been provided for, either in the elective or in the required side, by certain courses of

*A suburb of Tokyo.

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study in Domestic Science and Art, Hygiene, Physiology, Psychology (child study) Pedagogy (child education), and Applied Sciences; the national and the state idea is fostered by courses of study in History, Economics, and Constitution and Civil Code; and the æsthetic side has been represented by courses in the history of fine arts and in some of these arts. All these again have been given a broad, human and cultural basis by courses in Literature, Philosophy and History. Finally, the superstructure of the entire system rests on compulsory ethical instruction and physical training. Thus President Naruse's statement with regard to the ideal of education pursued by this University, which we have quoted before, is clearly realised.

A few words may now be added concerning certain external features of the university. There is a dormitory where the resident students are encouraged to cultivate the habit of self-helping and self-improving, while at the same time uniting in their effort to promote co-operation and harmony, making the dormitory a place of home-like ideals. All the dormitory students have to share in the varied duties of house-keeping according to their ability; and students of advanced standing are required to hold in turn the position of a head woman and to learn the management of a home under the supervision of a matron. The dormitory authorities occasionally take students and make calls upon distinguished women or invite such persons to the dormitory, so that students may have the opportunity of listening to their wise counsels and experiences. There is a special dormitory building of foreign style under the management of a foreign professor for the accomodation of those who desire to learn the ways of a western home-life. The Japanese are a practical people and take facts as they are. The authorities have observed that many of their educated countrymen like the western style of living. Hence the need of the provision for teaching the ways of a western home in the dormitory. They even encourage foreign education in the case of those women who desire it. And some of the representative ladies of Japan may be found among those who were educated in foreign countries, one of whom is the wife of Admiral Uriu and another is the Marchioness Oyama, wife of Marshal Oyama. Both of these ladies were educated in America.

In conclusion, it should be stated that the Japanese educators entertain great expectations as to the future of their system of female education. They believe that the results of this system will influence not only the future progress of their own country but that of the whole orient. Thus President Naruse has said,

"It is as though the day is at hand for our daughters to become the rallying point for their sisters of the whole orient and as such take an active part on the world's stage."

SATISH CHANDRA BASU.

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WHERE WOMEN VOTE

BY SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

NORWAY and Finland are the only two countries on the European continent that have seen fit to grant their women full citizenship rights. The Land of the Midnight Sun possesses the proud distinction of being the first country on the face of the globe enjoying "sovereign" powers, to enfranchise the fair sex; Colorado, Utah, Idaho and Wyoming, of the American Union, New Zealand and Australia of the British Empire, and Finland, the Russian Archduchy—the only principalities where women are full-fledged citizens—and all being tied to the apron-strings of their respective overlords. Finland, however, has the advantage over Norway, since

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Finnish woman was the first female in Europe to be given the parliamentary vote and also to be returned as a member of the legislative assembly. As yet no fair member of parliament has been elected to sit in the *Storthing*—the Norwegian Chamber - whereas a score or more of women have sat in the *Landdag*, the Finnish Legislature.

Unlike the suffragettes of England, neither the women of Norway nor of Finland have had to read the riot act to the authorities or engage in hoodlum acts in order to win their franchise. On the contrary, the men have rewarded their constitutional agitation, spread over a comparatively brief period, by willingly and cheerfully yielding to their demands.

1.—Feminism in Norway.

The way the woman of the land of Fjords got her citizenship rights is easily told. Early in 1905, the nation came face to face with the problem as to whether Norway should continue to be governmentally submerged by Sweden, or assert its individuality and become the arbiter of its own fate. As the *Storthing* did not feel like taking upon itself the responsibility of sundering its country's union with Sweden, that had been in force since 1814, it was decided to refer the question to the people at large—which, at that time, still meant just the men of the nation. As a result of this referendum, about 400,000 men cast their ballots, only 13 of this number declaring themselves in favour of the prevailing order of things. Now, the far-seeing amongst the adult women of the country, who had not been consulted in this serious matter, saw their opportunity to prove that their sex was awake to the needs of the people and was anxious to bear its full share of the national responsibility. They, therefore, organised an unofficial referendum. 300,000 women past the twenty-fifth milestone of life, voted, and every one of them in favour of absolute freedom for Norway. The votes of the women, though unrecognized by parliament, could not but confirm the men in their resolution and convince them of the patriotism as well as political sagacity of the womenfolk. This statesmanlike move on the part of the Norwegian women came at the psychological moment, and in a little over one year the *Storthing* passed, by a combined Conservative and Liberal majority of more than two-thirds of its 123 members, a bill giving three-fifths of the adult women of the land full citizenship rights—the parliamentary vote as well as the right to be elected a member of the Supreme Legislature.

Now while the women of Norway was given the franchise without being compelled to wage a bitter war for it, it must be borne in mind that she was not enfranchised as a mere act of charity. The exigencies of party politics makes it imperative that the leaders of various factions shall favour or oppose such electoral innovations as will aid or injure the cause of their political "machine". This principle applies to votes for women just as much as it does to every other influence that enters into the fight for governmental supremacy. If woman's suffrage promises to be beneficial to a certain section, the more will it be likely to support and promote measures enfranchising the fair sex. The more prejudicial the effect of feminine ballots threatens to be to a party, the more violently will it be opposed to the granting of citizenship rights to females. Moreover, politics may demand that only a portion of a certain class of people, or of a sex, shall be invested with the vote—the others being undesirable from the point of view of the "Machine". This system is sordid, though it represents the real psychology of modern political institutions. Its import must be fully grasped before it is possible to understand just why the Norwegian women so easily won the vote, and why only three-fifths—and not all of them—have been enfranchised.

First as to the latter: The 200,000 adult Norwegian women who have been left out in the cold are working women and wives of poor peasants. It was inevitable that their influence would be cast on the side of the progressive and radical elements—the Liberal and Labour parties, thus weighing down the scale of power against the Conservatives. The latter, therefore, refused to permit universal adult suffrage to be granted, but limited the right to vote to spinsters who paid taxes, and to their married sisters whose husbands paid taxes amounting to Rs. 300 a year, thus ensuring that the comparatively wealthier classes alone, who would

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be likely to hold more conservative opinions, should be given the coveted privilege.

The reason why the Conservatives at all condescended to enfranchise a portion of the Norwegian women is easily explained: they desired to break up the Liberal majority that then existed in the country. If the Conservatives had not brought the propertied women into the game to constitute so many additional chess-men to drive the Liberal winning party off the political board, they were doomed to remain the "under-dogs". In 1898 Norway gave suffrage to *all* the men over twenty-five years of age, instead of permitting only such males as paid a certain amount of taxes to vote, as theretofore had been the custom. This innovation enfranchised the men amongst the proletariat, more or less honey-combed with socialistic and radical doctrines. The change naturally increased the votes of the Liberals and Labourites, and thus reacted against the Conservatives. It was to offset this balance of power that the Conservatives decided to throw in their weight to give the vote to women on a property basis. As in the case of the labouring men, the working women would have added strength to the Progressive party, therefore both the Liberal and Labour sections of the *Storthing* were in favour of a universal franchise for females. This, however, would have meant increased disaster to the Conservatives, and since self preservation is the first law of nature, they would not commit political suicide by supporting this reform proposal. The Liberals and Labourites who wished to carry through the scheme, could do nothing, even if they were able to command a majority, for the law of the land demanded that in a matter where the country's constitution had to be changed, two-thirds of the members of parliament must consent to it. On January 14, 1907, the bill that would grant universal suffrage to women was killed, since only about 48 out of 123 members of the *Storthing* voted in support of it. But immediately after this measure was defeated, another asking for women's limited franchise was introduced, and this was passed into law, twenty-nine Conservatives voting along with sixty-seven Progressive members in favour of it.

That the leaders of the conservative "machine" did a thing wise beyond measure for their party in granting parliamentary suffrage to three-fifths of their women, the recent election in which the Norwegian fair sex voted for the first time furnished incontestable testimony. The Conservatives, with the aid of feminine ballots, have driven into a corner the Liberals, who, until last fall, were in power.* Women voters in some parts of the realm went to the length of polling their ballots against candidates of their own sex, in order to return a conservative member to the *Storthing*. In fact the silver-haired but plucky old woman Miss Gina Krogh, who has devoted all her life to the cause of equal suffrage, was defeated in her fight to capture a constituency in Christiana, the first city of her land, the women voters of her wealthy political district voting with the men to return her conservative opponent to Parliament over her head. Although three women were up for election as members of the *Storthing*, not one of them was successful. One woman alone was elected to act as a deputy of a male member; but she can not take a seat in Parliament unless he dies or fails to attend the sessions through sickness or other reasons.

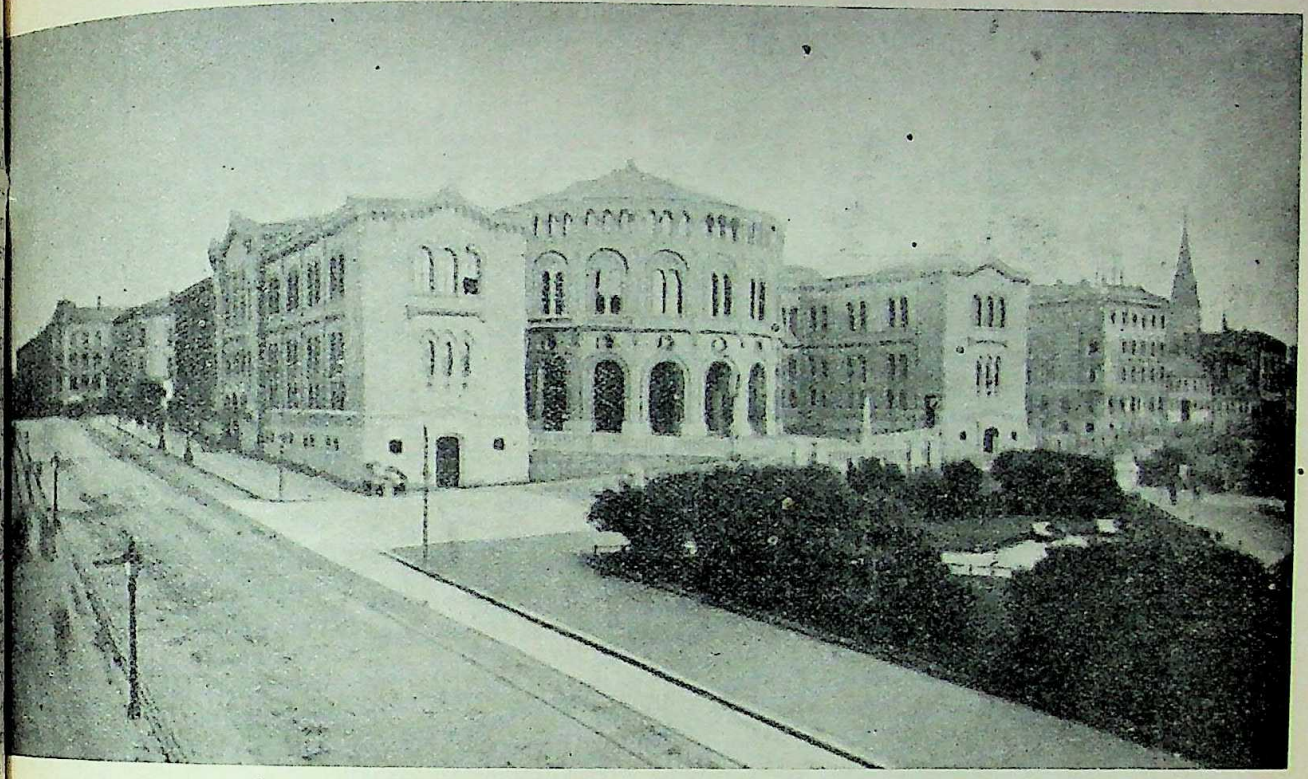
In the matter of female suffrage, although the Norwegian Liberal party has been outwitted, yet, prompted by selfish motives if by no other, the progressives propose to fight for the universal enfranchisement of the women of Norway. Indeed, today the reform movement constitutes a plank in the platform of the Liberal, Radical and Labour parties of Land of the Midnight Sun.

In this connection there is one consideration that must be borne in mind. The women of Norway who have passed the twenty-fifth year of life, muster just about 100,000 more than do the adult men, whose number

* The attention of the reader may be called to the fact that the very political considerations which have been responsible for the grant of the vote to Norwegian women, are standing in the way of the English suffragettes. The Liberals in power know full well that the enfranchisement of the women would swell the conservative vote and hopelessly go against their party. The example of Norway makes this absolutely plain. No wonder, then, that Premier Asquith and his cabinet firmly set their foot on "votes for women" propaganda and even go to the length of terrorizing turbulent suffragettes.

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STORTHING—THE NORWEGIAN HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT AT CHRISTIANIA.

is about 400,000. As yet the Norwegian females have not formed a party of their own on a sex foundation: but in case they do and especially if they are given the vote on the same basis as men have it, they will overwhelm the male voters. Just what influence such a contingency may exert on the progressives, it is hard to predict.

Be this as it may, the agitation which has resulted in the emancipation of the women of Norway, though crowned with success by the men of the land,—for they alone possessed the power—originated with and was agitated by the fair sex to the point where the males were practically forced to take hold of it and complete the work the females had begun. The movement really was conceived in the time of John Stuart Mill—toward the middle of the Nineteenth Century—and has been active since 1885, when the first suffrage society was organized. During the past twenty-five years countless resolutions and petitions have been forwarded to the *Storthing* asking for votes for women.

Strange to relate, the suffrage leaders in Norway have had to contend less with opposition offered by men than with the apathy and resistance of the great bulk of their own sex. Naturally the work of agitation has had to be done by a small handful of faithful ones who saw the importance of bringing about the reforms they desired. In addition to calling the attention of the men to the necessity and advisability of giving the ballot to women, the fair leaders have been compelled to carry on a patient and progressive educational propaganda amongst the leaders of their own sex. The women who have been most assiduous in this important labour of love are Miss Gina Krogh, Mrs. Ragna Nielson and Mrs. Frederikke Onam. These three ardent suffragettes have devoted their lives to inspiring women to clamor for their rights and to gather their forces together to successfully bombard the citadel of male prejudice. As a result of consistent, conscientious agitation, the last twenty-five years have seen most of the sex disabilities removed and the women of Norway admitted to all the professions and departments of life.

So far as the actual enfranchisement of the women went, the first material gain was scored by the suffrage agitators only in 1901

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Miss Anna Rogstad, the popular teacher of the Grunnerlokken Public School, who is the first woman deputy member returned in the Norwegian Storthing.

when the Municipal Vote was given to the Norwegian fair sex on the basis of taxation. This law entitled two-fifths of the married and single adult females to elect city fathers and vote on all matters pertaining to the municipality. The Norwegian women took advantage of their right at three elections, in 1901, 1904 and 1907 respectively, the percentage of women who actually cast their ballots rising at each successive election. In fact, it is claimed that in the two largest cities of the land, a slightly larger per cent. of women than of men performed their electoral duties at the last election. The bill that gave limited municipal franchise to women, also granted her the right of election to municipal corporations. As a result of this provision, 150 women to-day are sitting on the various Norwegian municipal boards.

In addition to securing the Municipal Vote, the women of Norway also was giving other important citizenship duties. For instance, she could sit on juries, and even act as "foreman" of a jury. She could be appointed head of a taxation committee. As a municipal voter, city councillor, juryman and member of taxation committees, the Norwegian woman has acquitted herself creditably. Her Municipal Vote has done a great deal to minimize the drink curse in the country, for she has taken full advantage of the local option law and have driven the liquor dealers out of business wherever it was possible for them to do so. The influence of the feminine Municipal Councillors has been exerted in the same direction, and also has proved instrumental in improving the sanitation of the cities and the hygienic conditions of the home. As jurymen the Norwegian women have been particularly severe in cases where a member of their sex has been maltreated or assaulted, in some cases actually recommending such drastic punishment that no one ever could point to excessive emotionalism in a member of the "weaker sex" as being a bar sinister to her giving an impartial hearing to a case in which she may be acting as a member of a jury, inclining her to pity the guilty culprit and let him off with a light punishment. On taxation committees, too, the fair sex of the Northern land has proved itself to be capable and conscientious, performing the duties of the office without fear or favour.

Not long ago a case came up before the Norwegian courts in which a husband sought to upset his wife's official dictum. The man in question complained that he had been exorbitantly taxed by the "taxation committee" of which his better-half was the chairman. The presiding judge, after enquiring into the case, agreed with the husband and reduced the amount of taxes which his wife's committee had inflicted upon him.

The world over, co-education has been the fore-runner of the emancipation of the female sex. Association with the opposite sex, from childhood up, instills in the woman the feeling that she is every bit as the man, and as a direct consequence, she begins, as soon as she awakens to the uneven-handed justice with which political and social affairs are managed so far as she is concerned, to clamor for her rights divine. This probably has hastened the enfranchisement of the Norwegian woman, for all

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schools, from the kindergarten to the University, are open to both sexes on perfectly even terms. From the seventh to the tenth year, education is compulsory, and the girls go to school along with the boys, studying with them, playing with them, associating with them on an equal status in all matters. In the schools the girls and boys are instructed both by male and female teachers.

The women have not hesitated to go in for the highest education obtainable and from 1882 to 1909, in the neighbourhood of 1,000 females passed the examination that gave them entrance to the university, where they have the same standing as men. All of the women graduates now are taking an active part in public affairs, either as doctors, lawyers or teachers.

Even more than co-education, the Norwegian woman's great strength and power of endurance, which comes quite up to man's are responsible for her desire and ability to secure a "square deal" for herself and the rest of her sex. Besides this, the female of Norway has splendid chances for mental improvement, since during the months when the land is be-nighted, women, like men, devote their time to reading.

One of the first fruits of woman's emancipation has been the opening of schools where all branches of domestic science are taught. The "kitchen-schools", as they are called, now are maintained in connection with all common schools. and here the girls learn cooking. Separate schools have also been established by the State to teach all branches of house-keeping and to practically educate the wives of the peasants. The more advanced amongst the Norwegian women now are agitating for the founding of State schools to teach girls the laws of health, marriage, motherhood and the nursery, so that, grown to women, they will not enter upon the duties of wife and mother without the necessary knowledge.

Just what effect the enfranchisement of woman will have on laws regulating divorce, female and child labour, legitimizing bastard children, women's property and other serious questions that concern the fair sex, yet remains to be seen. But the newly created citizens appear to be tremendously in earnest about making good use of their ballots. During the last parliamentary election Norwegian women, attired in their best apparel, went to the polling booths, full of the solemnity that must accompany voting if it is to be effective in democratic government. Ladies gathered together in little knots at or near the polls and discussed together the great new event that had come into their lives. Many feminine voters of Norway are attending classes of political economy and lectures on civics and parliamentary law, so that they will know how to utilize their votes and creditably discharge their duties as jurymen, councillors or members of the *Storthing*, if they are called upon to fill any of these offices. These political positions now not only are open to them, but they are obliged by law to accept them if they come their way.

PRINCE GOHA

(A TALE OF RAJASTHAN, ADAPTED FROM THE BENGALI OF ABANINDRA NATH TAGORE.)

LIKE a bird's tiny nest, safe and high up on the spreading banyan tree, lay the white marble palace of Chandrabati on the brow of the great Vindhachal hills. Before setting out to battle Raja Siladitya, King of Ballabhpur, had sent his beloved Queen Pushpavati to her father the Raja of Chandrabati. The hope of a son and heir soon to be fulfilled kindled the hearts of the Royal pair as they parted. And as Siladitya prepared for battle the thought of the peaceful days he would spend after it in the palace of Chandrabati filled his heart with a new gladness and gave him fresh courage. But alas! Fate had ruled otherwise. A poisoned arrow from the infidel enemy pierced the heart of the

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young king putting an end to his hopes and his life for ever.

Rani Pushpavati sat alone in the marble palace and awaited the coming of her royal consort. Her chamber overlooked a steep precipice and a part of the road leading to Ballabhpur. A white marble balcony jutted out into space over it. There she sat embroidering for her lord, a scarf of silver gauze light as a feather, bright as a star.

With a golden needle she broidered the picture of the Sun-God on his chariot of gold. She longed for the moment when the King would return to her victorious and with this turban, her beautiful gift, wound round his brow, he would sit beside her and tell her tales of the battle-field, on this white balcony looking like a piece of white cloud on the hill-side. The road to Ballabhpur went winding along from the foot of the hill. Sometimes a spear could be seen flashing like a point of fire in the rays of the setting sun on the road and a rider on a black horse would come galloping swiftly to the lion's gate of the palace, then with lowered spear and bended head he would deliver a letter to the queen and retire. With a joyous heart Pushpabati would sit with the letter in her hand, gazing at the blue sky and green hills, dreaming the day away in happiness, and that day those who came near the queen would have a present from her. The next morning the rider would depart with the queen's reply, riding swiftly away, his shield and spear shining like burnished gold in the sunlight.

When from the temple of Bhabani the evening hymn pealed forth amidst the clash of bells, Pushpavati, with the letter hidden in her knot of raven hair, would go to the temple in her red *sari* and pray for her lord's safe return.

The day Raja Siladitya gave his life on the battle-field, Pushpavati sat embroidering the beautiful silver scarf. She took up a golden thread, finer than her silken hair and brighter than a flame of fire, and as she threaded the golden needle it pierced her finger which was like the Champa flower. Tears came to her lovely eyes and she saw a drop of blood like a little ruby on the delicate cloth. She tried to wash it out with water, but like a flower which sheds its fragrance all around, the drop of blood spread all over and coloured the gauze scarf a rosy tint.

As Rani Pushpavati gazed at the stained cloth, a new fear entered her heart and with tears in her eyes she said to her mother:

"Oh mother, bid me farewell, and let me go to Ballabhpur, for my heart trembles and I fear some danger has befallen my lord."

The Queen Mother replied, "Stay awhile, daughter, and let thy son be born." But Pushpavati stayed not, and with an escort of eighty brave Rajput soldiers set out for Ballabhpur. A desert lay between the towns of Chandrabati and Ballabhpur. When the queen reached the little town of Birnagar by the desert, she heard that her lord was no more, and that the beautiful town of Ballabhpur was desolated and destroyed.

Pushpavati shed not a tear, spake not a word, but her heart was like the sandy desert stretched before her, dry and silent and lone. In silence she cast off her precious jewels and flung them on to the sands in a glittering mass. She wiped the red *sindur* (vermillion), the symbol of her happy wifehood, from off her forehead, and putting on a widow's cloth, took refuge in a large cave in the Malia hills, at the foot of which lay the desert.

At the appointed time in the dark *guha* (cave) a son was born to her and he was named Goha. Then Pushpavati sent for the friend and companion of her childhood, a Brahmin's daughter named Kamalvati who lived in Birnagar. In the presence of the eighty faithful Rajputs, she put the babe into her arms and said, "Sister, I give my little Goha into thy keeping. Rear him like a son and when I am dead take a handful of ashes from my funeral pyre and cast it into the Ganges which flows by the holy city of Benares so that I may be saved from widowhood in the life to come."

With tears streaming from her eyes Kamalvati received the infant prince into her loving arms.

That evening the eighty faithful Rajputs piled a pyre of sandal wood on the Malia hill and stood around it in reverent silence. With the light of hope in her eyes and a smile on her lovely face, the young queen entered the flames and ere long only ashes remained of the beautiful Pushpavati. Then with one voice the Rajput soldiers cried

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MESSENGER OF SILADITYA TO PUSHPABATI.

"Sometimes a spear could be seen flashing like a point of fire in the rays of the setting sun on the road and a rider on a black horse would come galloping swiftly to the lion's gate of the palace, then with lowered spear and bended head he would deliver a letter to the queen and retire." By Babu Nandolal Bose. By the courtesy of Babu Abanindronath Tagore.

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out "Glory to our Queen, glory to the Sati."

With a handful of the Sati's ashes in one hand and the babe in another Kamalvati returned to her home. The eighty Rajputs followed her and settled in Birnagar near their prince, entrusted to their care, living only for him.

Thus Prince Goha grew up in the home of Kamalvati, the Brahmin woman. She tried to teach him to read and write like the Brahmin lads, but Goha loved more to roam with the Bhil youths from hill to hill or to ride with the Rajputs hunting the lion in the desert or the deer in the forests.

In the quiet little town of Birnagar at the foot of the Malia hills, dwelt the peaceful holy Brahmins. In the dark forests of the hills, where the waterfall thundered and splashed along, and wondrous flowers and ferns bloomed, where the tiger roared and the deer roamed and the snake hissed, lived Magulik, the king of the Bhils. Black-skinned like the snake, with the strength of the tiger and the heart of the lion, he ruled over the simple, child-like, truth-loving Bhils. The sonless old chief loved the noble young Rajput as a son, and unlike other Rajputs Goha despised not the black Bhils but deemed himself as one of them. One day the Bhil youths clothed in tiger-skins gathered round Prince Goha, who had ridden to the Bhil territories to see his friends. They cried out in merry sport, "Our new king has come, our king has come." Thus they went about singing and beating drums with their play-king from hill to hill till at last they neared the old Bhil Raja's thatched palace. Magulik hearing them, came out and said: "Where is your new king, lads?" They pointed to Goha. The old man's eyes rested long and lovingly on the fair open countenance of the Rajput princeling. At last he said, "You have said well. I have no son and Goha shall be your king."

A Bhil youth then cut his thumb and with his blood drew the raj-tilak (the mark of royalty) on the prince's forehead, thus setting the eternal seal of Bhil royalty on his brow with the blood of a Bhil. Goha then went and sat on the heir's seat so long empty at the foot of the Bhil Raja's throne. The heart of the lonely old man was filled with joy and hope, but this happiness was not to last.

Ten years ago Magulik and his younger brother had quarrelled, and the boy had parted in anger and bitterness and had never been seen since. On the day Prince Goha was made heir to the Bhil throne, the younger brother suddenly returned. Going up to the old king he said in bitter angry tones, "What hast thou done, brother? Thou hast no son, and after thee I am king, but thou hast put a stranger and a Rajput on the throne of the Bhils. What means this?"

Magulik, who had never heard of nor seen his brother these ten years, cried out "Calm thee, brother." But the young Bhil prince strode away in anger, exclaiming "I shall be calm only when I am revenged!" and left the palace. Pondering sadly, the old Bhil Raja said to himself, "The raj-tilak has been drawn on Goha's brow and no human hand may wipe it out. He has been as a son to me. He is a good and noble lad and he shall be king." Then he seated himself on his wooden throne and taking the prince on his lap called together all the old Bhil Chiefs and made each of them swear with his hand on Goha's head that he would stand by him always in danger or trouble, in joy or sorrow and that Goha's enemies would be theirs. After great rejoicings the assemblage broke up. At night Magulik went to the prince and said, "Give me thy dagger, Goha, so that with it I may kill thy enemy." Goha took out his dagger, with his name engraved on it, from his belt, and handed it to the old Raja.

Then Magulik with Goha's dagger in his hand went out into the dark night to see his brother. He found him at last in a little hut, lying face downward on the mud floor, like a common Bhil. At sight of his only brother lying there in his youth and loneliness, the heart of the simple old Bhil smote him, and all the bitterness and anger left it. The memory of the happy days of their childhood, of their loving mother rushed upon him. He flung aside Goha's dagger, and kneeling by called softly "Bhaya." Three times he repeated softly the dear name after ten years but no reply came. Then bending low he stroked the curly black hair of the lad and said in

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low tones, "Art angry, Bhaya, with thy old brother for denying thee? Why didst thou leave me these ten years, lad? If thou hadst been near, my hungry lone old heart would not have turned to Goha, the noble young Rajput. He has been as a son to me. But half of the Himalayas are mine and thou shalt be king of those territories. Awake, brother, and forgive thy old brother. Art angry still with the old man, who after taking thy birthright has come to kill thee? Then take this dagger, Bhaya, and plunge it into this cruel heart!"

Picking up Goha's dagger he thrust it into the silent Bhil lad's hands, but it fell from the stiff motionless fingers on to the floor. Then Magulik felt the cold body and knew his only brother was no more!

A great sorrow filled his heart. Blind with grief and pain he thought with a bitter heart of Prince Goha on the throne which should have been his brother's lying dead and still there. An unreasoning anger filled his mind and he thought to himself, "But for Goha, my brother's heart would not have broken and his young life gone for ever!"

He stroked the cold black breast, then rose, and with the dagger in his hand left the hut and went out. With feeble steps and a breaking heart the old Bhil wended his way on the Malia hills. Some Bhil girls returning from the palace festivities passed by and one of them exclaimed, "Sister, didst thou see how handsome our new Prince looked as he danced tonight. Ah! he will make a noble king indeed!" And Magulik hearing thought, "Already the Bhils cast me off like a worn out garment," and he felt lonely and miserable. It seemed there was none in the world to love him. Again two Rajputs came riding along and one said to the other, "Why did not Goha sit on the throne but at the foot of it?" His companion answered, "Knowest thou not that Goha has resolved to sit at the old king's feet so long as he is alive?"

A great gladness flooded the heart of the lone old man and he exclaimed in joy, "Bless thee, Goha, for thy loving noble heart!"

Suddenly he heard a deep sigh behind him and wondering turned to find his brother's great black hunting dog standing by him. The wound still fresh in his heart bled again and tears blinded his eyes. Spent with grief the old Bhil stumbled on a rock. He fell heavily face forwards, and Goha's dagger held firmly in his hand pierced his breast and went through his falling body.

In the stillness of the dark night the jackals cried out, "Hai, hai, hai, hai!" and the cry was echoed from every hill.

Next morning a Rajput rider passing that way saw the dead body of Magulik, the Bhil Raja, and Prince Goha's dagger plunged into his heart.

In anger and wonder he drew it out and went with it to Goha and said, "What hast thou done, Juvaraj (prince)? How couldst thou murder the old Raja who has been a father to thee, and who has made thee king?"

But Goha not knowing anything was angered, and he commanded the Rajput to be put to death.

Then taking the blood-stained dagger, he stuck it into his belt with one hand and wiping the tears which streamed from his eyes with the other, he sat on the Bhil throne.

Thus prince Goha, son of Siladitya, descended from the royal Solar line of Aryan kings, became the king and ruler of the black Bhils.

SNEHALATA SEN.

THE RAMAYANA IN THE BUDDHIST JATAKAS

IT is now-a-days well known that the Jataka, that is the Book of the stories of the former Births of the Buddha, is a storehouse of many fables and folk-tales which we meet with in many countries. It has also been pointed out as not only a receptacle for such children of early human imagination but also as the common

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source which both the Eastern and the Western countries have largely drawn upon for their popular edification. Though many tales and fables have been traced back to this canonical book of the Buddhists, still, perhaps it is not so generally known that the story of the Rámáyana, so familiar to every Indian, can also be found there. Of course we get here only a part of the story, but some scholars say it is the only portion which we can properly call our own.

Lassen had, indeed, pointed out the ante-Buddhistic existence of the legend of Rama,* but it was in 1866 that D'Alwis in his "Attangalu-Vansa"† drew the attention of the scholars to the fact of the Jataka-Book containing a story of Rama. He gave in his work an abridged translation of the same and also of another Jataka named Sama-Jataka, of which more presently. D'Alwis also tried to arrive at some conclusion as to the later redaction of the legend. He is of opinion that the part of the story containing the abduction of Sita etc. "is altogether an addition to the Buddhist Jatakas and.....is an invention. ...Its *bona fide* relation to the main story of Rama.....may reasonably be doubted..... and [it] is foisted into the history of Rama."‡ The point raised by him was, of course, very interesting, and Prof. A. Weber was tempted into writing a long dissertation on the Ramayana§ based on D'Alwis's appendix, in which he tried to weave out a whole theory about the redaction of the story of Rama, "from its contents, or", as Dr. Fansboll has happily expressed it,‖ "rather from what it does not contain." His opinion is that not only are the latter portions an addition but that the innovation was derived from the Greek legend of the Trojan War. He would trace the abduction of Sita and the consequent siege of Lamka to the parallel instance of Helen's seizure and the Greek expedition and the siege of Troy.* However, for more convincing proofs of Valmiki's account being intimately connected with the Buddhist one he asked for a publication of the Pali original of the Jataka,† which was brought out by Fansboll with an English translation and notes, thus establishing the fact of this relation more strongly.‡

The story of Rama as found in Valmiki's version naturally falls into three or perhaps four parts. The first ends with the return of Bharata from Chitrakuta, after vainly entreating his brother to return to Ayodhya; the second contains the abduction of Sita ending with the death of Ravana; the third relates the reign of peace and plenty, to which are added the episode of Rama's putting away his wife, and the doings of Laba and Kusa. In the Jatakas, however, we find only the first part of the story, and, perhaps, a litte also of the second part, while they give us no clue whatever to the rest of the incidents found in Valmiki.

There are in all two Jatakas in the Buddhist collection which remind us of the Ramayana, and of which one is more than a resemblance: it is the story itself. Space forbids us to quote the stories at full length, which otherwise would have proved very interesting, and we must content ourselves with merely giving here their outlines, sufficient to show at once the similarity and the difference.

We give here first the outline of that one which is found earlier in the Jataka collection, and which is the less striking of the two. It is named the Devadhamma-Jataka,§ and runs as follows:

At Báránasí reigns king Brahmadatta. His queen-consort gives birth to two sons named Mahimsáso-Kumáro and Chanda-Kumáro. The queen-consort dies, and the king takes another queen, who bears him a son named Suriya-Kumáro. The king highly pleased offers her a boon, which is reserved, only to be availed of when her son is grown up. At the proper

* Lassen, S. Ind. Alterthumskunde, pp. 490—494 (D'Alwis.)

† Appendix, D'Alwis "Attangalu-Vansa," Colombo, 1866.

‡ D'Alwis, p. 173.

§ Translation published in the Indian Antiquary, 1872, Vol. I, pp. 120, 172, 239.

‖ Preface to "Dasaratha-Jataka" by V. Fansboll, 1871.

* Indian Antiquary, 1872, p. 172 *et seq.*

† Indian Antiquary, p. 124, Excursus.

‡ Ibid. p. 253, note.

§ No. I. 1. 6. in Fansboll's original Pali Text Edition of the Jatakas. See also his "Dasaratha-Jataka," and "The Jataka." Translated into English. Edited by Cowell and Rouse, Vol. I, Jataka No. 6.

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time the queen demands the throne for her son. The king, afraid of secret mischief to his two elder sons, sends them to the forest. The third Suriya also accompanies them of his own accord. They go to Himavantam. The youngest goes down to a haunted pool for water and is seized by a man-eating demon, who asks him, the question "What is the Devadhamma?" [The godly Rule of Right]. The second also fails to answer the question and shares a similar fate. Then the eldest, Mahimsaso, answers the question properly, wins the demon over to a righteous life, and on the death of his father brings him to Baranasi where the Prince begins to reign righteously.

The second story, which we have already alluded to and which bears a great resemblance towards its beginning to the first one, is named the Dasaratha-Jataka.* Here we are concerned more with this story than with the first one, and we give an outline of this striking Jataka also :—

King Dasaratha reigns in Baranasi. The queen-consort gives birth to two sons, Ramapandito and Lakkhana kumaro, and to a daughter Sita-devi†, and afterwards dies. The king takes another consort who gives birth to Bharata-Kumaro. The king offers her a boon which is reserved till Bharata is seven or eight years old, when the queen asks the kingdom for her son. The king refuses, but being afraid of secret mischief sends Rama and Lakkhana to the forest for a period of twelve years, by which time he ascertains he was to die, asking them to come and occupy the throne at its termination. Sita-devi accompanies them, and all the three go to Himavantam. Dasaratha, however, dies nine years after this, and Bharata, instead of occupying the throne himself goes to Rama to bring him back. Rama refuses as the period of twelve years is not yet elapsed, but sends his shoes with Bharata as his representative. After the completion of the promised period he returns to Baranasi and marries his sister Sita and reigns for sixteen thousand years.

Such in brief are the outlines of these stories. It will be seen that the opening of the two is almost the same, though the latter goes further, and is interesting to us in more ways than one, by its retaining the familiar names of the important persons of the Ramayana, and also for the incident of Rama's shoes. Perhaps it will neither be useless nor uninteresting to mention the points of resemblance and difference of these tales as compared with the stories, taking up afterwards further similar items of these two taken separately.

The common points of agreement are the promise made by the king to the second queen which was taken advantage of by her later on, reminding us of Dasaratha's promise to Kaikeyi, though the occasions of the granting of the boons are different; the sending away of the princes to the forest equivalent to the going away of Rama and Lakkhana; the death of Dasaratha though there is some disagreement as to the time of his death. The points of difference are that the first queen dies while Kousalya does not: the two princes are born of the same queen, while Rama and Lakkhana are not so; in the Jatakas we have Baranasi and Himavantam whereas in the Ramayana we have Ayodhya and Chitrakuta.

When we take the stories individually we find that the first one differs from the version of Valmiki inasmuch as the third brother, who by the way, stands in this tale for Sita, follows the elder two, while Bharata does not; there is no female character in it, and finally there is no fixed period of Rama's exile. The second, however, we find bears a great resemblance to the Ramayana in the names of the characters, the fixing of a period of exile though the period itself differs from that of Valmiki's by two years. Then, again, we find a similarity in Bharata's character, and in the episode of the shoes. But the most important and interesting difference is that while Sita is the wife of Rama in the one, she is his sister in the other, *i.e.* the Jataka, though married to him after the

* See Fansboll's "Dasaratha-Jataka", and Cowell and Rouse's "Jatakas", Vol. IV, Jat. No. 461.

† We cannot help quoting here a curious note to Sita given by Mr. W. H. D. Rouse. [See Cowell and Rouse's "Jatakas", Vol. IV (Translated by Rouse) No. 461, p. 79, Footnote.] In this footnote he says, "[*Sita* means] cool which has in India the same pleasant associations as warm has for us." After all that has been said on the mythical interpretation of the Ramayana based on the significance of the name of Sita, which means "a furrow". This note is simply a poser.

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termination of his exile. Moreover, there is yet another difference which was not mentioned in the outline as it is not within the range of the present subject. While in Valmiki's representation Rama becomes disconsolate on being informed of his father's death, in the Buddhist story we find him calm and undisturbed, sermonising his brother and others present there on equanimity and patience in sorrow. There is no doubt that this difference occurs owing to the influence of Buddhism which preaches an absolute indifference to pleasure and pain, while Valmiki has painted his hero after a more human and thereby a more natural ideal.

Thus we see what broadly are the resemblances and dissimilarities in the various legends of Rama we meet with. In considering the history of the main story we have to examine the following points:—(i) The relation of the first part of Valmiki's account to the story as given in the Buddhist Jatakas; (ii) the change of Sita from a sister to a wife; (iii) the probable source of the second and third parts of the legend as found in the Ramayana.

As to the first we find that the Dasaratha-Jataka agrees with the first part of the Ramayana in all the essential features excepting one, that of Sita. The resemblance in spite of this is so striking and so complete that there seems scarcely any doubt as to these two being intimately related. Here we find that both external and internal proofs go in favour of the Jataka version being the earlier of the two. Most scholars are now agreed that the Ramayana in its present form was completed about the beginning of the Christian era. But on the other hand we have proofs of the Buddhist Jatakas existing as early as the third century B.C. Again, if we turn to the internal evidence it is found that in the Jataka "we have doubtless the 'original substratum', which, considering the want of extravagance,—the absence of exaggeration, and above all, its rationality,"* may reasonably be taken as the earlier. Had the Jataka been the later one, the story-teller would never have left out the many interesting side-scenes with which the Ramayana abounds. It is not to be supposed, however, that Valmiki borrowed directly from the Jatakam. Far from such being the case, we find one vast difference in the respective treatments of the hero in the two recitals. In the Jataka, Rama is no higher than an ordinary prince who had distinguished himself by his remarkable truthfulness. But in Valmiki we find him a popular hero, a dearly cherished idol of the people, nay, a very god. For this important change we have a period of about three centuries at least during which time the bare story as found in the Jataka must undoubtedly have undergone various changes, assimilating fresher ideas and incidents, resulting ultimately in the epic.

Though, indeed, Valmiki did not borrow directly from these stories, still it seems almost certain that he had for his original a direct descendant of the Jatakas now under consideration. We shall soon see how a possible redaction of the story came about: That Valmiki's account has more than a mere chance relation with the Jataka version is proved by the occurrence in the Ramayana of three verses or parts of verses which are also found in the Dasaratha-Jataka.† They are almost identical, there being only some verbal difference.

The slokas alluded to are:—

(i) Phalánam ina pakkánam niccam papatana bhayam,
evam játánam maccánam niccam marana bhayam.—Verse 5, Dasa.-Jat.

["As ripe fruits always are in danger of falling, so born mortals are always in danger of death"—Fansboll.]

Cf. Yathá phalánám pakvànám nányatra patanád bhayam
evam naránám játánám nányatra maranád bhayam.
—Gorresio, Ramayana, Vol. II, p. 421, ch. 114, verse 4.

(ii). Eko va macco acceti eko va jáyate kule.
—Verse 10, Dasa.-Jat.

["Alone a mortal passes away, alone he is born in a family"—Fansboll.]

Cf. Yad eko jayate jantur eka eva vinashyati.
—Gorresio, Ram. Vol. II, ch. 116, p. 429, verse, 12.

(iii) Dasavassasahassani satthivassasatani ca
Kambugivo mahabahu Ramo rajjam akarayiti,—
Last verse in Dasa.-Jat.

["During ten thousand years and sixty centuries the fine-necked and great-armed Rama reigned".]

Cf. Dashavarshasahasrani dashavarshashatani ca

* D'Alwis, p. 175.

† Ind. Antiq. 1872, pp. 126, and 253, note.

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vitasokabhayakrodho* Ramo rajyam akarayat. —Ram. Bk. VI.

There is one more correspondence for which we quote Prof. Weber: "When Bharata-kumara comes to tell Rama of the death of Dasaratha and to call him back, he finds him sitting at the door of the hermitage *sutthuthapitakancanorupikam viya*. [Fansboll translates: "like a fixed golden statue", Rouse: "Like a figure of fine gold firmly set." Should it not be: "like a beautifully placed golden statue"?†] Thus Ravana saw Sita विभ्राजमानां वपुषा काञ्चनीं प्रतिमामिव ॥ (Gorresio Ram, Vol. III, ch. 52. v. 21.)‡

These then are the instances in point, and in spite of the several dissimilarities, these go to show the truth of the statement that Valmiki was indebted to a direct descendant of these Jatakas.

Next we have to consider the situation of Sita. In the Dasaratha Jataka we have seen that Sita is the sister of Rama, and is ultimately married to him.§ This presents us with a difficulty. How was it that the sister was married to the brother? There can be but two explanations, that either it was a very ancient story and, therefore, retained an indelible stamp of its antiquity in the marriage of brother and sister, and we know that in the early stages of mankind such marriages were allowed, or that it was merely an oversight. But the first alternative seems to be the more probable one. The people of those days saw nothing strange or uncouth in such an alliance. But perhaps the gradual change in manners and sentiments was making it more and more imperative to alter the situation of Sita, and when the people found the former version repugnant to their ideas, the whole thing naturally underwent a thorough revisal and Sita had to be given a different history peculiar to herself.

D'Alwis seems to think that it was Valmiki who brought about this change. He is of opinion that "it would be difficult to portray all the domestic virtues which the poet wanted to show without introducing a married woman from the date of Rama's departure into the woods. This explains the change of Sita the affectionate sister into a loving wife."* But that this most significant change was so abruptly made by Valmiki at his own instance seems scarcely conceivable. The thing must have been going on for some time. No single poet or story-teller was directly responsible for this innovation. But whatever might have been the process, doubtless the story was undergoing an important reconstruction, inasmuch as it gave Valmiki the opportunity of painting so beautifully and vividly the character of the ideal woman "chaste as ice and pure as snow."

Lastly, we come to the very interesting question as to the later redactions of the central story as found in the Jatakas. Let us here once for all take it for granted that though it is improbable that the whole of the Ramayana was written by any one bard, it can be allowed that at least its greater part and the more important portions were worked out by Valmiki himself. We have seen that there is no difference of opinion about the story of the Dasaratha-Jataka having been, through one channel or other, adapted as the beginning of the Ramayana. The difficulty comes in when we try to find out the origin of the later incidents found in Valmiki, namely, the abduction of Sita by Ravana, Rama's expedition to Lamka and the siege to that place and the other subsequent events. Prof. Weber has indeed, made out a strong case, though not an invulnerable one, in favour of the incidents of the abduction and the siege having originated in the story of the Trojan war. His argument mainly depends upon the parallel instances of the abductions and the transmarine expeditions and the sieges of

* There are different readings.

† We hope to be pardoned for another remark. In the same page we have "laddhassasesu" which offers a difficulty to Dr. Fansboll. He translates it "comforted." Rouse has "set them upon dry ground." We beg to suggest "made them regain their sense (breath)." Pali *asaso* = breath.

‡ Ind. Antiq. 1875, p. 249.

§ Prof. Weber (Ind. Antiq, 1872, p. 120) refers to the marriage between the brothers and sisters in the legend of the ancestors of the Sakiya and the Koliya race, but that does not seem to have any bearing on the point under consideration. He and others along with him seem to take this as a Buddhist story. But, instead of that being the case, like most of the stories of the Jatakas, it was only a current popular tradition which was utilised by the Buddhist story-tellers "to point a moral." See also Indian Antiquary 1875, p. 248.

* D'Alwis, p. 174.

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the two epics. But, in our opinion, for the abduction at least there was no necessity for Valmiki to be indebted to the meagre tales of the western heroes floating up from a foreign land; for have we not in the Devadhamma-Jataka a hint for such an abduction in the seizure by the man-eating demon of the youngest prince Suriya-kumaro, who, we know already, takes here the place of Sita of the other story?

The question will seem clear if we try to follow the possible development of the legend of Rama. The versions contained in the Jataka show that at the time when these were current the cult of Rama had not yet begun. But we can well imagine that as this cult of Rama became more and more popular, these stories came to have a greater demand. Now there were these two parallel accounts beginning in the same way, and therefore there was every chance of these two being mixed up together. Naturally, the Dasaratha-Jataka, which had the two advantages of having the names and also of being the more interesting of the two, proved stronger in the struggle. But the other, the Devadhamma Jataka, though it lost its identity in the stronger one, had still one interesting incident to subscribe, *viz.*, the seizure of the youngest prince by the man-eating demon. But in the more popular story the youngest prince had been thrown out in favour of Sita,—and the bards of those days were fully aware of the advantages of having a heroine in a popular tale,—and therefore the demon was allowed to seize Sita after Bharata had returned to Ayodhya, thus opening up a new avenue for a further development of the plot.

That this is not altogether an improbability may be seen from the fact that the demon who caught hold of Prince Suriyakumaro in the Devadhamma-Jataka is called a *rakkhasa*,* and seeing Ravana also was a *rakkhasa* and the master of an island-kingdom, that this demon under consideration had rule over a piece of water is a most significant fact especially when we take into account the magnifying lens which the ancient poets, and especially Indian, always looked through. This seems, indeed, to have a greater chance of truth in it than Prof. Weber's theory of the influence of the Greek legends, the circumstances of the two abductions, the manipulation of the two expeditions, and everything about them being so vastly different from each other. We have a right to ask for some surer and more tangible proofs being brought forward before we can believe that the splendid picture of Sita has been woven in a frame supplied by Greece.

But the difficulty remains. Where are we to look for the sources of Rama's expedition to Lamka and other concomitant episodes? Here, perhaps, certain parallel instances will be helpful to us. We find that the Sama-Jataka,* in which King Piliyakkha of Benares kills inadvertently the son of a blind hermit pair in the woods, seems to have subscribed to the main story of the Ramayana the account of King Dasaratha's killing the son of a similar blind pair.† Then, again, the story of Rishyashringa in the epic seems to have a possible ancestor in a Jataka of which we are unable to furnish the exact reference just now. From these we may infer that a more intimate acquaintance with the folk-lores of the Buddhists and also of the Jainas will ultimately yield us the much coveted clue to the whole story of the Ramayana.

"CHRONOS."

* We read here in the Jataka, "Atha nam so rakkhaso gahetva 'devadhamman janasiti' pucchi." [And the demon having caught hold of him asked him 'Do you know what is the devadhamma?']

* See Cowell & Rouse's Jatakas, Vol. VI, No. 540, pp. 40—52.

† See Gorresio Ram. Vol. II, ch. 65, pp. 228 *et seq*,

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THE SECRET OF THE ILE SAINTE-MARGUERITE

By Dr. Greenwood.

WHO was the mysterious man who for more than forty years was immured within prison walls, first at Pinerolo in the Italian Alps, later in the Ile Sainte-Marguerite, and lastly in the Bastille, forbidden under pain of death to show his face even to his gaolers or to breathe a word that might betray his identity; and every trace of whom was so ruthlessly destroyed when at last death brought him a tardy release from his miseries? Some declared that he was none other than the Duc de Vendome, one of Anne of Austria's favourites, on whom Cardinal Mazarin's jealousy had wreaked this terrible vengeance; others asserted with equal confidence that he was Charles II.'s natural son, the Duke of Monmouth; while some dared to whisper that he was a very near kinsman to Louis XIV., the "grand Monarque" himself.

The few who knew his true identity, also knew that it was only at the cost of life that they could betray it. Madame de Pompadour and others of the royal mistresses practised all their wiles in vain to learn the secret; Louis XVI. refused point-blank to communicate it to Marie Antoinette; and M. de Chamillard, although his son-in-law the Marechal de la Feuillade went on his knees as the minister lay dying, begging him to reveal the mystery, answered with his last breath that he could not and dared not do so.

It was a woman who at last succeeded in raising the veil which had so long concealed the mystery. Although the regent had refused to reveal the secret to Louis XV. on the day before his Royal ward reached his majority, he succumbed at last to the pleading of his daughter, the Duchesse de Berry, when, flinging herself into her father's arms, she besought him with cries and sobs to tell it to her. A few hours later the papers which held the clue to the mystery were in the hands of the Duc de Richelieu, the Duchesse's lover, and the story which they revealed was surely the most remarkable ever committed to paper.

The singular document was headed, "Account of the Birth and Education of the unhappy Prince, restrained in prison by the order of Louis XIV., told by the Prince's governor on his death-bed"; and in brief outline this is the story it tells.

At mid-day on the 5th of September, 1638, Louis XIII.'s Queen, Anne of Austria, after more than twenty childless years, gave birth to an heir to the crown of France, to the great delight of her Royal husband. But the king's pleasure was short-lived; for, a few hours later, he was warned by the midwife that her Majesty would bear a second child, news which he dreaded, for, long previously, he had been warned by prophecies that the Queen would bear two sons, and it was being said in Paris that if she should bring forth two Dauphins, as foretold, it would be the height of misfortune for the State.

The news threw the king into a state of great consternation, for there was no provision in the Salic law for such a contingency as the birth of twin heirs to the throne; and his alarm was heightened by Cardinal Richelieu, whom he hurriedly sent for, and who promptly declared that, if a second child should be born, this birth must be carefully concealed, "For he might in future wish to become king and fight his brother to elevate a second line in the State and reign."

What was foretold, happened, for the Queen gave birth to a second son more delicate and beautiful than the first, who never ceased to wail and cry, as if he already felt regret at having entered a life in which he would have so much to suffer. Louis, in his dilemma, determined to follow the Cardinal's advice; all who were present

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at the second child's birth were sworn to secrecy, and the infant was at once taken away in the charge of the midwife, who was threatened with death if she ever revealed his indentity. Under such conditions of mystery and tragedy opened the life of the most unhappy prince who was ever cradled.

Banished from the palace of his royal parents, the infant prince was tenderly cared for in the humble home of his foster-mother until, in early boyhood, he was handed over to the care of a noble man, one of those who had sworn to guard the secret of his birth; and under his careful direction the prince grew up to young manhood, handsome and intelligent beyond his fellows, and bearing in his graceful and dignified exterior all the marks of his royal origin. Long, however, before this period of his life had been reached he had puzzled his brain in vain to discover who he was. That he was no ordinary youth was proved by the money lavished on him and by the deference paid to him even by his noble guardian. Who were his parents? Where were they? and Why was he not with them? were questions which filled his mind, and to which he could find no answer. One day, however, the solution to this puzzle came to him with dramatic suddenness. The secret of his birth was revealed and he was overwhelmed by it.

During his guardian's absence he came across an open despatch-box full of letters; and impelled by curiosity he examined them. They were from the Queen and Cardinal Mazarin (Richelieu's successor), and in them he read words which could only have one meaning and that, for him, more bewildering and dazzling than even he, in his wildest conjectures, had ever dreamed of. He, the outcast, the no man's child, was son of the late King of France and twin-brother of the glorious Louis XIV., then occupying the most splendid throne in Europe—a throne which—could it be possible?—should have been his!

Here was a dramatic revolution in his life, and a splendid vista opened to a youth whose birth had hitherto been wrapped in obscurity! But could it be true? If he was indeed twin-brother of Louis XIV. there must be such a resemblance in features, as would place the matter beyond all doubt. His guardian, whom he asked, declared that he had no portrait of the king. But there was in the house a pretty young governess who loved the prince passionately and who could procure one for him. From her he got a portrait of Louis, and the moment his eyes fell on it he saw that, feature for feature, it was his own exact presentment. So faithful indeed was the likeness that he, and not the great monarch, might have sat for it!

Jubilant at the discovery and furious that the secret of his birth had been kept from him, he rushed with the tell-tale portrait into the presence of his guardian, exclaiming, "Behold, my brother! And this is who I am." But never was discovery more fatal in its consequences. The prince's guardian, in his consternation and alarm, immediately despatched a messenger to inform the king what had happened; and within a few hours the angry sovereign gave orders that both guardian and prince should be immured in the pestilential fortress-prison of Pinerolo, in the Italian Alps, where the cold and dampness were so terrible that "the hair of prisoners came off and their teeth dropped out." And here the prince's governor, whose only crime had been his loyalty, shortly died, leaving his royal charge to a fate infinitely more to be dreaded than death.

Such was the strange and terrible story which the regent, in a moment of parental weakness, had entrusted to his daughter's keeping, little dreaming that through her the secret so long jealously guarded would one day become the property of a horrified world. It was the long-sought clue to the identity of the "unknown prisoner" whose cruel fate had so roused the pity and anger of Europe, and who now stood revealed as the son of Louis XIII., condemned by his father and his twin-brother to a life which was worse than death, that their throne might stand secure.

It would be difficult to imagine anything more pitiful than the plight of this ill-starred prince after the death of his guardian and only friend. By this time the fierce sense of injury which had found vent in outbursts of impotent fury had given place to a hopeless resignation. Shut away from all sight of the outer world in his cell, with its walls streaming with moisture or hanging with

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icicles, forbidden to exchange a word with the grim warder who brought him food and drink twice a day, it is little wonder that he became a prey to a deep-seated melancholy, or that he prayed for death to come and end his sufferings.

His brother, in distant Paris, revelling in his splendour and his pleasures, seemed to have forgotten his very existence until one day it was brought rudely to his memory. Rummaging among his mother's jewels in search of a trinket to give to one of his many lady-loves, Louis accidentally came across a bundle of papers in the handwriting of the late Queen, which contained references to her unhappy son. This reminder of his brother's existence filled Louis with alarm. Several of the countries of Europe were in arms against him; the prison-fortress in the Italian Alps might fall into the hands of one or other of them, and with it the prince himself. The possibility was appalling; for in such an event his throne was not safe for a moment. Europe to a man would take up arms for his ill-used brother against himself, and his crown and probably his life itself would be the forfeit. At any cost the prisoner must be removed to a place of greater safety; and the plan was soon arranged.

One day, after the prince had spent about nine years in his Pinerolo prison, his gaoler announced that a French nobleman had arrived and desired a few minutes' conversation with him. Trembling and agitated, the announcement so affected the prisoner that for a time he was unable to speak. Had it come at last, the long-despaired-of freedom? The thought was intoxicating, overwhelming in the emotion it excited.

"Who is the gentleman?" he asked when at last he had mastered himself sufficiently to speak. "The Marquis of Cinq-Mars," was the answer. "Cinq-Mars!" He recalled the name as one of honour and high repute in France. It was a name, moreover, associated with freedom; for was it not a Cinq-Mars who had helped to assassinate Richelieu, one of his own chief enemies? The bearer of such a name could surely bring none but good news—news that his brother, the king, had at last relented and that he was to be restored to freedom.

"Tell M. de Cinq-Mars that I shall be pleased to see him," he said to the goaler; and a moment later a tall, handsome, splendidly attired officer was greeting him with a deep obeisance and a low sweep of his plumed hat. "Monseigneur," said the magnificent stranger, "I am instructed by the king to give you this small parcel, containing an article, the use of which your Highness will understand when you have read his Majesty's commands. With your Highness's permission I will withdraw while you read one and inspect the other." When the door had closed behind the marquis the prisoner took the order and read it. With feverish fingers he untied the parcel, from which an iron mask fell with a loud clatter. Then, with a cry of heart-piercing agony and despair he fell senseless to the floor.

"A few days later," says Voltaire in his "Siecle de Louis XIV.," "an unknown prisoner was sent, in the utmost secrecy, to the Ile de Sainte-Marguerite, off the coast of France. He was above the middle height, young, and had the most noble and handsome features. During the journey the prisoner wore a mask, the chinpiece of which had springs of steel which allowed him to eat with the mask on his face. Orders had been given to kill him if he uncovered himself."

For twenty-nine years the prince remained in this terrible island-prison, wearing night and day the iron-mask, the removal of which, even for a moment, might betray that fatal likeness to the "great and glorious Louis XIV—the Sun-god"; and no soul, of the few who knew his idenity, dared to breathe a word of it lest an equally dreadful fate should befall him.

The agonies he suffered during this lifetime of awful isolation, brooding until his brain reeled and reason tottered on her throne, over the cruelty and hopelessness of his fate, no pen can portray. His proud spirit was at last humbled in the dust; and his greatest ambition was to die and thus end a misery too great for human flesh to bear. No words of complaint escaped his lips; indeed, his patience and the mute pathos of his anguish touched the hearts of the most callous of his gaolers.

In the early days of his imprisonment in the island he made several futile attempts to get into touch with the outer world, one of which is thus described by Voltaire: "One day the prisoner wrote his name with

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a knife on a silver-plate and threw the plate out of the window towards a boat which was at the foot of the wall. A fisherman to whom the boat belonged, picked up the plate and took it to the governor. He, startled, asked the fisherman:

" 'Have you read what is on this plate and has anyone else seen you with it?'

" 'I do not know how to read,' replied the fisherman. 'I have only just found it, and no one has seen me.'

"The peasant was detained until the governor ascertained for a fact that he had never learned to read, and that no one had seen him.

" 'Go,' he said; 'it is very lucky for you that you cannot read!' "

On another occasion, it is said, a friar found in the water near the prison a folded shirt of fine linen on which the prince had written the story of his birth and his cruel fate. The shirt was at once taken to the governor of the prison by its unlucky finder, who, although he swore that he had not read a word of what was on it, was found dead in his bed two days later—another victim to the fiendish conspiracy of which the prince was the object.

Even death seemed to be in the conspiracy, for though he prayed earnestly for it every day it refused to come to his relief. After twenty-nine years of worse than death in St. Marguerite Island the Man in the Iron Mask was at last mercifully removed to the Bastille, which, dreaded prison though it was, seemed to him Paradise compared with the horrors from which it released him.

Here, we are told, "he was refused nothing that he asked for, and his principal taste was for linen of an extraordinary fine quality and for laces. He played upon the guitar; they fed him as well as possible, and the governor rarely seated himself in his presence. But all this homage to his rank only served to mock him in his misery. The iron mask had now been changed for one of velvet, which, like its predecessor, was never raised for a moment night or day; even to the doctor he was only permitted to speak through the mask; he might show his tongue, but never his face."

And thus it was until his last day, which was now happily near. For forty-three years that terrible mask concealed the features which would have proclaimed his kinship to the king, and he drew his last breath within its grim environment.

"On Monday, November 19th, 1703," the bald prison-record runs, "the Unknown Prisoner, always masked with a mass of black velvet, whom M. de Cinq-Mars brought with him from the Ile Sainte-Marguerite, finding out from the Mass, died to-day about 10 o'clock himself yesterday a little worse when coming at night without having had a great illness. Surprised by death he was unable to receive the Sachaments, and our Almoner exhorted him for a minute before dying. He was interred, Tuesday, November 20th, at four in the afternoon, in the Cemetery of Saint Paul, our parish. His interment cost forty livres."

Thus obscurely perished at the age of sixty-five, a prince who, if he had but entered life a few hours earlier, would have been one of the world's greatest sovereigns and whose only crime was that he was not wanted. His very name was unknown to those who conducted his burial service and it was said that his head was either cut off or his features gashed after death while quicklime or chemicals which would consume the body were placed in his coffin.

Nor did this desecration of his remains satisfy his royal brother and persecutor. No trace of his existence must be allowed to survive him. Everythig that had been used by him or associated with him was destroyed; his silver-dinner-service was melted down, his furniture and bedding were consumed by fire, and the very walls which had been mute witnesses of his tragedy were scraped and replastered lest some tell-tale scratch should reveal to keen eyes the story of one of the greatest wrongs which ever blackened the pages of human history.

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THE MODERN PERIOD OF MUNDARI HISTORY
[1765—1910.]

I.

The beginnings of British Rule in Chotanagpore.

Sit down, old men, together,
Old wives, in quiet spin,
Henceforth the Anglo-Saxon
Is the brother of the Finn.
—*Whittier's 'The Conquest of Finland'.*

WE now come down the stream of our sketchy narrative to what may be called the Modern Period of the History of the Mundas. The commencement of this epoch may be taken to correspond roughly with the occupation of the country by the British.

The Ain-Akbari,* that excellent account of the institutes of the great Emperor Akbar, written by his able Prime Minister Alamy Sheikh Abul Fazl, tells us that in the time of Akbar Shah, Kokrah, as Chotanagpur was then called, formed part of the Subah of Behar. When in the year 1765, the grant of the Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was made to the East India Company by the Emperor Shah Alam, Chotanagpur, as part of the Subah of Behar, necessarily passed to the British.

In the beginning, however, this obscure part of the Dewany does not appear to have attracted any particular notice. It was in the year 1772 that the first entry of the British into Chotanagpur seems to have taken place. In that year, a British Officer of the name of Captain Camac, at the head of a troop of soldiers, appeared at Palamau to reinstate Gopal Rai, Rajah of Palamau, who had been driven out from his dominions by the Thakoor. The Satburu fort is still pointed out as the place where the Rajah Gopal Rai had an interview with this representative of the East India Company. The Raja acknowledged himself a vassal of the British Lion, promised to pay an annual tribute of three thousand rupees, and undertook to assist the Company against the Marhattas.

An exchange of head-dress, it is said, sealed the compact. The year 1872 also witnessed the conversion of the then Maharaja of Chotanagpur into a vassal of the Honourable East India Company.

As we learn from the Minute prepared in April, 1832 by Mr. Thomason, who was then Deputy Secretary to Government, "During the operations of Captain Camac in Palamau, Muchchun Singh, the Raja of Ramgarh, intrigued to prevent the success of the British to whom Durpnath Shahi of Chotanagpur rendered essential service." The Rajah of Ramgarh then used to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 27,000 to the British Government, and this amount included Rs. 4,000 levied by him from the Raja of Chotanagpur. "Captain Camac," says the Minute of April, 1832, "represented to the Provincial Council at Patna the importance of securing in our interests the Raja of Chotanagpur, whose country would form an effectual barrier to the incursions of the Marhattas, thus covering Behar and Beerbhoom, and at the same time, giving us the command of the passes into the Deccan, through which, he stated, that Mr. Law had retreated after his defeat in Behar." With this view, Captain Camac recommended that Rajah Durpnath Sahi should be allowed to pay his *malgoozaree* direct to Government, instead of through Muchchun Sing the Rajah of Ramgarh, whose conduct he represented to have been most arbitrary and oppressive.

"If this request were granted, the Rajah was ready to pay Rs. 12,000 in lieu of Rs. 6,000, which had been before extracted from him. On this occasion Durpnath Sahi himself addressed a letter to the Provincial Council at Patna, which commences thus: 'I have been from old a *Malgoozar* (or renter)

* The *Ain-i-Akbar* forms the Third Part of Abul Fazl's great work "Akbar-namah."

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of the Government, and the Rajah Muchchun Sing, has long been a servant of me and my father.' He proceeds to state that Muchchun Sing had acquired power by being employed for the Nizamut, and had usurped authority over him; and he prays that he may be allowed to hold the country as formerly, and that he will be responsible for the rents.

"The Patna Provincial Council acceded to the proposal of Captain Camac, and accepted Raja Durpnath Sing's offer, making a settlement with him for three years at Rs. 12,000 per annum. On this occasion he received a Khilat from the Patna Council and a Perwannah from the Chief and Rajah Shital Roy. In 1772 the Rajah of Nagpur afforded our troops much assistance in the reduction of Ramgarh, but suffered himself much from the incursions of the Marhattas and the disturbances occasioned by Nanna Sam, a pretender to his Raj. The revenue appears to have been irregularly paid and balances to have accrued. The authority of the Rajah over the Jagirdars in his country was very imperfect, the Subordinate Rajahs of Toree and of the five Pergunnahs, Tamar, &c., seldom paid him anything."

Thus Maharaja Durpnath Sahi, the then incumbent of the Chotanagpur *guddi* obtained his first *patta* or *sanad* under which he was to pay to the Company six thousand rupees a year as Nazarana or tribute and another six thousand rupees as rent. This was subsequently raised to Rs. 14,100 15as, 3 pies at the Decennial Settlement, and later on to Rs. 15,041. The internal administration of his dominions was left entirely in the hands of the Maharaja who thus became a tributary chief.

Eight years later, in 1780, however, a District under the name of the 'Ramgarh Hill Tract' was established with its headquarters alternately at Sherghatti (now in the Gya District) and Chatra (now in the Hazaribagh District). The first officer placed in charge of this new District was one Mr. Chapman, and he combined in himself the functions of a Judge, a Magistrate and a Collector of Revenue. A force of native infantry called the Ramgarh Battalion under an European Commander was also stationed at Hazaribagh. The newly formed district comprised the present districts of Hazaribagh, Palamau, and part of the present districts of Gya, Manbhum and Monghyr, while Chotanagpur proper under its own tributary chief owned a vague allegiance to the East India Company and formed but a nominal part of this huge district. In the year 1781, we find Mr. Grant, the then chief Sheristadar of the new district, describing the dominions of the Rajah of Chotanagpur as "an elevated region which forms part of Subah Behar containing nearly 18,000 square miles though proportionally (to Behar and Tirhut of very inconsiderable value. This highland district, including the modern subdivisions of Palamau, Ramghur, and Chutia Nagpur bounded on the west by the Subah of Allahabad, on the south Orissa, and the East Bengal, hath since the age of Ptolemy been geographically termed the Three Bellads and Cantons, in Arabic."

In the beginning, the Bengal Regulations were in force in this unwieldy district without any consideration for the widely different conditions of these parts from that of Bengal. Appeals from the decisions of the District Officer who combined in himself the offices of Judge, Magistrate and Collector, lay direct to the Governor General. With foreigners from Bengal and Behar unacquainted with the customs, the land tenures, and the language of the people in all the subordinate Government posts and with alien landlords lording it over in the villages, the Mundas had a very trying time of it. Signs of unrest among the aboriginal population all over Chotanagpur proper, were abundantly in evidence. Now and again, serious riots broke out which drew the attention of the authorities. And in the year 1809, the Maharaja of Chotanagpur was ordered to keep up police stations in his dominions and appoint Thanadars and Chowkidars. But this measure, as it was soon discovered, tended to aggravate the discontent rather than allay it. There was a rising of the Mundas and Uraons in the year 1811. And about the year 1817, the country of the Mundas and Uraons was brought under the direct administration of the East India Company as part of the Ramgarh District and the Maharaja of Chotanagpur was deprived of his position as a Tributary Chief.

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The grievances of the Mundas and Uraons were not, however, directly concerned with the Maharaja. It was against the new class of Thiccadars or Jagirdars who, armed with a grant of the Raja's or his *khorposhdars*' rights in the villages, wanted to encroach upon the immemorial rights of the villagers which the Maharaja had never dreamt of questioning, that the aborigines were mightily incensed. Some of the *khorposhdars* of the Maharaja, too, appear to have followed the example of the new Jagirdars. As Mr. Bradley-Birt writes,—"Everywhere the Zamindars had been giving grants of lands to the new comers, Hindus, Sikhs and Mussulmans, who were fast ousting the original holders of the soil. The new landholders, ignorant and unmindful of local traditions, had inflicted great oppression on the ryots."

A Report to the Governor General's Agent by his Principal Assistant at Kishanpur—Dr. Davidson, dated the 29th August, 1839, gives the following account of the rise of the various classes of middlemen under the Maharaja of Chotanagpur:—

"The great mass of the population of Nagpur, known by Europeans under the name of Coles, consists of Mundas, Khareas and Uraons The uniform tradition states, that the Mundas originally cleared the country and brought it into cultivation. There was no Rajah of the whole country which was divided into *purhas* (or patches) from 15 to 20 villages each under a Rajah. It is impossible now to say what these Rajahs received from their subjects, most probably only assistance in war and *salami* at festivals. Finding, I suppose, that this system of managing the country by means of so many Rajahs did not answer, the Mundas elected the ancestor of the present Palkote family to be Rajah of the whole country, since which 62 Rajahs of that family are stated to have sat on the *Guddi* with a few adoptions in the same family. The Rajah's family and friends pretend they were Rajputs at the time of the election, but there can be no doubt that their ancestor was a Munda, and the family prospering, they managed by force to get married into the Rajput families of Pachete and Singbhum, and eventually into others, and now pass for as good Rajputs as any in India.

"The remains of the former system of Cole Rajahs are still visible in Pergannah Khookra and other parts of Nagpur. They have still their *purhas* and nominal Rajahs, who are always men of influence and on their festivals the members of the *purha* assemble to hunt, amuse themselves and decide disputes, &c., on which occasions the Rajahs' authority is still recognised.

"Each *purha*, in general, has its distinguishing flag or ensign, any attempt to make use of which by the Coles of another *purha*, at their festivals, immediately leads to serious quarrels.

"The custom in those remote days was, that whoever cleared the land became the owner of the same, free of rent, only in return rendering to the head of the villages such services as the common good required.

* * *

"To enable the Palkote Rajahs* to keep the peace and carry on the wars in which they were constantly involved, a certain rent from each village† came gradually to be paid, but the right of property of the head Mundas of the villages‡ appears to have been long recognized.

"On the Palkote family becoming Hindoos and regularly marrying into the neighbouring Hindoo families, it became a great object with them to induce other Hindoos to settle in Nagpur. The only mode of doing so, in their power was, to grant villages, by which means, all the *Suds* or foreign proprietors in Nagpur have been established. Burraicks, Rajputs Brahmins, Rowteeas &c., are all foreigners brought in by the Palkote family as a sort of military force to enable them to support themselves against the neighbouring Rajahs, and also to control the Coles. The

* The seat of Maharaja of Chotanagpur was then at Palkote.

† This is obviously an inaccurate statement. The Maharaja did not originally receive a rent from the headman or Munda of each village, but from each Manki or head of a *patti* group of villages considered as a unit. Even to this day, in such Manki-*pattis* as still survive, it is only the *Manki* or *patti*-head who is liable to pay a quite-rent for the entire *patti* to the Maharaja.

‡ This again is an inaccuracy. Neither the Munda nor the Manki had any 'right of property' in the villages. Such proprietary right belonged to the village community collectively and not to any one individually and exculsively.

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Suds being more civilized than the Kols were not long in obtaining the mastery and have kept it. And now in all the more open parts of Nagpur, there is hardly such a thing to be met with as a Cole proprietor of a village. In the southern parts of it they have been more fortunate; and the Mankees and Mundas of Sonpur exhibit at this day much the same state of society as formerly prevailed all over Nagpur, only the Mankees and Mundas pay their rent, than was ever paid by the Cole proprietors in Pergannah Khookra in former times.

"I say nothing of the Mankees and Mundas of Tamar and the five Pergannahs as those countries did not form any part of the Nagpur family's possessions till modern times.

"In all the various changes of rulers in India no Government seems to have interfered in the internal management of Nagpur until our own times. The paramount power appears to have been always contented with getting a moderate rent for this country, and when that was not paid, a force was sent to collect as much as it could, but no attempt ever appears to have been made to interfere with the police or administration of justice, which was left entirely to the Rajah. The consequence was that only those of the original heads of villages, who were strong enough to inspire fear such as those in Sonpur &c., were able to keep their villages, the others were entirely dispossessed and replaced by *Suds*, or their villages resumed by the Rajah himself long before our time.

* * * * *

"The persons to whom lands have been granted in Nagpur by the Rajahs may be divided into three classes.

"I. The younger brothers of the different Rajahs and their decendents. On a Rajah succeeding to the estate, his younger brothers always received a grant of lands subject to a small rent.

"II. Burraicks, Rajputs, Rowteeas &c., who hold Jagirs granted originally on payment of a fixed rent for the performance of military services. The latter are now little required, and they pay in general a somewhat higher rent than they did at the time of the introduction of the authority of our Government.

"III. Brahmins and individuals of other castes who have come from below the *ghats* and got grants of lands, generally by purchase at fixed rents from the different Rajahs, sometime also rent-free,—and also grants of rent-free lands for religious purposes, in the mode usually given by Hindoos.

"Almost the whole of the lands above described with the exception of those for religious uses are held on what is called in Nagpur, *putraputradik* tenures, *i.e.*, the grantee and his direct male descendants are entitled to hold the lands on payment of the rent stipulated as long as there are any direct male descendants, on failure of which the Rajah is entitled to resume the estate."*

* To this classification a fourth class has to be added—*viz.*, tenures held by some 'Dependent Rajas' whose tenures were not originally created by the Chotanagpur Raja. Of these Mr. Cuthbertson in his Report of 1841, writes:—"Six subordinate Purganas were incorporated with Chotanagpur, viz., Tamar, Bundu, Rahe, Baranda, Silli, and Barwe. How or when these Pergunas became dependent on the Rajah of Chotanagpur, I cannot ascertain, but it would appear that for a long time the dependence was little more than nominal. It was not until the country came into the British possession that these Rajas were permanently and actually incorporated with Chotanagpur. The revenue which these Rajas pay at present to the Raja of Nagpur was fixed by Major Crawford in 1817 Sambat and is as follows:—The Raja of Tamar possesses about 185 villages and pays as *malguzari* 26,660 rupees, Raja of Rahe 83 villages, pays 1,5[illegible] rupees, Raja of Bundu 88 villages, pays 705 rupees, Raja of Silli 87 villages, pays revenue 647 rupees, Raja of Baranda 255 villages, pays 1,462 rupees, Takur of Barwe 29 villages, pays 846 rupees.

"The Raja of Chotanagpur has no right in these Purganas saving the revenue payable to him, and thus these Rajas may be considered in the light of Talukdars. The Rajas, however, still acknowledge the Raja of Chotanagpur as their feudal chief and on the death of a Raja, his successor waits on the Raja of Nagpur, pays homage and presents a considerable *Nazzerana*, generally 1,000 rupees, and receives the title from him.

"The same feudal rights and customs prevalent in Chotanagpur proper are exercised by these Rajas.

The position of these 'Dependent' Rajahs and 'their relation to their chief' appears to have undergone a considerable change, as the following extract from Mr. Webster's well-known Report of the 8th April, 1875, shows. After quoting a few passages from a letter of Mr. Nathaniel Smith to the Secretary to the Government, Mr. Webster says:

"It may be gathered from this extract that the tenures of these dependant Rajahs were not created by of the Maharajah of Chotanagpur, but that they had been gained by conquest.

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"Tamar, indeed, was at one time subject to Orissa, and it seems probable that it was brought under subjection when the Chotanagpur chief accompanied the Mahomedans in their invasion of Orissa. Bundu and Rahe were not finally reduced and made tenants of Chotanagpur under regular covenants till 1793, when Major Farmer compelled their rulers to give *Kabuliyats*. Silli, as far as I can learn, was fully under the power of the Chotanagpur estate some time before the country was ceded to us, as I find in some old papers that rent was assessed on each village in that Purganah.

"Barwe was originally subject to Sirguja and was not finally brought under the power of Chotanagpur till A. D. 1799. The traditional origin of the Barwe family is as follows:—A Benares Brahmin came to see the Raja of Sirguja in his Kutcherry just before he entered. It so happened that the Rajah had gone out, but his *chamar*-bearer was sitting close to the Rajah's seat. Now the *chamar*-bearer was dressed in the Raja's cast off clothes, and the Brahmin seeing him, mistook him for the Raja, and addressed him as Maharajah-Sahib. When he discovered his error, he begged the real R[illegible]ter. Of to let him fall under the imputation of having to[illegible] longer and to make his words come true. So the s[illegible]nd to potentate in order to save the honour of th[illegible] but man, made his servant a Raja, and settled h[illegible]rk Barwe. His descendants quarrelled with their[illegible] patron and went over to Chotanagpur. [illegible]red present holders are not the legitimate descendan[illegible] not the original Jagirdars.

"All these estates are held under what are call[illegible]do Bhandowapottahs, and on the failure of heirs-mal[illegible] of the original holder, they fall into the Chotanagpur Estate. Tori and Rahe have already so fallen in. It is generally held that all under-tenancies created by the holders determinate with that of the grantee.....

"The present possessors of Bundu and Tamar are not legitimate descendants of the men who were in possession at the time of the permanent settlement, so that now these tenures may be considered as creations of Chotanagpur."

SARAT CHANDRA RAY.

MANUFACTURE OF GLASS IN INDIA

IN our new born zeal for a national regeneration, we are attempting to grasp and grapple with many a new enterprise, but laudable as our attempts are, we are sometimes confronted with failures. Failures, however, are but precursors of success yet to come. It would speak ill of us if we were to be daunted by a few unsuccessful attempts. Failures should however, make us study our subject more thoroughly for the next successful attempt.

The history of glass manufacture is very old and tradition assigns the discovery of manufacture of glass to the East; indeed *India* is said to have been *the place* where the best kind of colourless transparent glass used to be manufactured.

Mr A. C. Chatterjee, in his notes on Glass Industry in the United Provinces, quotes the import of glass into India in 1905-1906 to be as follows:—

Beads and false pearls	...	Rs. 17,21,000
Common Bottles	...	6,23,000
Sheet and Plate	...	16,51,000
Bangles	...	38,76,000
Lamp-ware	...	5,51,000
Other wares	...	27,67,000
Totalling in all	...	111,89,000
6		

I understand year before last it was something like Rs. 144,50,000. Consumption of imported glass is daily increasing. Could we not attempt to do something to save even a very small share of this heavy drain?

Glass factories had been started at Titaghar and Sodepur in Bengal, at Ahmedabad in Bombay, at Umbala in the Punjab, at Rajpur near Dehradun, at Sikandara Rao in Aligarh, at Morar in Gwalior, two at Firozabad near Agra and one or two more here and there, but they all tell a tale of failure or struggling existence for some reason or other.

There are a few more companies already floating in the air, despite the above failures; and what is more, in some of these proposed companies the moving figures, promoters, are some who had been prime factors in those that are now *non est*. It shows that they believe that their new venture will be more successful. So far so good, but the public may naturally fight shy at taking the bit all at once.

I shall try to give my own impression, on this subject of glass manufacture, as gained from visits to some factories and from interviews with some proprietors and

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Suds gers. One of my former pupils Mr. were Swarup Gupta has been smelting have in his own factory at Makhanpur and partad every opportunity afforded me of thinying the subject. Further he had been of asulting me on various points connected theth the manufacture, during the last two Mears or more—his period of private experimentation—and my advice I am assured has been of service to him.

I shall take the subject point by point in the order of importance as it has struck me.

(1) Capital required.—It has been a general complaint in every attempt of our Swadeshi enterprise that there is not sufficient money—fluid capital. Public does not come out with its money as readily as it should—so say the company promoters. The company Managers find that before they have actually begun working in real earnest the collected capital has all gone to pay for the initial costs of office buildings, paying the travelling and other expenses of the agents, &c. It must really be a case of very bad calculation, ignorance or I do not know what, if the directors of a company have to wind up, with a big debt to pay, before they have started work in earnest. It is but natural that so many cases of failure should have made the public fight shy of limited companies. I agree with Mr. Chatterjee that we should attempt at working smaller factories and with gain in experience and training up of skilled labour, of which there is such a great dearth at present, we might take up bigger jobs by simply extending and expanding the smaller ones. There is enough margin of profit. There is not only lesser risk but to get to the top we must begin at the bottom.

I shall give an estimate on the basis of a glass factory as a Cottage Industry, where the proprietors may be themselves the top men—smelter and chemist with possibly a business man.

1.	Waste land about 3 bighas in a suitable locality (in U. P. *ushar* land is quite good enough and indeed desirable.)	Rs. 100
2.	Office rooms consisting of 3 or 4 cutcha or tin sheds	Rs. 400
3.	Pot house	Rs. 250
4.	Store house	Rs. 300
5.	Mixing in rooms with a small laboratory room	Rs. 500
6.	Furnaces—smelting and baking (to turn out 40 to 50 mds. of glass per day)	Rs. 6,00
7.	Five annealing rooms	Rs. 2
8.	Sundries	Rs. 1,00
9.	Chemicals for one month	Rs. 2,3
10.	Fuel for one month	Rs. 6
11.	Salaries of the working staff for one month	Rs. 6
12.	Reserve chemicals	Rs. 3,0
13.	Reserve Fund	Rs. 4,5
	Total	19,7
	Or say	Rs. 20,0

It will be observed the biggest item expenditure is under the furnaces. Th furnaces are entirely of firebricks with out lay of ordinary bricks. The high figure due to high prices charged for fire brick and fire clay. Burn and Co., Limited Raneegunj and Jubbulpore and Perle Pottery Company, Limited of Jubbulpo have monopoly, so to say, in this respe Their rate I am told is sometimes as high Rs. 40 per ton of burnt fire clay and Rs. for unburnt.

In this instance, there is chance substantial reduction of cost, if one cou choose and manufacture his own fire cla The only localities uptil now tapped a Raneegunj and Jubbulpore. Sir Geor Watt in his "Commercial Products of Indi mention "Jowai in Assam and the Chand Umaria and Gondwana Coal Fields" promising localities. (*Vide* Clays, pa 330 *et seq*).

My respected and kind friend R Bahadur Syam Sundar Lal, C.I.E. of the Co merce and Industries department, Gwal State, told me a few days ago of occurence of suitable clay in Gwalior. saw some samples of other mineral produ of that State and I expect to hear of State's rapid rise in this department.

As regards the kind of furnaces to recommended, direct firing pot furnaces in general use in upper India. They requ renewal of some bricks after every th or four months. This means stoppage work and loss. Pots are liable to cra during smelting, a rather serious mish sometimes, requiring a continual supply pots in baking furnace and in pot hou introducing a pot into position in a worki furnace has to be carried out very carefu These are drawbacks but in a pot furn one can work with various kinds (coloured) glass all at the same time,

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what is most important the workmen and masons have already acquired some experience in constructing pot furnaces. Two or three pot furnaces of smaller dimensions are preferable to one of large size. The smaller furnaces get heated much sooner and may be made to yield even two "pourings" in twenty-four hours, but will require additional men for firing, etc.

Tank furnaces do away with pots, require much less repairing, give a much larger yield of glass in one "pouring" but it is only one kind of glass that can be taken out at a time. The heavy demand for a particular variety of glass (such as amber) may be met with by such a furnace.

For a description of furnaces, pots, &c. please, see Thorp's "Outlines of Industrial Chemistry" under "glass" page 176 *et seq.*

(2) Men to work the factory.—The most important person in a glass factory is the smelter; until now he has usually been a foreigner—German, Austrian or Japanese. It is obviously a great disadvantage. It is but natural that he should guard his secrets zealously, and in order to do that he must deal himself with his own pet firms for chemicals, &c. He must be the master of the situation, for on him depends the success of the glass factory—he goes and the factory stops work. This sort of thing must be avoided. Men at the top should have an abiding interest in the industrial development of the country. They must be men who will work honestly.

"I propose to put two men at the top of the list. One is to be a smelter, who has had practical experience in constructing furnaces and in actual smelting operation. He should be able to manufacture his own crucibles and should be able to put his hand into everything. Indeed he should be a sirdar cooley and a boy cooley all combined in one. Indeed he will have to train up his own batch of men and not depend upon and be on the look out for decoying men from other factories.

The second man need not, to start with, have any practical factory experience but must be an intelligent chemist, ready to learn and put his soul into the affair; he will pick up the practical smelting work pretty quickly. Between the smelter and the chemist there should be no secrets of the art; the two should teach each other.

One of the reasons for the many [illegible]ter. Of of glass factories in India is, I think, [illegible]nger inability to grasp how a chemist can [illegible] but Indeed smelters are heard to say that [illegible]rk have nothing to learn from a chemist, they know as much of chemistry as is required for their business. Alas! they know not the history of Jena glass works. But I do not want to talk big.

Let me take an example to show how a chemist may help the smelter.

The approximate formula for ordinary soda glass may be taken as:—Na_2O. CaO .6 SiO_2. Taking the atomic weights of Na, Ca, Si and O as 23, 40, 28 and 16, we easily work out the proportions to be, 360 of sand, 56 of lime and 62 of *soda*. But as *soda* used is carbonate Na_2CO_3 the proportion for *soda* works out to 106.

An Indian smelter generally shakes head saying "the mixture would not melt". The chemist going deeper into the thing finds that the smelter generally uses a particular *grade of soda* from a particular firm. The fact of the matter is that a number of articles go by the name of soda. It may be NaOH with varying proportion of water (soap maker's soda) or it may be any of the following Na_2CO_3, $Na_2CO_3 H_2O$, $Na_2CO_3 10H_2O$, and $NaHCO_3$ with varying proportions of other impurities. And to make confusion worse confounded for the Indian smelter, different countries use different scales of "grade" for one and the same commercial article. English (or Newcastle) grade 34·44, French (Descroizille) 53·74, German 58·13 are one and the same. The English people calculate the percentage on the Na_2O, French on the H_2SO_4 (neutralisation) and the German on the Na_2CO_3 basis, &c. (*vide* H. Blüchar, Anskunfsbuch für die Chemische Industrie 6. Tahrgang, 1908–1909, page 1063-1064).

"Was die Bezeichnung der 'Gradigkeit' von Handelssoda betrifft, so geben die deutschen Grade die Prozente Na_2CO_3, die Gay Lussac Grade die Prozente Na_2O an, während die französischen Grade (Discroizilles Grade) die Mengen Schwefelsaure (H_2SO_4) bedeuten, welche von 100 T. der soda neutralisiert, &c. &c."

If the particular Soda were "Deutsche Grade" 58, it would really mean that 100 parts by weight of that variety of Soda contained only 58 parts by weight of Soda,

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Suds &c. A Chemist takes accounts were this, and for this he does not have end upon the *label* but on his own determination for each sample of Soda and at different times with varying season of the year (humidity of the air affects the percentage a good deal sometimes).

An Indian smelter is somewhat satisfied if after taking account of these impurities in his samples the proportions are given as 360 of sand, 72 of air-slaked lime, and 177 of Soda or roughly say 1000 sand, 200 lime, and 500 Soda.

A greater proportion of Soda makes the glass softer and easily smelted and easily attacked, &c.

Now as to price too, the Chemist can give valuable information :—

60 Prozenti, Deutsche Grade is suppose

	Rs.	as.	
	4	8	per cwt.
100 Prozenti, , ,	7	8	per cwt.

It works out that really there is no difference in price from chemical point of view of Na_2CO_3 value; for 100 cwt. of 58 o/o is equvalent to 59 cwt. of 100 o/o Both contain the same quantity of Na_2CO_3. The 100 Prozente is preferable where purity of the material and freights are considerations. Similarly Soda crystals contain in 286 cwt., 180 cwt. of water; even though we are not paying for the water we have to pay for its freight and again we lose in fuel when we have to drive off that very large amount of water by heat. There are many problems which the chemist will solve for the betterment of the manufacture. In order to be able to utilize our own country raw materials intelligently a chemist's help is indispensable. The sooner the glass factory promoters grasp this fact the better.

	I put the salary of these two top men at Rs. 300 per month with a share in the profits	Rs.	300	0 0
4	Mixing cooleys, who will also fill up the pots		32	0 0
1	Strainer of Chemical		8	0 0
2	Firemen (their most important duty is to clear the fire and ash, once just before taking out the molten glass and four or five times during firing)		24	0 0
2	Boy assistants to firemen ...		10	0 0
2	Men for carrying away the ash from the pits		18	0 0
2	Pot makers		16	0 0
4	Men to take out the molten glass (4 or 5 hours hard work). They have also to take out the glass from annealing room, weigh, pack and store them		40	0 0
5	Men to carry the blocks of glass (often pouring out) to the annealing room		40	0 0
1	Bisty		6	0 0
1	Clerk and two peons		50	0 0
	TOTAL	Rs.	544	0 0

In the above I have calculated the cost of manufacturing cakes of glass which can be sold out to the bangle makers. In addition to the smelting work, articles which can be turned out by pressing viscid glass in moulds, can also be easily manufactured in the factory with little difficulty and slight additional cost. There are not many good glass blowers in the country those of Nazibabad and Nagina near Dehra Dun, I am told, are sometimes exhorbitant and unreasonable in their demands; but blowing work may be slowly taken up.

Let us say, roughly, the monthly expenditure on this head to be Rs. 600.

(3) Lastly the question of locality.—Every venture to be successful must be economical —that means the materials must be abundant and cheap; and there must be local demand. Railway freight is a great question. If one has to indent every raw material from outside and then send the manufactured articles outside the province to a great distance overland, the railway freight itself would make competition with seaborne European articles hopeless or prohibiting. But raw materials are not wanting even in an inland province like the U. P. Quartz and that of the best colourless transparent kind are abundant and cheap. Only we must not believe too blindly the smelter, who would have us believe that Dehra Dun Sand is the only kind of sand that gives glass. I have been shown samples of Quartz of first class quality as available in Karouli State near Agra. And if I am not to disbelieve my informant, big blocks of such Quartz are waiting our finding use for them!

Gwalior is rich in Quartz and lime-stone as well as in *reh*.

The soda is the most costly of all the ordinary chemicals required for glass industry, and in the *usar* lands of the U.

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and the *reh mitti*, we have an abundant supply of soda that awaits our intelligently tapping them.

I examined a sample of bazar reh, one can have it almost for nothing, and found it contained 4·5 per cent. of Na_2CO_3. The village people and *Shishgars* of Mainpuri district and roundabout places at this time of the year stir up the land into mud with water. The water dissolves the soluble alkali and the water evaporates off, the upper crust of earth dries up and cracks giving bits or cakes known as *papri*—containing a high percentage of Na_2CO_3. I examined a sample obtained from a tobacconist (तमाकुवाला), who uses it in his tobacco preparations as an adulterant (?) through Mr. Ram Swarup and found the percentage of Na_2CO_3 to be as high as 21·8.

These lands happen to be *kankar* (limestone) bearing, so that the sand mixed with soda, of more than sufficiently high percentage for ordinary glass, and limestone, when heated sufficiently highly, yield a kind of opaque green glass or slag. The *sishgars* have learnt the art and colour it blue with cobalt salt. Their method is crude and wasteful and takes days to a week; yet this रेहका काच is fetching Rs. 2 per maund (a few years back only 12 as. per maund). I was able to melt the sample examined by me within 20 to 25 minutes, using a spirit stove of Primus kerosine store construction. Glass made from *papri* with addition of proper clearing agents would easily fetch more than double the above price. Indeed as the glass is very soft one can very easily add an extra quantity of iron free sand (quartz) and thereby get a more transparent and colourless sample. (*Vide* Mr. A. C. Chatterjee's notes). A few years back *Papri* used to sell at the rate of Rs. 12 per 100 maunds, now the bazar-rate is from Rs 20 to Rs. 25 per 100 village maunds equivalent to 150 maunds. (*Vide* Sir George Watt's 'Indian Commercial Products', page 56, *et seq.*)

It is quite feasible to still further purify the *papri* and raise the available Na_2CO_3. Indeed although it is difficult to filter a water-mixture of *Papri* on account of the impervious nature of the silt which first forms on the filtering cloth or bed, it seemed to me that the suspended matter settled down fairly quickly when a watery mixture was treated with lime water. Of course the supernatent liquid was no longer Na_2CO_3 but NaOH. I do not intend to go into the subject deeper just now but I have indicated the line on which work may be profitable.

Another point connected with locality is the availability of fuel. I have given the cost as twenty rupees per day for fuel on the basis of Rs. 10/- per ton of coal with Railway freight, &c. As my calculation is on the production of 40 to 50 maunds of glass per day, the cost per maund would work out considerably lower in Bengal and Assam. In this respect as well as in certain other respects already noted down with additional advantage in river communication, Bengal and Assam have an immense opportunity.

Ready market for the glass turned out is the most important point. People of different localities have special liking for glass of different shades of colour and of different fusibility &c. A business man has to study these points carefully and the smelter will have to cater to the taste of his customers. Firozabad has been long doing business in bangles and Firozabad people can work and prefer to work with harder glass than people of other localities.

Climate of the locality is also of some importance. The chemicals in certain places will require more attention in storing them up; further, it is almost impossible to work during the day time with molten glass in hot countries like certain places in the United Provinces.

I shall conclude by giving some information regarding the prices of glass and the profit that may be expected on an outlay of Rs. 20,000—

Amber Glass	...	Rs. 3	12	Wholesale rates at the factory.
Green ,,	...	Rs. 4	8	
Blue ,,	...	Rs. 4	8	
White ,,	...	Rs. 5	0	

Retail rates are 4 to 8 As. higher per maund at the factory.

Now let us see as to cost of production per maund. My calculation is necessarily approximate, as the qualities and price of chemicals may vary with the nature of the glass.

1000	Mds. Quartz at As. 8 per md.		Rs. 500
200	Mds. of lime at Rs. 40 per 100 mds.		Rs. 80
500	Mds. Soda	Rs. 4/8 per Cwt.	Rs. 1640
	Clearing and colouring material according to the variety of Glass.		Rs. 100
		Approximate Total	Rs. 2320

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This will give us about 1300 mds. of glass as one month's production.

Fuel and salary bill Rs. 1200.

This brings the total expenditure per month to Rs. 3520 or say Rs. 3600.

We might take the cost per maund of glass as Rs. 3/- at the most, and profit per maund of glass at Re. 1/- at the least. I have intentionally put the rates for some of the chemicals at a higher figure so as to keep myself always on the safe side. In fact for the coarser kinds of glass, the chemicals need not be pure and the cost is correspondingly lower. For kinds of glass where Red lead, Baryta or costlier chemicals are used the margin of profit is still higher, for the market price of such glass is indeed very high ranging from Rs. 10/- or so, to as high as Rs. 40/- or so per maund (*Vide* Mr. Chatterjee's notes). Indians have not as yet taken to producing this latter class of glass and enamels. It is well worth our attempt. Lead and Barium minerals with quartz generally go together, and favourable Indian localities are not wanting.

Now to return to profit—allowing for loss due to unforeseen circumstances we may count the profit on sale, to Rs. 1000/- per month. If we charge something under the heading of commission, &c., to agents and business partner, we shall still have a respectable income on an outlay of Rs. 20,000/-. And indeed of this Rs. 20,000/- Rs. 16,000/- only need be rolling, if properly managed. But absolute honesty and whole-hearted work of the men at the top with readily marketable articles are what we must command, and it would be no good blaming others for our own incompetence.

NAGENDRA CHANDRA NAG.

Agra, 14th June, 1910.

THE NORTHERN TIRTHA : A PILGRIM'S DIARY

II.

Place	Distance	Remarks on accomodation.
Srinagar,	18 miles	from Devaprayag—A City with dharmsalas and dak bungalow,
Battisera	8 miles	Chappays.
Chantikal,	1½ miles	Dak bungalow. Two villages with chappays.
Rudraprayag or Pundar	11 miles	City. Dak bungalow and dharmsalas.
Agastyamuni,	12 miles	Dharmsalas. Kund Chatty, 9 miles.
Gupta Kashi,	10 miles	Dharmsalas.
[Pilgrimage to Triyugi Narain begins here]		
Fatta Chatty,	7 miles	Dharmsalas.
Bhim Chatty,	3 miles.	
Rampur Chattya,	2 miles.	
Gouri Kund,	10 miles	Dharmsalas.
Rambarrah,	4 miles.	
Kedar Nath,	8 miles	Pandas' guest houses.

WE reached SRINAGAR on the evening of the twenty-third, or five days after leaving Hardwar. The present town stands near the centre of a wide flat vale, in which the cactus and the bo-tree proclaim a sub-tropical climate. It is obviously new, having been rebuilt on a slightly different site, so lately as the time of the Gohonna Flood about fifteen years ago. This event was a great epochmaker, throughout the valleys leading up to Badri Narayan. It has swept away ancient temples and images, and necessitated the rebuilding of many a town and village. One cannot but mourn the loss of historic remains of priceless interest, but at the same time one suspects that, from a sanitary and cleansing point of view, this flood may have done more good than harm. Like the Great Fire of London in 1667, it seems to have wiped out the past, and banished disease-germs as well as carvings. Perhaps the living men and women on the pilgrim-roads have more cause to bless than to lament its memory.

Srinagar has been rebuilt, as already said, since the flood, but the site of the older

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city is still evident enough, as one enters from the south, by the clustering of temples and shrines, amongst the cactus hedges and peepul-trees of the wide open plain. There are many still older temples to be seen from the road, of a ponderous and severe beauty, in a type immediately preceding that of mediæval Orissa. They are comparatively small, but marvellously perfect. The style must have persisted long in the Himalayas, hence there are examples of it, in more developed and slender form, even here at Srinagar, as modern as two hundred years old, but the earliest examples must be very old indeed, dating from the days of the Hindu Revival under the Guptas, that is to say from about 400 A. D. or even earlier. Even the town of Srinagar, as it was at the time of the flood, was only founded, it is said, by Rajah Ajaipal in the year 1446, so that it could not be regarded as old from an Indian point of view. But the fact is that there must always have been a city here, ever since the Himalayas began to be inhabited, and certainly ever since the coming of the Asokan missions.

The geographical situation, in the midst of a valley that is almost a plain, forces the formation of an organic centre. The height is only about sixteen hundred feet above the sea, so it supports a sub-tropical vegetation and at the same time is accessible to all the cooler airs of the higher mountains. We can well imagine how the first colony of Buddhistic monks would gradually settle down, and live their monastic life, with its regular worship, preaching, and study, contented in the main to become an organic part of the life about them. Actual traces of their occupation have all been obliterated long long ago, but wherever we find a very old religious dedication, which has been a sheet-anchor of worship for century after century, we may infer with some certainty that it was established by them. Such centres exist at Srinagar in the Temples of Komoleswar and of the Five Pandavas. Of the two, Komoleswar is probably the older. The story told in the Puranas of the Mother, is here appropriated to Siva, and He appears as the god to whom Rama made the offering of blue lotuses! There is a Siva here of pre-Sankaracharyan type, and the temple stands in a large and ancient enclosure, round which are houses and other buildings. Vaishnavism also has flowed over Komoleswar in its time, for there are scores of votive tablets carved with the feet of the Lord. But the place has never forgotten its Saivite origin, and claims to have been visited by Sankaracharya, which we should certainly expect to have been the case. The old temple of the Five Pandavas, stands on the roadway into Srinagar.

Was there once an intention of laying out the whole country with temples dedicated in order to the heroes and munis of the national epic? One shrinks from the thought of a task so gigantic, but there seems some reason to think it may have been contemplated, and the fact that most of these must since have disappeared, is no real argument against it. The Himalayan kingdom has always been in such vital contact with the Hinduism of the plains, through sadhus and pilgrims and merchants, that it has shared to the full in each period as it rose, and each wave has been followed by another striving to efface the traces of that which preceded it. In this particular temple of the Five Pandavas, the Vaishnavism of Ramanuja has left its mark. There is a grotesque image of Narada worshipped here which is said to commemorate the primeval *swayambara*, where Narayana chose Lakshmi to be his spouse. The bride shrank from the appearance of Narada, who sat immediately in front of his master, and looked at Narayana himself instead. This was indeed the end to be attained, for she was the destined bride of God. But the method involved a wound to Narada's self-love and for this he cursed Vishnu—the devotee cursed God!—saying that in a future birth as Rama he would have trouble with this wife. This is evidently a late and corrupt tale, intended to appropriate an image said to be Narada's, and to synthetise all the developments through which Vaishnavism had already passed, claiming them as historic phases of the mediæval form preached by Ramanuja.

Vaishnavism made a strong impression at Srinagar. It seems to have been held meritorious to make a pilgrimage there, and give offerings at the shrine of Lakshmi-Narayan, in lieu of going all the way to Badri Narayan. There is one grand old

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temple, erected, for this purpose, four hundred years ago. Unfortunately it is now surrounded by a cactus-hedge, and is therefore inaccessible. It was superseded two hundred years later by a building of much poorer architecture. But the traditions are interesting. The Garur in front of the later temple is said to be inferior to that which originally stood there. This, it is said, was so beautiful that it flew away! 'Even this,' the guide will add, with pardonable pride in local gods, 'is such as you will not often see'. Alas, I could not share his high opinion of the present Garur as a work of art!

There have been many Srinagars, and one of them at least would seem to have been connected with the consecration of a great rock-altar to Devi. If the tradition is to be trusted, human sacrifice was practised here, and there is a story of the splendid indignation of Sankaracharya, who hurled the stone of sacrifice upside down into the river, and left to the sight of future generations only its bottom. If this was so, Sankaracharya would appear not only as the enemy of Tantrikism, but also as the reformer of Mother-worship, in this matter. The rock is some miles out of the present town, and stands near a great deodar cedar, on the opposite bank.

From Srinagar, we went eight miles, and stayed at a dak bungalow called CHANTIKAL. The dharmasala here is only six and a half miles from Srinagar, and is called BATTISERA. It is very unsheltered, in a ravine, and there is little water. There is no other dharmsala for about four miles, but this march is through beautiful forest, and two and a half miles are descent. At Chantikal we were for the first time amongst the pines. How wonderful it is to lie awake at night and listen, in the darkness, to the sound in their branches, like the song of the sea, "Parabrahman! Parabrahman!" There is no undergrowth in a pine-forest, and every evil or unclean thing is spontaneously banished. Insects flee from their strong hot fragrance, and even flies cease to be troublesome. How grand is India, possessing within her boundaries every kind of beauty! She could not but be the home of a vast and complex civilisation.

RUDRAPRAYAG, eleven miles beyond Chantikal, is the last halting-place on the common road to Kedar and Badri. It is magnificent. Immense crags and boulders lie piled beside the stream, and the water boils and foams in its rocky bed. Here the Alakananda and Mandakini meet, and lower down, at Devaprayag, we had seen the junction of this united stream with the Bhagirathi or Ganges proper. But it must be understood that to the people who live along their banks each one of these rivers is the Ganges itself. Each one is holy. Each man's local river is to him the head-water of the sacred flood. This is a spirit one cannot refuse to admire. Rudraprayag is a little place built on the point between the streams. There is a long temple-stair, as at Devaprayag, leading down to the prayag, and a couple of small temples set at the top. It is said to have suffered terribly in the floods. The old temple was literally carried away. On the near side, the mountains have receded slightly and left room for a grove of mangoes and bo, while on the slopes behind, and far above, are the pines with their perpetual chant.

At AGASTYAMUNI, after twelve miles of journey, we entered a more obscure and ancient world. The road from Rudraprayag onwards had been terrible, but the scenery wild and beautiful. Everything henceforth was on a smaller scale. Agastyamuni itself was the most primitive of places. Here the rishi Agastya had done his *tapasya*, they said. The same is told of Kashmir, a valley formed in the same way as this. Comparing the two, and remembering that the rishi is said to have drunk up the ocean, we were all inclined to regard the tale as a geographical myth, referring to a time when the valley was a lake. The soil is so evenly placed here, as also in the vale of Srinagar, that there is no room to doubt that it really was once a lake, and that geologically speaking, at no distant epoch. Are myths like this of Agastyamuni, dim memories of something seen by primitive man, or are they a kind of Physical Geography, deliberately invented for educational purposes? The last suggestion does not sound so absurd at the place itself, as it certainly does on paper. At Agastyamuni, for the first time, we found the temple enclosing a square which once

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contained the village, and even now held several dharmsalas. We had seen this square already in the temple of Komoleswar, but there it was within a building in a larger town; it did not itself stand as the principal feature, and constitute what was evidently the old market-place. The fields about Agastyamuni were very beautiful. Great trees offered shadow here and there, and pebble banks ran by the side of the road, as we left the place next day. Under a great bo, we found a number of exquisitely beautiful images, gathered together as a Kshetra-Pal. These attested the old importance of the place. But the heart of the whole was the temple. The great court, they told us, was the scene of Agastyamuni's *tapasya*, and he was commemorated by an image in the principal chapel. But there was a stone guddee in the middle with a smaller seat beside it, which the people regarded as the throne of Ramchandra. This is only one of many signs of the ancient and deep-seated impression made on this region by the Ramayana. All through our visits to sacred spots, we were apt to find that 'the age of Rama' was used as an indication of profound antiquity. There is an idea that the hero himself once visited these parts. And every village otherwise nameless is called Rampur, or something equivalent. "This place has been here since the days of Ramachandra", they say, as the utmost that they can conceive in age. Hence the two seats in the old court of Agastyamuni have a significance of their own, whatever their actual function may have been.

But besides this, there are a thousand interesting scraps. In the porch there is an image of Narasinha. In some of the chapels there are plaques and masks of the Nine Planets, of Narada, of Ganesh, and of old Buddhist carvings. Some one bought here the head of a stone Bodhisattva. There is also a chapel to Sringi Rishi, the father of Shamika, in the Adi Parva of the Mahabharata. And there is an ordinary Siva in an old square watercourse, while outside there is an emblem that ought to be famous for its pecularity of form, a dharmachakra that is really a Siva of pre-Sankaracharyan type. The people call it a Brahmamurti, which fact is again almost as important as the form itself. Four wheels or chakras are placed one on each side of the top of a short pillar. The top of the pillar is a cube, as is also its foot; but its shaft is octagonal. The cube surmounted by the octagonal shaft, surmounted by a thimble-shaped top, is the form of Siva which was common before Sankaracharya. The temple-enclosure which may once have been the court of a monastery, and then and afterwards the village square and market-place, still contains dharmsalas. It is half inn, and half cathedral close. In inn-yards of this type were played the miracle-plays and moralities of mediæval England. And here, if a party of strolling players came along, or a group of students went out with their magic lantern, it would be in the temple-court that the country folk would foregather for their entertainment. Outside, all is of the most primitive. The sanitation is also, sad to say, not very advanced in kind. But the beauty of these mediæval settings is wonderful, and all about the place are the wide fields and those cool winds that go with the rushing stream.

The cloister-like court is still more noticeable at Gupta Kashi, twelve miles further on. Here the temple-court actually adjoins the village-square in which we are housed, and the whole is like something seen in a play. Merchants come, and sadhus clad in ashes, with matted locks, perform strange worships round fires of cow-dung, and the simple life of the pilgrims is lived before one's eyes. We reached Gupta Kashi through some of the most wildly beautiful scenery that the world can contain. There is one long glen which is surely the very crown of the earth's loveliness. At the end, we came out on a group of shelters called Kund Chatty, and when we had reached our destination we much regretted that we had not insisted on waiting at Kund Chatty till the cool of the day, so hard and arid is the climb, in the fierce noon-sun, between it and Gupta Kashi. If we had done this, however, though we should have had greater physical comfort, we should not have drunk so deep of the middle ages as we did on reaching Gupta Kashi. This village regards its own claims to recognition as resting on the shrine of Vishwanath, in the temple hard by the dharmsala. This they only profess to have owned since the era of the troubles

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under Aurungzeb. But the site is, in fact, immensely older. There are two temples in the one court, as so often happens, and one is that of Vishwanath, with images of Narayana outside the door, while the other is to Ardhanari, a very very old and quite pre-Sankaracharyan dedication. The place has underground drainage, covered by flags, like Benares and Mauryan Pataliputra.

A very interesting feature of the pilgrim-life, as one sees it in a spot like this, is its leisure and freedom for refined pursuits. Half an hour after arrival, when those whose duty it is to cook have taken up their work, all the others may be seen seated, each little party round its own mat or carpet, deep in conversation, or listening to some one whose words are heard with evident respect. It reminds one of the stories told of travellers in the Arabian Nights. These people are, some of them, merchants, some of them pilgrims; their packages are all bestowed under cover; their animals are being fed and watered by their appointed servants, and they themselves are ready for their meal, when it shall be announced. Meanwhile they are at no loss. Some one is telling a story, or reading from a book, or they are all absorbed in conversation. Thus far the men. The women are still threading their laborious way, doubtless, from shrine to shrine and salutation to salutation, and have not yet begun to think of comfort. But this civilisation of the men reminds one, I do not know why, of merchant-civilisations everywhere. It seems to belong to that stratum of evolution, and one's thoughts are driven back on those scholars who say that long before the appearance of royal and military nationalities, the whole of the East was covered, more or less, with a great merchant organisation emanating from the Bharatas, and ramifying over the then known world, a mercantile civilisation, which moreover, laid the foundation of all, that Europe has since gained of culture either moral or intellectual. Can it be that here, in this life, of which, as one sits on the stone window-seat overlooking the square at Gupta Kashi, one catches a glimpse, we have a surviving fragment of the Age of the Caravans? Yonder, in the dharmsala opposite, sit the caravan-chiefs, and the talk they hold amongst themselves is of distant lands and the opportunities of trade, and is yet to build up results, in migrations of faiths and learning and customs, of which they, talking, little dream. We are back in a distant æon, and the nations of Europe and Asia that are to be born of the tendencies here at work, are still in the future.

The road to Fatta Chatty, the Village of the Ruins, which is our next stopping-place, is of surpassing interest. A very short distance out of Gupta Kashi the way divides, for Akhi Math on the one side, and Kedar Nath on the other. Soon after this we are in the midst of an old religious centre of great importance. On the hill opposite is Akhi Math, the present winter seat of the Kedar Nath order of Sankaracharya. Here on this side is Nalla Chatty with a temple which contains ancient Saivite remains, together with relics of the great age in sculpture, Bodhisattvas and the rest. But the great thing is a memorial of some kind, perhaps a Jayastambha or Kirtistambh, as the people themselves suggest, which is evidently a curiously modified Buddhist stupa. There is also a host of little temples which mark the transition from stupa to temple, and give us the link sought so long in the evolution of the Bengali temple. Most of the site is disused. The little temples have become meaningless to the villagers. There is a great dais or platform on which sacred memorials seem at some far past time to have been crowded, and this reminds us of Komoleswar at Srinagar where we have an example of the same kind. But the great feature of the place is an immense unenclosed terrace, representing the monastery-court or village-square, which stands on the face of the hillside looking out over the valley, and having access by an old road from the riverside, which the villagers call the Gangarastha. Interesting things, amongst them a stone guddee, are scattered about and around this terrace. It has a swing, too, and doubtless is still used for village-festivities. Ancient life was vastly more coherent and organic than modern, and monastery or temple was the scene, not merely of prayer and meditation, but also of school and play, of bazaar and parliament, of drama and art and hospitality. It is because they are the heirs of these multifarious functions and activi-

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that the ancient sites have to this day so complex an aspect.

Thus the front of Nalla Temple overhangs the river, while its opposite entrance is on the pilgrim-road. The whole sacred enclosure lies between. The road now winds down into the valley, and it becomes evident from the character of the village-buildings and farm-houses, as we pass, that there has been wealth and splendour, once upon a time, in this unknown place. Another feature of past glory that we notice throughout this particular district is the care of the water. The valleys are rich in springs and streams, and these are very carefully and skilfully engineered for irrigation and then made to debouch at convenient places for bathing and drinking, through old carved spring-heads. When this sign of advanced civilisation ceases, we may believe that we have passed beyond the influence of an old civic and monastic centre. On our return journey, in a very different part of the Himalayan kingdom, I was able to see the same thing again, at a place called Musaki Nau, between Pauri and Kotdwara. The care and worship of water is always in this country the mark of a deep and splendid civilisation. The worship of rivers has a new meaning for me since I have made the Northern Pilgrimage. I can see now that it has had much to do with the preservation of drinking-water from defilement, and has expressed royal responsibility for checking of infection. Nalla, then may have been an early Buddhistic site. It is not unnatural that monasteries should give place to temples, although the true arrangement is undoubtedly that which we now see at Bodh-Gaya, where the temple stands outside, and the monastery, in a place apart, guards it and cares for it. There is a tendency, when learning grows dim, for monks to build a shrine in their own enclosure and conduct regular services there. This shrine, when the order has disappeared, falls to the care of the Brahmins or secular clergy, who thus acquire a vested interest in its maintenance. Hence we may find a temple where there was once a monastery. In this way we may account for the origin of Komoleswar in Srinagar, and of Nalla Temple here. But it is not so clear that Gupta Kashi and Agastyamuni were also monastic, though it is not impossible. In these, the temple square has more of the *Place*, or civic element, and less of the sacerdotal and purely theological.

When we have gone a few miles further and have passed through what seems to have been an old-time city of importance, we come to Bhethu-Chatty. Here there are two temples, standing together on the road-side, and an immense cluster on the opposite side. The two on the road itself are the older. One, the older of these again, is to Satya-Narayana. The other is to Birbhadra, or Siva. On the other side of the road, the main temple is to Lakshmi-Narayana, and this adjoins a tank which has no less than seven small temple-like shrines on its sides. Altogether the small shrines dotted about the main temple of Lakshmi-Narayana here are twenty. There is also a curious monument with an inscription, which the people call a *Kirti-stambha*. All the temples and shrines are surmounted by *amalokis*. Going back to the temples of Satya-Narayana and Birbhadra, on the other side of the road, we find that there is in this case also a tank with many little shrines about it, down in the valley below, not far from the river. The Lakshmi-Narayana centre evidently imitated all this, at a later age. In three small shrines which are in a row behind Satya-Narayana and Birbhadra, with a large bo-tree beside them, I found one old Siva, and in all cases square water-courses. Amongst the small shrines clustered about Lakshmi-Narayana on the opposite side of the road, I found one small chaitya-like building covering a spring. The architectural form, and the fact that on the lintel of the door is a medallion containing Ganesh, would go to show that this is more ancient than the shrines near it, and perhaps belonged to the Birbhadra centre, before the Vaishnava movement of Ramanuja caused the building of a Lakshmi-Narayana temple here. The chaitya form cannot fail to suggest the Buddhist period. Bhethu Chatty is part and parcel of some chapter in history, which, if it could be unravelled, would tell us much about a series of religious transitions through which the Himalayan peoples have passed, beginning with Buddhism, and ending with Vaishnavism. The centre of which

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it forms a part may be said to extend from Gupta Kashi on the south, to Bhethu Chatty on the north, and even to include Akhi Math on the opposite side of the valley. This whole region has been the theatre of much religious and monastic history.

FATTA CHATTY, where we next passed the night, was only seven miles in all from Gupta Kashi. It was a very lovely place, with large mud and timber-built houses, a stream with a mill-wheel, and one immense deodar. This is perhaps the place to speak of the architectural beauty of the chatties. The room we occupied at Fatta Chatty that night was the most perfectly proportioned chamber I have ever inhabited. It was large and low, with great beams of wood, open verandah-like windows with wide seats, and mud-floor. The social dignity, and something very like splendour, that are expressed in such a building cannot be described. But Indian people are so accustomed to architectural beauty in domestic buildings that it does not strike them, as it does one of long European associations. The palaces of kings in Europe would be proud to contain rooms as lovely as the rustic halls in these Himalayan villages. At Fatta we had special opportunities also for admiring the care spent on the springs and the fountain-heads.

Our next stopping-place was GOURI KUND, ten miles away. On the way, we passed Bhim and Rampur Chatties. We also passed Sone Prayag, a rude and dangerous-looking bridge over a river-confluence. Here last year there was a good modern bridge, but it broke suddenly, under the weight of two hundred pilgrims who were all on it at the same moment. For it is said that never was there seen a year like the last, for the multitude of the pilgrims. On the occasion in question, some forty or fifty were, it seems killed, and another forty or fifty maimed or injured. Many of course escaped hurt altogether. Incredible as it sounds, the bridge has not yet been mended, and pilgrims have still to cross by some sort of makeshift contrivance.

The scenery of this day's stage was very fine. We went through long defiles of mountains, pine, fir and cedar clad. Gouri Kund itself is ancient and squalid. At least one pre-Sankaracharyan Siva may still be traced, and there is a tank in a sacred square. It is here that we find the hot springs that belong to Kedar Nath. The pavements speak of the age of the village, and though one looks upon them tenderly for this, one is not altogether reconciled thereby to their dirt and slush.

Eight miles further is KEDAR NATH itself. The road, on this final day, is terrible, especially the last four miles of steep ascent. Soon after leaving Gouri Kund a road branches off for Triyugi Narayan, evidently the rival shrine of the Vaishnava period. At the foot of the hills the last chatty we pass is Rambarra, a damp exposed place where it would not be wise to pass the night, and this fact makes the final stage of the journey doubly hard for old or infirm persons. About the beauty of the scenery one could not say enough, but the difficulties of the climb ought not either to be forgotten. It is a dolorous stairway, as hard as life itself, in very truth, as the panda ruefully said to me, "the way to Heaven!" All this is forgotten however when at last we reach the uplands and begin to feel ourselves within measurable distance of Kedar Nath. We are now amongst the wide turf-covered tablelands, and the flowers begin to abound, as in some paradise of Mogul painters. At every step, we pass or are passed by other pilgrims. The eagerness round and about us is indescribable. At last comes the moment when the temple is visible for the first time. A shout goes up from our carriers and others, and many prostrate themselves. We press forward more rapidly than before. It is even now a mile or so to the village. But at last we arrive, and entering find that the shrine itself stands at the end of the long avenue-like street, with the mountain and glacier rising sheer behind it, as if all India converged upon Kedar Nath as its northern point, and all roads met at the sacred feet of the Lord of Mountains. Probably, when first the temple was built in this spot, it was actually on the edge of the glacier which in all these centuries has retreated only to a distance of less than a mile. We had made great efforts to reach our goal on a Monday, for this is held a great benison in visiting a shrine of Siva.

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when we arrived, it was the middle of the day, and the temple was closed till the evening *arati*. As the afternoon ended, the cold blue mists came down from the mountains, enwrapping everything; and one sat out in the village street, watching cowled forms, in their brown kombols, pacing back and forth through the mist before the tight-shut doors. Suddenly we were called to see the *arati*. Darkness had fallen, but the mists had gone, and the stars and the snows were clear and bright. Lights were blazing and bells clanging within the temple, and we stood without, amongst the watching people. As the lights ceased to swing, and the *arati* ended, a shout of rapture went up from the waiting crowd. Then the cry went out to clear the road, and the rush of the pilgrims up the steep steps began. What a sight was this! On and on, up and up, they came, crowding, breathless, almost struggling, in their mad anxiety to enter the shrine, reach the image, and at the last, by way of worship, to bend forward and touch with the heart, the sacred point of the mountain! For this half-embrace is what the worship consists of at Kedar Nath. They poured in at the great south door, out by the east. On and on, up and up, one had not dreamt the place contained so many people as now panted forward to obtain entrance. Suddenly, from one of the door-keepers I heard an exclamation of pity, and then he stooped and tenderly lifted a little bent old woman, bowed down under the weight of years, who had lost her footing in the crowd and might have fallen and been trodden under foot. It was one of the sights of a life time, to stand there, in the black darkness at the top of the steps, and watch the pilgrims streaming in. It seemed as if all India lay stretched before One, and Kedar Nath were its apex, while from all parts everywhere, by every road, one could see the people streaming onward, battling forward, climbing their way up, all for what?—for nothing else than to touch God!

We had a wonderful walk next day, to the glaciers and the heights, for a while and some of us rested on a hillside, listening to the perpetual muffled boom of the avalanches, as they ceaselessly broke and fell from some part or other of the great ice-mass to the north. "Yes," said the peasant who guided us, thoughtfully, as he stood gazing with us at the glacier. "It looks as if it stood perfectly still. But really it is moving, like any other river!" The great temple looked small and distant now, like a village-church, and only the towering heights seemed grand enough for the worship of God. We felt this still more when we stood and looked up at the vast snowy expanse that they call the Mahaprasthan, the Great Release. For the Pandava story culminates at Kedar Nath, and we are shown the very road by which Yudhisthira and his brothers and the Lady Draupadi went, on that last great journey by which they reached the end. Others since then have followed them, it is said, and have signed their names, at the last, on a great rock-face that stands on the way. We made our way there, and sure enough we found numbers of trisuls drawn in white and black and red, in wavering lines, some of them, as if by hands that shook with age, and some of them strong and firm, but all, if the country-folk are to be believed, the autographs of those who felt that desire was ended, and the supreme renunciation theirs to make. "For the shastras," say those who know, "make man free of society at two places, Kedar Nath and Allahabad." Surely Allahabad must once have been very beautiful!

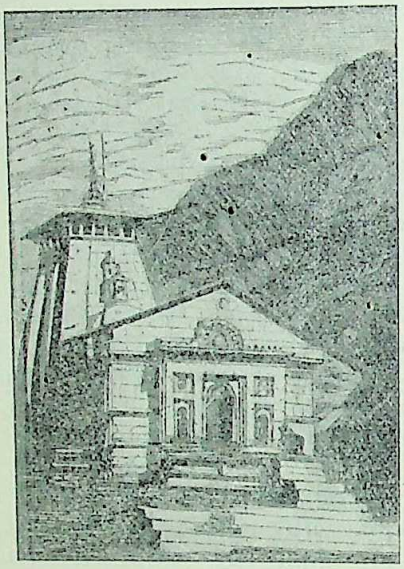
The site of Kedar Nath is very old. There is a temple of Satya-Narayana built over a spring, in the village-street. There is also a tiny chapel, containing the nine forms of Devi. There are pre-Sankaracharyan Sivas, also, and square water-courses, dotted about the central shrine. On the whole it would seem as if, at the period commonly referred to as the visit of Sankaracharya. Satya-Narayana had been superseded by Siva as the principal deity. And the Devi-worship which was probably still older than Satya-Narayana remained henceforth side by side with it, in a similar subordination. This question, of the order in which its pre-Sankaracharyan phases succeeded one another, is the great crux of the story of Hinduism!

The carving round the doorway of the temple is evidently ancient, and the ornament consists of Hinduistic figures of gods and kings contained in niches, not unlike those which contain Buddhas, in the

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last of the art-periods at Ajanta. This would pre-dispose us to assign a date between the expulsion from Gandhara 751, and the year 1000 A.D., leaning somewhat to the latter, because of the very



KEDARNATH TEMPLE.

manifest decadence in style. We must remember that the importance of Kedar Nath as a place of pilgrimage has always kept it in touch with the Plains, and that at the same time there seems never to have been any Mohammedan invasion of these Himalayan valleys. These facts explain why it is possible to find in this remote spot an important link between older Buddhistic and later Hindu sculpture.

Above all, Kedar Nath is the shrine of the Sadhus. As in the days of Buddhism, so in those of Sankaracharya, and as then so also now, the yellow robe gleams and glistens in all directions. There is no begging, for the *sadabratas* supply all the wants of monastic visitors. But there is a world of enthusiasm, and still the tradition goes amongst them that Kedar Nath is a place of good omen for sannyasis, for here came Sankaracharya and falling into samadhi died!

It was the second day of our stay when an old man who had been seriously ill for many months, reached the place and made his *darsana*. He had ended his journey and hastened to fulfil his vow within the hour. But scarcely had he done so, barely had he ceased from prayer, not yet was the rapture of achievement abated, when the battle was declared for him to be finished, and in the bright morning air, with long sighing breaths, his soul went forth. Such is the benediction with which the Lord of Mountains lays His hand upon His own!

NIVEDITA OF RK.—V.

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND LIFE

THE SUFFRAGIST MOVEMENT.
WOMAN IN THE EAST AND THE WEST.

THE very structures of the civilisations of Europe and India are so different from each other, that it is exceedingly difficult, if not absolutely impossible, for people born and brought up under one of these civilisations to correctly understand and appreciate the larger social and political movements of the other. The European, for instance, very rarely understands the real meaning and significance of the present ferment in India. He reads it in the light of his European experiences; and knowing that in Europe revolutionary unrest has always been intimately associated with some deep economic causes, he at once rushes to the conclusion that this so-called unrest in India also must have at its back a similar cause. He has heard of the extreme poverty of the Indian masses, and naturally thinks that this poverty is the root of this ferment. Even your own people, trained in English schools, and deriving their culture from the study of European life and thought more than that of their own country and nation, have very frequently interpreted Indian movements in the light of European psychology. These have all overlooked, it seems to me, the simple fact that wealth

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and material possessions have not that value in India as these have had for almost countless centuries in Europe. If ever there was a people who knew and realised that man liveth not by bread alone, it was, I think, the Hindu. Plain living and high thinking, an almost forgotten ideal in our modern civilisation, is still a living rule of life among your people. You have always been a race of idealists: and nothing really disturbs the calm dignity of your lives as long as you are able to keep your ideals in tact. This idealism permeates all your social and political relations. It is this which contributes to the peace and grandeur of your domestic life. Every rose has its thorn, and every light its shadow: so even your life and institutions are not without their defects. But even these have not destroyed the original ideas of the race.

To the superficial European observer, the position of woman in India seems to be very low. Judged by our modes of life, it is very low, no doubt. But is ours the highest? There are people even among Europeans who do not quite think that it is so. And they are among the very best of our civilisation. Tolstoy, for instance, declared, almost as a protest against the so-called equality of the sexes which has been increasingly insisted upon here, in England especially, ever since Mill wrote his epoch-making book on "The Subjection of Women"—that God made one law for man, the law of labour: and another for woman, the law maternity. And, if what Tolstoy says be true, then surely, you in India seem to have kept God's law much better than what we are doing, at any rate, at the present time. I am not sure, really, that we ever had, in Europe, especially after the decline of our old Catholic ideals, a higher ideal of womanhood than yours. Even our ancient Chivalry centred round man's physical prowess and courage and woman's beauty and love. The romance of maidenhood had, therefore, a most wonderful play and development in Europe, when the beautiful maid was the main inspiration of most of our noblest deeds; but we have had but little in the way of the romance of motherhood, outside, of course, our religious literature and art. The Madonna is an inimitable work; but the Madonna represents more a religious than an active social ideal. Though it must be recognised that the worship of Mary, and especially Mary with her divine child, did influence the ideals of maternity, and helped to raise the maternal functions very considerably, all over Christendom; and even today we see its influence in Italy and other continental countries where Roman Catholicism is still a living force. But in spite of the healthy influences that Catholicism was able to exert upon European society in this respect, trying to invest the relations between the sexes here with a superb spiritual element, woman, though loved and petted and wooed and served by our men, has never been honoured among us in the way she has been, I think, in India. Our Deity represents the male-principle only: the only woman we have had in our religious scheme is the Mother of God. But she is not the wife of God. The conjugal relation has never been deified in our religious consciousness. On the contrary, it has been indirectly condemned as essentially carnal. Pangs of child-birth, according to Hebraico-Christian tradition, are a punishment permanently meted out to humanity for the transgressions of the first parents. In your religion, however, the sex-relation has been idealised in a way absolutely unknown to our history and culture. Modern science,—the romance of biology and physiology, has just started rehabilitating the sex-idea and the sex-function among us, and, thereby, even to impart an element of poetry and idealism to these, which you, in India, had from your ancient religion. Your highest religious synthesis presents the Deity not as representing merely the male-principle, but equally also the female-principle. And it is significant that in your scheme of the universe, the active principle is really not the male, not the Purusha, but the Female, the Prakriti. The idea of power and domination is associated, thus, not with man but with woman. Man's power and activities are only apparent, but not real: the woman's on the other hand, are not apparent but real. And here, it seems, your spiritual insight peered into the very soul of creation. Nature always works her greatest schemes in secret. Prakriti is Nature but Nature not merely working in matter but equally working also in man. Prakriti is the name

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of the energising, the female, principle in creation. Woman is the prototype of Prakriti. Man is the prototype of Purusha. Logically, Purusha is before Prakriti; but it is only a logical *prius*, but has no chronological priority. Logically, again, Purusha is superior to Prakriti: but logic and actuality are not the same. And, actually, therefore, there is neither superiority nor inferiority, nor even any equality or inequality, between the two. These questions, in fact, never arise in regard to the parts of an organic whole. Purusha *and* Prakriti constitute one organic whole. They are differentiated, but never separated, from each other. They are mutually interdependent. They mutually supplement each other. And where two entities are mutually dependent upon each other, are so constituted that the one is perpetually imperfect without the other, and both joined together, form one organic whole, there the question of equality or inequality or of superiority or inferiority, dependence or independence, can never arise. To raise any such questions in regard to such entities, is to ignore the very fundamental nature and constitution of these entities. If I understand it aright, this seems to me the underlying philosophy that has hitherto dominated your national ideals of the man-and-woman relation.

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The Cult of the Mother and the Cult of the Maiden.

The especial ideals that have, from very ancient times, regulated this relation among you has created a great and holy cult, the cult of the mother, in your country. In Europe, as I have already said, these ideals have developed what may be called, though in a much looser way, the cult of the maiden. I do not forget, that the Hindu too has his own cult of the maiden. But there is a wide difference between our cult of maidenhood and yours. You worship the maiden as the promise of coming motherhood: you see in her the future mother. Our cult of the maiden is not like this: we see in the maiden, not the future mother, though of course, she will be one, in due time,—but the future wife. Both the cult of the mother and the cult of the maiden among you are centred around the functions and ideals of mate[r]nity. We have, practically, no cult of th[e] mother; and our cult of the maiden ha[s] grown out of our ideas of the nuptia[l] function and relation. The maiden is th[e] most important person in our society; i[t] is she who is most sought after, most pette[d] and courted, and both the wife and th[e] mother have to give way to her. She i[s] an "unappropriated blessing," a priz[e] which men strive to secure. In olden time[s] she played the role of the queen in ou[r] tournaments: now she plays the same rol[e] in our social functions. The wife is some[-] body's "property", she has been "appro[-] priated" by some one: the mother has ha[d] her day, and is more or less of a pensione[r] in social life, retired from active servic[e] and they both must give way to the maide[n]. And when woman is placed at her be[st] and highest as maiden, and in this wa[y] as a person to be wooed, a prize to be wo[n] a blessing to be appropriated, she natural[ly] receives a kind of homage which she do[es] not get among people who emphasise, [in] their ideas and ideals of womanhood, n[ot] her maidenhood but essentially her mother[-] hood. The desire to please, dominates th[e] attitudes and activities of the woo[er] towards the wooed. The very uncertaintie[s] of his position, make him excessively mindful of little courtesies. He is perpe[t]tually on the look out to render some litt[le] service to the object of his wooing. I[f] she drops her handkerchief, he is th[e] first to stoop down to pick it up. If sh[e] is going for a drive, he rushes to lend he[r] his hand to help her to get into he[r] carriage. He yearns for feeling the perfum[e] of her breath, or the touch of her fingers. Her nearness sends a thrill through he[r] frame! And these are the realities th[at] originally stood at the back, if not of a[ll] in any case, of most of the chivalric way[s] of the European male in his dealings wit[h] his womenkind. In social history and evo[-]lution, conventionalities or customs th[at] have their original in one relation of life, i[n] one kind of psychological conditions, often[-] times extend to other relations also, and thus, become a general code of socia[l] conduct. And, therefore, this so-called chivalry of the European r[a]ces, that had its origin, clearly, first in the desire to please noble dames and lovely maide[ns]

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oftentimes in course of wooing them, and, next in the natural anxiety of all truly heroic persons to help the weak and the helpless, became gradually a common matter of social courtesy, a form of *noblesse oblige*. The real value of all this chivalry, as a sign and symbol of the European man's true estimate of his woman, must, however, be sought for in the history of its origin, and not in the sphere or manner of its subsequent use and application. It had its origin in sex-reference. When it became a mere rule of social life, and the original sex-reference no longer consciously worked behind it, it symbolised another sentiment, namely the natural pleasure and duty of the strong to serve and help the weak. Originally, chivalry bent its knees before woman, drawn by her beauty: subsequently, it commenced to continue the same service to her, moved by pity for her weakness. It did not openly declare that the woman was weak, but only looked upon her as "a delicate little creature." The age of chivalry was the age of great physical strength, and equally of great social service, in and through which this physical strength found its highest satisfaction and fulfilment. The strong took as much pride and pleasure in fighting the strong as in serving the weak. The service of woman,—of "the weaker sex", became, thus, a common feature of mediæval manners in Europe. In rendering all this apparent homage to woman, European chivalry, however, put a prominent badge of rudimentary inferiority upon womanhood. She represents among us, therefore, the weaker sex. I do not know if you have anything like this, our "*weaker sex*," in your native language and literature.* And because woman was regarded, and openly acclaimed, as the weaker sex, she became an object of some tender regard; and, as if to compensate her for this weakness and inferiority, the generous European man commenced, when she became mated to him, to call her his "better half." Indeed, a careful analysis of our life and customs, would seem to prove that the position which woman has hitherto occupied in our Western civilisation, has been essentially based upon pity, upon kindness for the weak, upon natural sex-instinct, hallowed no doubt, by refined poetry and delicate romance, but still not appreciably spiritualised by higher religion. Of course, humanity being an organic whole, it exists everywhere, among all the races of men, in all its wholeness or fulness, —in some expressed more fully than perhaps in others, but no jot or tittle of this fullness is absent from any man or any race. So, in Europe also there has been the growth of truly spiritual ideals in the man-and-woman relation, as in India also there is a good deal of carnalism and brutality in many a man's view of his womenkind. I do not deny all this. What I mean to emphasise here is, not the presence of exceptions in either of these civilisations, but the things that are predominant in these two great world-cultures.

If, thus, in Europe, as I have tried to point out in the above, ideas concerning woman have taken the form of what I have called the cult of the maiden; in India, and particularly among the Hindus, these have created what may well be called, the cult of the mother. In Europe, a stranger meeting a woman, would call her "Miss", if she is young, or "madam", if she is elderly. The former is a contraction of mistress, and the latter is derived from French, *ma*, my and *dame*, lady, which in Latin is *mea domina*. In neither of these addresses you find any reference to the fundamental function of womanhood, as recognised by the Hindu, the function, namely, of maternity. But in India, among the Hindus, it is the dominating idea of the concept woman. The holiest of the holy Brahmin in Southern India, I am assured, feels absolutely no hesitation in addressing an unknown Pariah woman, one of the so-called "untouchable" castes, as "Amma" or mother. This mother is the ordinary way of addressing women of all ages and classes in India, by those who are not related to them. In no country in our civilisation, have we, so far as I know, any text similar to that well-known Sanskrit injunction,—"Look upon other people's wives as your mother." And where this is the central conception of man regarding the woman, quite a different kind of social etiquette must necessarily

* In Sanskrit we have *Abala* as an equivalent of *the weaker sex* in English.—Ed. *M. R.*

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grow in the relations between the two sexes. Mother is not a person that has to be wooed, but only to be worshipped. Her affection and her love is assured, and endures irrespective of our acts or attitudes towards her. This affection has not to be earned by little services. Like all the great things of nature, like the air that we breathe and live upon, like the warmth of the sun which is the support of the life both of animals and vegetables, like the light of day that lights our path, like all these elementals, the mother's love comes naturally to us for its own self-fulfilment, and, in realising itself, at the same time it blesses us too. There is a freedom of the heart born of absolute and unshaken and unshakable confidence in her love, in all our relations with our mother. And this freedom absolves us of the ordinary formalities of the other social relations. A young man or woman may even desire that the object of his or her love, the maiden or man whom they may be wooing, may be overtaken with some great calamity with a view to give them an opportunity of rendering loving service or proving the strength of their affections. But what son or daughter ever desires that the mother should be ill so that she might receive proof of their love? Yet this service the mother gets whenever she actually stands in need of it. The women in India are treated similarly. Men make no fuss about them, do not vie with one another to give them small tokens of their regard. But all the same, there is the same respect for womanhood, as you find in any other country. Indeed, it seems that the Hindu has carried his regard for the gentler sex even far beyond the plane of humanity. The father chastises the boy and sometimes with apparent cruelty, but social decorum forbids the application of the same chastisement to the girl. She is to be reared with tenderness, educated with care, protected with sleepless vigilance, but never to be chastised. There are wife-beaters in India as there are in England; but in neither country do they represent in any way the general social ideal. But while it is cowardice to strike a woman here, it is irreligion in India. The female of every species is almost an object of reverence to the Hindu. The Hindu who offers animal sacrifices to his gods, kills the male animals only, never the females. The meat of he-goa is permissible food to those who take mea but not of the she-goat. So it is with th poultry. The drake may be killed an eaten and the gander, but never the duc or the goose. And all this shows the dee regard of the Hindu for the functions o motherhood. And the entire relatio between the two sexes in Hindu society regulated by this primary sentiment.

In India, therefore, they seem to ha realised from of old the truth of Tolsto dictum that God made one law for ma the law of labour, and another for woma the law of maternity. And the mome you accept this dictum, the sphere activities of the two sexes at once divid of itself. The home becomes the domini of the one, and the field, the market, t Court, the Exchange, dominion of the oth The woman's proper sphere becomes h family. It is here that she must not on find the legitimate field of her activiti but also seek for all her enjoyments. Natu has so made woman that she cann spend all the hours of her day or eve day in her month in out-door occupatio or amusements. Rest, quiet, freedom fro worry and hurry, work and recreation th soothe but do not excite or irritate th nerves, all these are absolute physiologic needs of the woman who is to be a mothe In primitive culture, men and wome worked together, sometimes even the hard and more toilsome duties of life bei placed upon the shoulders of the woma But as civilisation advances the sphere activities of the sexes is gradually divide the woman becoming more and more th mistress of the house and the man th master of all outer concerns. To break this division seems almost like a relap into barbarism and primitive culture.

Woman under Modern Economic Pressure.

But whether we like it or not, the ideals and conditions of woman's life a being rapidly broken up under the relentle pressure of modern industrialism. situation is, I think, not as yet so hopele in India as it undoubtedly is in Europe America. And this is due to the old joi family system which has not been com pletely broken up as yet in India. It

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condemned, no doubt, by our copy-book economists as a great economic evil, being the nursery of lazy drones. But lazy drones are to be found in every community eastern or western, but only among the wealthier classes. We have them even in England without the joint-family system. There is hardly a wealthy family in this country who have not men and women who sow not yet they reap, who weave not but are yet dressed in all the glories of our changing fashions. But the masses, whether here or in India, have really no drones in their family-hive, for the simple reason that they cannot afford to have them. The poor Indian family compelled to live literally from hand to mouth, cannot support any lazy drones. But the joint-family system helps there to protect the individuals, and specially the women and the children, from that cruel economic pressure which is manifestly breaking up western family-life and destroying both the manhood and the womanhood of the European races. Every man, and every woman also, in the Indian joint-family has to work hard to help to keep the family pot boiling. But love usually inspires their labours; and wherever in any joint economic effort or struggle, the natural human affections stand as the inspiring and the regulative force, there is always a natural and uplifting rivalry between the workers as to who should bear the heaviest burden and do the hardest work. Where labour is regulated by human affections, the State has no need to interfere with it in the interest of the young and the weak. Under the co-operative system of the joint-family, the head of the family is practically the employer of labour, and the general foreman of works. And where one's father or husband or brother is one's employer and foreman, and where the fruits of one's labours go to the common purse of the family, out of which the normal wants of all are equally supplied, there must necessarily grow an almost perfect system of division of labour, each individual being put to do not merely that which he or she is best able to do economically, which is the economic principle of division of labour, —but being permitted to do only just as much as he or she can undertake consistently with the requirements of personal health and happiness, which, indeed, is really the higher ethical principle of division of labour. The joint-family system, working under the impulse of natural human affections, thus works out the principle of division of labour not only economically but morally also. Under conditions such as these, the individual can hardly be reduced to the position of a mere economic factor, a machine or instrument for the production of commodity; and neither woman nor child has to earn their bread in the sense in which they have to do so in an essentially competitive and capitalist economic system. In India the solidarity of the family-life has been largely kept up, and with it the natural division of the respective spheres of activities of the two sexes has so far been practically maintained, in the economic field. How long it will be preserved under tne impact of modern western industrialism and capitalism, it is difficult to say. In Europe and America, however, it has been almost completely broken up.

And it is partly due to the social economy that has prevailed in western countries for ages past, and partly, no doubt, to their present competitive capitalist system. Indeed, this capitalist system could not have possibly grown so rapidly and luxuriantly here if the very structure of European society had not been essentially individualistic. The joint-family system is almost unknown in Europe. Our law of primogeniture has long since destroyed the fundamental solidarity of the family-life, as it is known under the joint-family system. Even the natural affections, deprived of the support that the community of economic interests lends to them in countries where the joint-family system obtains, have become naturally enfeebled, and are, therefore, easily liable to break down under the economic strain of our industrial civilisation. This economic struggle and competition have developed a spirit of independence and a special code of economic honour which deter people from receiving financial help or support even from their own flesh and blood, until at any rate it comes in the form of an unexpected inheritance or legacy. And the need thus imposed upon each individual to work for what is called an

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independence, which means really a private banking account, has rendered it almost impossible to maintain the old and healthy division in the respective spheres of labour of men and women. The only form of co-operative labour between man and woman known in the West is in the husband-and-wife-relation. But the increasing difficulties in the way of women getting married and having a home and family of their own, have considerably narrowed the field of this co-operation. Driven, therefore, by cruel economic needs, women are increasingly invading the field of work hitherto exclusively occupied by men. It is really not of their own choosing. They are simply driven to do so by economic forces that are continually bearing down on them, with such cruel disregard of their physical and physiological, as well as of their intellectual and moral peculiarities. Thus has grown up a keen rivalry between the sexes here. And wherever there is such rivalry between one section of the community and another., there the stronger section invariably put up all kinds of exaggerated claims to natural superiority over their weaker competitors trying to claim a new recognition and status. The so-called classes have everywhere denied to the masses those superior intellectual and moral capacities that they have claimed as an almost original endowment for themselves. The governing classes have similarly always denied to the governed the capacity to manage their own affairs. Upon the denial of these superior and specific virtues and natural aptitudes to their rivals, the favoured few in every country and in every age have sought to base their moral authority or predominance over those who are below them. So men, too, in our civilisation, have long tried to justify the exclusion of women from every sphere of economic activities where the latter has shown a desire to enter into inconvenient competition with their erstwhile "lords and masters", on the ground that they are naturally inferior to the stronger sex not only in physique, but also in intellect and morals.

The "Rights of Women" Movement.

The "Rights of Women Movement" in Europe came as a protest against these pretensions of the stronger sex, and the position of intellectual and economic inferiority to which the women were relegated. Female education in the true sense of the term, having for its object the fullest development of the human personality by the highest cultivation of every individual's intellectual and moral capacities, is as much a new thing in Europe as it is in India. Fifty years ago, even here, women were trained simply to discharge their functions as wives and mothers. They had no entrance into the universities. Even to-day, they are admitted to the examinations for degree in some of the universities only on sufferance. In Society they enjoyed always a certain amount of freedom, and the women of the higher classes had to acquire certain so-called accomplishments the object of which was to fit them for their social duties. But the woman's personality was never fully recognised. It was against this state of things that John Stuart Mill raised his protest in his historic essay on the Subjection of Women. John Stuart Mill was a child of the eighteenth century Illumination. His protest against the subjection of women was based upon the general philosophy of individual freedom of that Illumination. The position of woman had hitherto been regulated by status, and their duties and functions determined entirely by their place in Society. It was practically the application of the old pagan view of society to the case of women. Christianity had freed man from the pagan rule of status. The Lutheran protest had set up his claims to the rights of personality. The French Revolution had carried that propaganda to its logical conclusion by asserting the dogma of the equality of man, which found concrete expression in the declaration of the rights of man. The movement for the rights of women came as a necessary sequence to all this.

The Suffragist is thus quite a legitimate child of our modern Western civilisation. Even the so-called Suffragette, who breaks windows, hunts Cabinet Ministers, chains herself to chairs and pillars at public meetings with a view to protect herself against summary ejection, and who eagerly goes to prison with a view to force her rights upon the attention of the public

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—is only walking in the footsteps of those who have built up the present free political institutions of Europe. If she has declared a mild war against constituted authority, it is only what the men who stand for that authority to-day had themselves done, with infinitely greater violence and fury, at one time, to secure what they called their just rights. No representation, no taxation: this is a fundamental principle of the politics of European democracy. The structure of European society being what it is, it is a necessary political principle here. And if it be so, the woman pay taxes as well as the men, why then should they not have the same franchise as is enjoyed by the men? The question is simply unanswerable. In fact, those who have tried to answer it, in the recent debate in the House of Commons on the Women's Suffrage Bill, have actually shifted that old basis of democracy. Mr. F. E. Smith did not hesitate to say that "Votes were to the sword exactly what bank-notes were to gold—the one was effective only because the other was believed to be behind it." In other words, the old principle of no representation no taxation, has been substituted to-day by the new principle enunciated here by Mr. Smith, namely, no sword, no votes. And whether the women succeed or they fail, this new principle offers an ample justification to all the militant methods of the Suffragists.

But modern European democracy will have to grant the franchise to woman sooner or later. They cannot refuse it without altering the very fundamental basis upon which it has built itself up. The basis of our democracy is the doctrine or dogma of rights. Indeed, the whole of our modern civilisation is built upon this dogma. Ever since the Lutheran protest, Christendom has been engaged in securing its rights. We started with claiming our right of private judgment in matters of faith. It was the charter of our intellectual freedom. To this we owe all our marvellous achievements in scientific research. From religion we gradually commenced to apply this dogma to politics, and called those forces into being which broke out with such fury in the French Revolution. And for the last hundred years and more we have been carrying on this same struggle, now in one department of life and now in another; and we are still very far, indeed, from the end of it. In economics and industry, labour is asserting its rights against capital. In society, the masses are asserting their rights against the classes. In politics and administration, the ruled are asserting their rights against the rulers, and the woman against men. Even the peace and harmony of family life has been attacked by this dogma; and the wife is claiming her right against the husband, and even the rights of children are not infrequently sought to be enforced against their parents. And the inevitable result of it all is a general disruption of all the old social and moral bonds that at one time contributed to the peace and progress of Society.

Working out our Karma.

In and through all this, however, Europe is only working out her own accumulated Karma. The finer spirits among us, whether of men or women, do not like this struggle. But they cannot avoid it. To try to avoid it would mean, in the present state of our society, decadence and death. For Europe, this struggle is the fulfilment of the very law of life and progress. Our way lies through this desert. The old basis of society was everywhere status. But though the rule of status secured, at an early stage of social evolution, the stability of the social order, and thereby made social progress possible; after a certain point it became a positive hindrance to that progress itself. Status secured peace, but sacrificed personality. It reduced the human individual to a mere part and limb of the social organism, and denied thus to man as man and woman as woman, an end unto themselves. It stamped out what may be called the dynamic element of social evolution, and brought on a state of more or less social stagnation. Status was the earliest formula of association between individual members of society. But in social evolution we require fresh formulas and principles of association at every progressive stage. The formula or principle of one stage cannot meet the needs of another, a later and a higher stage. The protest against this old formula of status, thus became necessary. The individual had to

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be freed from the trammels of Society and set upon the basis of his own personality. The formula of status thus was replaced by that of right. *From* status *to* right, this has been the course of social and ethical evolution here in Europe.

Right, however, offers really no social synthesis. It is the word of an antithesis. It is the cry of a protest. It is a formula, not of association, but of separation and isolation. It is a principle of differentiation and not of integration. Both differentiation and integration are necessary processes of organic evolution. Social evolution is equally subject to these processes. Thus every differentiation must be followed by a fresh integration in which the evolutionary process is completed. No differentiation can be an end unto itself. It must work up for its own annihilation in a higher integration. The doctrine of right has not yet done so, and therefore, it has given rise to all this strife and unrest in European society. Right must be succeeded and supplanted by duty. For, *from* status, *through* right, *to* duty, this is really the full schema of social and ethical progress, as it has been revealing itself in European history and experience. In India, among the Hindus, I know, society advanced directly *from* status *to* duty, without the intervening protest of right. But the course of social evolution has been different among the European races. Here, so far, we have advanced from status to right, the conception of duty has yet to supercede this dogma of right. Until that is done, all our present conflicts must continue.

E. WILLIS.

INDIAN SHIPPING IN THE TIME OF AKBAR*

DURING the period of Moghal Monarchy when the political unity of India was nearly attained after the lapse of centuries, an imperial naval establishment was founded and efficiently maintained epecially in Bengal, the home of Indian ship-building.

Previous to Akbar, we have hardly any record of Indian naval activity except perhaps the two exploits of Babar, the one in 1528 A.D. when Babar fought a naval battle on the Ganges near Kanouj in which he seized about 30 or 40 of the enemy's boats and the other achieved on the Gogra on which the army of Kharid collected 100-150 vessels and gave Babar battle.

The Government of India under Akbar, however, as might be naturally expected, gave a great impetus to Indian shipping, and ship-building, specially in Bengal. The main source of our information is of course the *Ayeen-i Akbari*, that well-known storehouse of animate details regarding the life and work of Akbar the Great. According to Abul Fazl, there were framed elaborate regulations for the organisation of the naval department or admiralty, the 'office of *Meer Behry*' as it was called. These regulations will be found to be remarkably akin to, and in some respects will be even thought to have been anticipated by, the regulations governing Chandragupta's Admiralty about 1900 years earlier, which have been, as we have already seen, preserved for us in that monumental Sanskrit work, the Arthashastra of Kautilya.

Akbar's Admiralty had, broadly speaking, *four functions* to perform. The *first* was to see to the *supply of ships and boats* for the purpose of navigation, and supervise their building. Vessels were built of various sizes and for various purposes. There were those built for the transportation of elephants, and those of such construction as to be employed in sieges, while others were meant for the conveyance of merchandise. There were also ships which served for convenient habitations. The

* This is a chapter from the writer's monograph, "**Indian Shipping**: *a history of the maritime activity of the Indians from the earliest times*", which has been just sent to the press.—Ed. *M.R.*

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Emperor had also pleasure-boats built with convenient apartments, and others on which there were floating markets and flower-gardens. Every part of Akbar's empire abounded in ships, but the chief centres of ship-building were Bengal, Cashmeer, and Tata. In Allahabad and Lahore also were constructed ships of a size suitable for sea-voyages. Along the coasts of the ocean in the west, east, and south of India also large ships were built which were suitable for voyages.

The *second* duty of Akbar's Admiralty was regarding the *supply of men*, of efficient mariners who knew the nature of tides, the depths of channels, the coasts to be avoided, and the character of the prevailing winds. Every ship required officers and men of the following titles and descriptions:—(1) The *Nakhoda*, or commander of the vessel who directed the course of the ship; (2) the *Maullim* (the mate) who knew the soundings, the situation of the stars, and guided the ship safe to her destination; (3) the *Tundeil* who was the chief of the Khelasses or sailors; (4) the *Nakhoda Khesheb* whose duty was to provide fuel for the people and assist in lading and unlading the ship; (5) the *Sirheng* who had to superintend the docking and launching of the ship; (6) the *Bhandaree* who had charge of the ship's stores; (7) the *Keranee*, or ship's clerk, who kept the accounts and also served out water to the people; (8) the *Sukangeer* or helmsman of whom there were sometimes 20 in a ship; (9) the *Punjree* whose duty was to look out from the top of the mast and give notice when he saw land or a ship or discovered a storm rising or any other object worth observing; (10) the *Goomtee* or those particular khelasses who threw the water out of the ship; (11) the gunners, who differed in number according to the size of the ship; (12) the *Kherwah* or common seamen who were employed in setting and furling the sails and in stopping leaks and, in case of the anchor sticking fast in the ground they had to go to the bottom of the water to set it free.

The *third* task of the Admiralty was 'to watch the rivers' for which an active resolute man was appointed who settled everything relative to the ferries, regulated the tonnage, and provided travellers with boats at the shortest notice. Those who were not able to pay at the ferries were passed over *gratis* but no one was permitted to swim across a river. It was also the duty of this officer to hinder boats from travelling in the night except in cases of necessity. Nor was he to allow goods to be landed anywhere except at the public wharfs. Altogether the function of this officer very nearly corresponds to those of Chandragupta's नावध्यक्ष or Superintendent of Ships.

The *fourth* duty of the Admiralty was in regard to the imposition, realisation and remission of duties. Akbar is said to have remitted duties equal to the revenues of a kingdom. Nothing was exacted upon exports and imports excepting a trifle taken at the posts which never exceeded $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and was regarded by merchants as a perfect remission.*

The Ayeen-i-Akbari also gives some details regarding the *river tolls* in Akbar's time. For every boat was charged Re. 1 per *kos* at the rate of 1000 *mans* provided the boat and the men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is Re. 1 for every $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Kos*. At ferry places an elephant has to pay 10*d* for crossing; a laden cart, 4*d*; a cart empty, 2*d*.; a laden camel, 1*d*; empty camels, horses, cattle with their things, $\frac{1}{2}d$; cattle empty, $\frac{1}{4}d$; other beasts of burden pay $\frac{1}{16}d$. which includes the toll due by the driver, 20 people pay 1*d*. for crossing; but they are often taken *gratis*.†

As regards details relating to the development of shipping in Bengal, we have to refer to the abstract of *Ausil Toamar Jumma*‡ (original established revenue) of Bengal as settled in behalf of the Mogul Emperor, Akbar, about the year 1582, by Raja Todar Mall, in which we find specific assignments for naval establishment. Some *parganas* were definitely assigned for maintaining the Imperial Nowwara (=flotilla). Under the head of Omleh Nowareh, we have mention of a naval establishment consisting, at the time

* *Ayeen-i-Akbari*, Gladwin's Translation, pp. 193ff.

† Blochmann's translation.

‡ See *Grant's Analysis* of the Finances of Bengal in the *Fifth Report of the Select Committee* on the affairs of the East India Company, Vol. 1, pp. 245, 246, 270; and Taylor's *Topography of Dacca*, p. 194.

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it was established by Akbar, of 3,000 vessels or boats but it was afterwards reduced to 768 armed cruisers and boats besides the number of vessels required to be furnished by the Zamindars in return for the lands they held as jaigeer. The whole expense of manning the fleet, including the wages of 923 Fringuan or Potuguese sailors, was estimated monthly at Rs. 29,282 which with constructing new vessels aud repairing the old ammounted annually to Rs. 8,43,452. The fleet was principally stationed at Dacca as its head quarters from which was performed its functions of guarding the coast of Bengal against the then very frequent incursions of the Moggs and other foreign pirates or invaders. Under the royal jurisdiction of ihe Nowwara or Admirality of Dacca was placed the whole coast from Mundelgaut (near the confluence of the Damodar and Rup Narain) to the Bundar of Balesore which was also liable to the invasion of the Moggs. In fact, the ordinary established rental of the whole country was then almost entirely absorbed in jaigeers and protecting the sea-coasts from the ravages of the Moggs or Arrakanese, aided by the Portuguese, who inhabited the port of Chatgaon, and who in the hope of benefiting through their commerce had also been allowed to make a settlement at Hugli. The jaigeers that were assigned to the Dacca District for the support of these military establishments of the country were computed to comprise nearly one-third of its extent. The Nowwara jaigeer, which was the principal assignment in the district, included the best lands of the Neabat and was sub-divided into numbers of small Taluks which were granted to the boatmen and artificers of the fleet.* Besides the Pergunnahs assigned for the support of the Nowwara, a fruitful source of revenue for the support of naval establishment was derived from the *Mheer Baree*, which was a tax on the building of boats varying from 8 As. to Rs. 1-4as., according to the size of the vessels. It was levied upon all boats arriving at or leaving the naval head quarters whose crew were not residents of the district. "A boat proceeding to Moorshidabad was charged at the rate of 8 as. per oar; to Calcutta 10 as.; and to Benares Rs. 1. 8 as.—while boats arriving from these places were taxed at the rate of one, two, and four rupees per boat. The Mehal was originally confined to the city but it afterwards extended to the country, where it was exacted by the Zemindars and farmers from every boat that passed their estates. It was considered useful in leading to the detection of dacoits, as a registry of the boats, manjees, and boatmen belonging to the district was kept by the Zemindars.*

As already pointed out, the naval establishment at Dacca was necessitated by the depredations of the Arrakan pirates, both Mogg and Feringi, who used constantly to come by the water-route and plunder Bengal. "They carried off the Hindus and Moslems,...threw them one above another under the deck of their ships...and sold them to the Dutch, English and French merchants at the ports of the Deccan. Sometimes they brought the captives for sale at a high price to Tamluk and the port of Balasore, which is a part of the Imperial dominions."† With regard to their power it is said that "their cannons are beyond numbering, their flotilla exceeds the waves of the sea."‡ Their ships were so strongly made of timber with a hard core that "cannons could not pierce them."§ They were such a terror to the Bengal navy that "whenever 100 war-ships of Bengal sighted 4 ships of the enemy, if the distance separating them was great the Bengal crew showed fight by flight."‖

The materials for the building of the royal Nowwara came from Sylhet which was then of great importance from its natural growth of ship-timbers which could be built into vessels of different sizes.¶ The shipyards for the Mogg and Feringi fleets were towards the South at Sundeep, a part of the kingdom of Arrakan. The Venetian traveller Cesare di Fedrici, writing about

* *Topography and Statistics of Dacca* by Taylor (printed by order of Government, 1840).

* Taylor's *Topography of Dacca*, pp. 198, 199.

† From the contemporary Persian account of Shihabuddin Talish in MS. Bodleian 589, Sachan and Ethe's Catalogue, entry 240, translated by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in the J. A. S. B. for June, 1907.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

‖ *Ibid.*

¶ *Fifth Report of the Select Committee*, Vol. pp. 444-5

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the year 1565, states "that 200 ships were laden yearly with salt and that such was the abundance of materials for ship-building in this part of the country that Sultan of Constantinople found it cheaper to have his vessels built here than at Alexandria. *

There was quite a large variety of vessels built and stationed at Dacca. Besides the 768 war-boats making up the Nowwara, there were State-barges for the use of Viceroys and two vessels magnificently fitted up had annually to be despatched to the Emperor at Agra, though afterwards when the Mogul Government declined in vigour and the Nawabs of Bengal became virtually independent these state-boats, though avowedly sent for the use of His Majesty, never reached higher than Murshedabad. The State barges were distinguished by different names according to the figures on their prows as "Mohr-punkee" from that of a peacock, "Muggur-chera," of an alligator, etc. Boating was then a general and favourite pastime with the rich as it was with the Nawabs.†

Besides Bengal, the province of Sind also was a great centre of Indian shipping. Abul Fazl informs us that in the Circar of Thatta alone there could be found 40,000 vessels ready for hire.‡ Lahori Bandar in those days was an important sea-port on the Indus and the following account of the Labour regulations in force there given by Tarikh-i-Tahiri is very interesting: "Between the town of Thatta and Lahori Bandar is a distance of two day's journey both by land and by water; beyond this it is another day's march to the sea. There is a small channel (called *nar* in the language of Thatta) communicating with the port which is unfordable. Between the port and the ocean there is but one inhabited spot, called Suimiani. Here a guard belonging to the Mir Bandar, or port master, with a loaded piece of ordnance, is always stationed. Whenever a ship enters the creek, it intimates its approach by firing a gun, which is responded to by the guard-house, in order, by that signal, to inform the people at the port, of the arrival of a strange vessel. These, again, instantly send word of its arrival to the merchants of Thatta, and then embarking on boats, repair to the place where the guard is posted. Ere they reach it, those on the look-out have already inquired into the nature of the ship. Every vessel and trader must undergo this questioning. All concerned in the business now go in their boats (ghrabs) to the mouth of the creek. If the ship belong to the port it is allowed to move up and anchor under Lahori Bandar; if it belong to some other part, it can go no farther, its cargo is transferred into boats, and forwarded to the city.*"

We may now refer to some of the naval engagements of Akbar's reign. In 1580 Raja Todar Mall who had been directed to fit out 1,000 boats (kishti) and *ghrabs*, at Agra, was sent by the Emperor to settle the revenues of Gujrat.† In 1590, Akbar sent Khan-i-Khanan against Mirza Jani Beg of Thatta, who pretended to independence, whereupon the Mirza sent 120 armed *ghrabs* and 200 boats against him. In each of these *ghrabs* there were carpenters for quickly repairing the damages that might be caused by guns. Some of Jani Beg's *ghrabs* were manned by Feringhi soldiers. Jani Beg eventually was defeated, fled and was pursued till he offered terms giving up to the Imperial General 30 *ghrabs* among other things.‡ In 1574, Akbar opened his long continued campaign against Behar and Bengal and sent the Khan Khanan Munim Khan with the imperial forces against Daud, who was putting up near Patna and Hajipur. The Emperor determined to personally direct the operations and embarked in a huge fleet, carrying "all his equipments and establishments, armour, drums, treasure, carpets, kitchen utensils, stud, etc., etc. Two large boats were specially prepared for his own accomodation." When he reached Patna by boat, he gave orders for the reduction of the fort of Hajipur and "Khan Alam was sent off with 3,000 men in boats with the materials required for a siege." After the fall of Hajipur, Daud fled in a boat, and Patna fell into the hands of the Emperor who appointed Khan Khanan to

* Taylor's *Topography* of Dacca.
† Taylor's *Topography of Dacca*, pp. 268.
‡ "The means of locomation is by boat of which there are many kinds, large and smaller, to the number of 40,000." Jarret's Translation of the *Ayeen-i-Akbari*, Vol II, p. 338.

* Elliot, vol. I, p. 227.
† Elliot, Vol. III, p. 370.
‡ Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 247—52, *Tarikh-i-Masuyi*.

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the government of Bengal giving him all the boats which he had brought down from Agra with a large army. But Bengal was not easily pacified. The Moghul Jaigirdars in Bengal and Behar attempted to defy Akbar's authority. The Afghans also availed themselves of this opportunity, took up arms and made themselves master of Orissa and part of Bengal. Finding that the Afghan and Moghul officers were defiant Akbar appointed Hindu governors of Bengal of whom Todar Mall was the first. The second was Raja Man Singha of Jaipur, who ruled Bengal from 1589—1604.

It was during Man Singha's Viceroyalty that we find a remarkable outburst of naval activity in Eastern Bengal and proofs of a naval organisation, that was being slowly and silently built up by the efforts of some of the independent Hindu landlords of Bengal, while the Mogul Government was busy establishing the *Nowwarah* at Dacca. The chief centres of this Hindu naval activity were Sripur, Bakla or Chandradwipa in the south-east of the modern district of Backergunj and Chandikan, which is identified with the Saugor island. The Lord of Sripura was Kedar Roy who was quite a naval genius but hardly sufficiently known. He had many men-of-war kept always in readiness in his ship-yards and naval stations. In 1602 he recovered the island of Sandwipa from the Moguls and placed its Government in the hands of the Portuguese under Carvalius. This, however, roused the jealousy and alarm of the King of Arracan who forthwith despatched 150 vessels of war, large and small, to conquer Sandwipa. Kedar Roy, equal to the occasion, at once sent 100 vessels of war in aid of his allies. In the battle that was fought, the allies of Kedar Roy came off victorious, and they captured 149 of the enemy's vessels. The King of Arracan fared equally worse in his second attempt against Kedar Roy's allies, although he despatched so many as 1000 war-vessels against them. But Kedar Roy had to face a more powerful enemy in another direction about the same time. For Raja Man Singh, the then Viceroy of Bengal, was convinced of the necessity of extinguishing the power and independence of Kedar Roy and sent Manda Roy with 100 war-vessels for the purpose. But in the battle that was fought Manda Roy was slain. This however only incited Man Singh to make a second and far stronger attempt to subdue Kedar Roy in A.D. 1604. Kedar Roy, equipped with full 500 men-of-war,* first took the offensive, besieged the Moghul General Kilmak at Srinagara, but was eventually himself taken prisoner after a furious cannonade. He was brought before Man Singh, but he soon died of his wounds.

Bakla also was another important centre of naval strength in Bengal under the famous landlord Ram Chandra Roy. His escape with his life from the clutches of Protapaditya of Jessore in a boat furnished with guns and propelled by 64 oarsmen is a well-known fact.† The reputation of Ram Chandra as a hero was fully maintained by his son and successor Kirtinarayan, who was equally skilful in naval warfare and succeeded in ousting the Feringhis from their settlements near the mouths of the Meghna. His alliance was courted even by the Nawab of Dacca.

But by far the most important seat of Hindu maritime power of the times in Bengal was that established at Chandikan or Saugor Island by the constructive genius of Protapaditya, the redoubtable ruler of Jessore. Number of men-of-war was always found to be kept ready for battle and in a sea-worthy condition at this naval station. There were also three other places where Protap built his shipyards and dockyards: these were Dudhalia, Tahajaghata and Chakasri, where his ships were built, repaired and kept.

But the maritime activity of Bengal in this period found its scope not only in war but also in the gentler arts of peace. Foreign writers and travellers who visited Bengal in the sixteenth century speak in high terms of the wealth flowing from her brisk sea-borne trade and the greatness and magnificence of some of her ports. Purchas describes Bengal as "plentiful in rice, wheat, sugar, ginger, long-pepper, cotton,

* *Takmilla-i-Akbarnama* in Elliot, Vol. VI, p. [illegible]

† *Cf.* the following passage from the *Ghatakarika*, the Sanskrit chronicle of the period:—

चतुःषष्टिदण्डयुक्ता नौरानीता महामतिः।
नालीकैः सज्जिता खैरं सैन्याद्यैरभिरक्षिता॥

For information regarding Bengali maritime activity of this period I am indebted to Srijukta N[illegible] Nath Sen's useful work on *Protapaditya in Bengal*.

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and silk, and enjoying also a very wholesome air." Varthema (1503—1508) says of Bengal: "This country abounds more in grain, flesh of every kind, in great quantity of sugar, also of ginger, and of abundance of cotton than any country in the world". Ralph Fitch, probably the first English traveller to Bengal (1586), mentions some of the ports and marts of Bengal. One of these was *Tanda*, where there was "great trade and traffic of cotton and cloth." Another was *Bacla* which "is very great and plentiful, and hath store of rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of silk". The third was *Sripur* with its "great store of cotton cloth". Of the fourth *viz.*, *Sonargaon*, he says: "Here is best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. Great store of cotton cloth goeth from hence, and much rice, wherewith they serve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra and many other places". *Satgaon* was another great emporium of Bengal for foreign commerce and is thus described by Fitch: "Satgam is a fair city for a city of the Moors and very plentiful of all things. Here in Bengal they have every day in one place or other a great market which they call 'Chandeun' and they have many great boats which they call pencose, wherewithal they go from place to place and buy rice and many other things; these boats have 24 or 26 oars to row them, they be of great burthen"...Bengal was also noted for her salt-trade, the centre of which was Sandwipa whence "300 ships are yearly laden with salt."

But perhaps the most important commercial centre of Bengal in this period was the city of *Gour*, the history of which may be traced as far back as the days of the Pala and Sena Kings. As the place was surrounded on all sides by rivers it naturally gave a great impetus to boat-building and maritime activity, of which the first proofs we get in the time of the Pala Kings. In the Khalimpur copper-plate inscription of Dharmapala Deva, there is a reference to bridges* of boats built for the transport of armies, and also to an officer called *Tarik* who was the general superintendent of boats. In some of the copper-plate inscriptions of the Sena Kings also, there is mention of naval force as an element of their military organisation.* Under the Musulman Kings of Bengal, Gour continued to grow in prosperity and importance. We have already seen how in the fifteenth century ambassadors from China to Bengal and from Bengal to China used to carry presents as tokens of mutual friendship between the sovereigns of both the countries. In the sixteenth century under the rule of the Husain Shah dynasty, the city attained its greatest splendour. Husain Shah (1498-1520 A. D.) himself maintained a powerful fleet with which he once invaded Assam.† In Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal‡ there is a story related about one Shaik Bhik of Gour, a cloth merchant, who once "set sail for Russia with three ships laden with silk cloths, but two of his ships were wrecked somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf." Accounts of the magnificence of the city are given by foreign travellers who visited Bengal about this time. Varthema (1503—1508) mentions how from "the city of Banghella" (Gour) sail every year "50 ships laden with cotton and silk stuffs." De Banos gives the following description of the city based on the accounts of Portuguese travellers who visited it in the reign of Mahmud III. (1532—1538 A. D.)—"The chief city of the kingdom is called Gouro. It is said to be three of our leagues in length and contain 200,000 inhabitants. The streets are so thronged with the concourse and traffic of people that they cannot force their way past. A great parr of the houses of this city are stately and well-wrought buildings." Mannel de Faria of Souza§ wrote: "The principal city Gouro steated on the bank of the Ganges, three leagues in length, containing one million and two

* स खलु भागीरथीपथप्रवर्त्तमान नानाबिध बौवाटक-सम्पादित सेतुवन्ध निहित शैलशिखरश्रेणी विभ्रमात् *i.e.* 'Now from his royal camp of victory, pitched at Pataliputra where the manifold fleets of boats proceeding on the path of the Bhagirathi make it seem as if a series of mountain-tops had been sunk to build another causeway...' (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, 1896-97, p. 249).

* नौवलहस्त्यश्व गोमहिष.....

† Blockman's *Koch Behar and Assam* in the J.A. S. B. 1872, Pt. 1, No. 1.

‡ Vol. VII, p. 95.

§ *Portuguese Assia*, Stevens, Vol. I. Chap. IX, pp. 41-50.

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hundred thousand families, and well-fortified; along the streets which are wide and straight, rows of trees too shade the people, which sometimes in such numbers that some are trod to death." Besides these foreign notices of the prosperity of Gour we have also some native accounts still extant. We have already made extracts from the account contained in Kavikankan-Chandi of the adventures of the merchant Dhanapati who lived many years in Gour and of his son Srimanta who sailed in quest of his father to Sinhala in ships of 100 yards length and 20 yards breadth with prows shaped like Makara, or the head of an elephant or a lion. In one of the old folk-songs of *Gambhira** belonging to Malda district there is an interesting reference to another merchant of the name of Dhanapaty who sailed from Delhi to Gour in ships that occupied so much of the river that there was scarcely any room left for bathing or taking water.† According to Malda local tradition preserved in some old Bengali MSS., there were several Arab merchants who settled in Gour for purposes of commerce. One of the MSS. gives a glowing description, through the mouth of Chamban Ali, merchant from Bagdad, of the port of Gou as seen from the opposite side of the riv and of the innumerable ships and boa testifying to the vastness of its maritim trade. Some light is thrown on the growt of the ship-building industry of Gour by a old Bengali MS., a poem, called Mana Mangal by Jagajjiban. The mercha Chand Saodagar summons to his presen the master craftsman named Kusai, an orders him to build for him fourteen boats once. Forthwith goes Kusai with h many apprentices to the forest where h fells down all kinds of trees for materials build the various parts of boats with. The were soon hewed out three or four lacs planks which were afterwards joined togeth by means of iron nails*. It is also a sign ficant fact that some very old masts ships have been unearthed in some of t villages in the neighbourhood of Pand through which the Mahananda once flowed

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.

* For an account of these folk-songs, see an article in the *Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. XVI, Nos. 1, 2, from the pen of Sj. Hari Dass Palit of the Dharampur National School, Malda, who has devoted himself to the study of the antiquities of Gour.

† गौड़ किनारा ह्याय भागीरथी नदी,
जाहाज से कानिया हाय धनपति।
सव् घाट वन्ध किया जाहाज वोहारानें,
नाहि आदमि पावे पानि भरनें।

* साल पियाल काटि खरि तेतलि।
काटिल निम्वेर गाछ गाम्भारि पारलि॥
आम्र काठाल काटि काटये वकुल।
चम्पा खिरनि काटि करिल निर्म्मूल॥
* * * * *
चिरिया करिल फालि लच्च तिन चारि।

† On enquiry I have ascertained the measurement of some of these masts. One of them was 30-32 ft. long and 9-12 ft. broad. Another was 30-32 ft. long and 6 ft. broad.

THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE*

"Amid the turmoil of modern life, co-operation stands as pledge of concord and peace both in the field of economics and mortas, uniting the efforts which aim at mutuality without any pre-conceived notions in favour of special interests or individual aims. Co-operation is a school of social redemption." —*Signor Morpurgo.*

"I have always wished, once at any rate, to be face to face with the citizens of that State within a State which is called the Co-operative Movement."—*Lord Rosebery.*

* Report of the Proceedings at the Seventh Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance held at Cremona (P. S. King and Son, London).

CO-OPERATION has been defined b one of its leading apostles as a n *force of industry* 'whose inspiration fraterntry, whose method is economy, whos principle is equity.' This new force ha crystallised itself in the form of a movemen which has spread in almost ever part of the civilized world, and it is the fitness of things that those who a associated with it should, irrespective political opinions or religious beliefs, a inspired by the genuine spirit of comra

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ship and solidarity, meet periodically on a common platform to compare notes and come at a common understanding on several questions of policy and principle which affect the movement. The International Co-operative Alliance offers such a ground for all isolated workers, and its inception marks—to quote the words of Signor Ferrari —'a step forward on the road towards universal peace, a lofty and distant goal, but one which humanity will one day reach.' Under the auspices of the Alliance, Periodical Congresses are held in different parts of Europe. The *Proceedings* of the Congresses are valuable documents, and contain, among other things, a considerable number of authoritative reports and papers on the various phases of co-operative activity.

The Report before us relates to the Seventh Congress held at Cremona, in Italy, —which has perhaps one of the most perfect People's Banks in the world—under the presidency of Signor Luzzatti, the Italian Minister of State. No fewer than 297 societies in membership with the Alliance had sent 177 delegates from 15 different countries, and in addition to these there were 930 members of the Congress. There were also several distinguished guests representing the British, Belgian, Hungarian, Swedish, Russian, Italian and Bulgarian Governments. The total attendance amounted to over a thousand. The Mayor of Cremona welcomed the delegates in a felicitous speech, and reminded them that they were assembled 'no longer exclusively in the interests of abstract science or art, but on the solid ground of economic facts, ...all united in a common and fruitful effort towards the realisation of concrete results.' In his Opening Address, which was delivered in Italian, 'that tongue on which Dante, its Father, set the stamp of love and brotherhood,' Signor Luzzatti paid a handsome tribute to the Rochdale Pioneers, to the German and French co-operators 'who bore the brunt of the first fights', and to all those who have brought about 'this Co-operative Fatherland, which is the fatherland of toiling and suffering humanity.' He took a brief survey of the movement and pointed out that its progress was not to be measured merely by its extent,—which was indeed considerable, but by the particular features which the several countries had contributed. "The English contributed their special note by obtaining from the Co-operative Stores all the various advantages of mutuality, the Germans sought them by the association of the propertyless who clubbed together their poor savings, so as to afford each other credit, and free themselves from usury, and they thus built up the imposing edifice of credit co-operation in whose shelter the tired regions of humanity may rest; the French who introduced into co-operation the magic words 'Liberty Equality, Fraternity,' at once wished to seize on the ideal and distinguished themselves from the outset by those co-operative associations for production, whose aim is to emancipate labour and to subordinate capital to it." While talking of the larger countries, he did not lose sight of the smaller ones which occupy but little space on the map; these, he said, claimed a large place 'in the moral geography of co-operation'. He looked upon Denmark, in the field of agricultural co-operation, as a laboratory in which social experiments were made for the benefit of the whole human family. Speaking on behalf of his own countrymen, he said they had, true to the teachings of their great national patriot (Mazzini), brought their modest contribution to the efforts in favour of the emancipation of the poor.

By far the most interesting portion of the Report is that dealing with the National Organisation of Agriculture. The place of honour is rightly given to a paper by Mr. Wolff, the most ardent advocate of the co-operative movement in England, whose standard works on the subject are well known. After briefly describing the different stages by which they had advanced in the United Kingdom, Mr. Wolff took the opportunity to refute certain misstatements by his 'good friend' Herr Haas, about the work of the Alliance. A complaint not infrequently made is that the Alliance had failed in the attempt to unite co-operators, including the agricultural, in a common organisation. Mr. Wolff pointed out that the plan they had all along adopted was to bring distributive co-operation, the most natural ally of co-operative credit societies,

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to the humble dwellers in agricultural districts. The paper concludes with the following powerful plea:

"Do not let us vivisect co-operation, which was intended as a composite organism, by lopping off limbs which cannot live by themselves. Do not, specifically, let us cut agricultural Co-operation in two, as Herr Haas' policy necessarily must do, by separating that of the millions of small people, who *must* have co-operative distribution, from that of the thousands of squires, who affect to despise it. Co-operation is not a method but a principle, it was intended for the good, not of a calling or a class but of mankind. It is the life-blood to working-man life, the nerve system which enters into every limb and helps in every action. It can benefit those who need help in every aspect of their life and work, and from no point or aspect should its help be excluded. Agriculture, distribution, production, banking, insurance, the medical care of its members, it is all one, Co-operation should extend through them all, and—as we try to make it in our Alliance, which is genuinely international—it should spread out so as to embrace not a few selected countries, but the whole world."

The second paper relates to the National Organisation of Agricultural Co-operation in Denmark, and is written by H. E. Svend Hogsbro, Danish Minister of Public Works, formerly Honorary Secretary of the Danish Co-operative Central Committee. I have elsewhere* described at some length the recent agricultural revival in Denmark, and need only refer here to the essential principles upon which Danish Co-operation is built up. These are very succinctly explained in Mr. Hogsbro's paper, and are summarised below:—

1. In the supply societies, profits are invariably divided in proportion to the value of the purchases made; in the productive societies in proportion to the goods delivered.

2. The Societies have come into existence purely by voluntary association among persons who felt that they stood in need of a Co-operative Society.

3. In the matter of rules regulating members' liability for engagement contracted by the society, there is a broad line of demarcation between large unions on the one hand, and small societies or district unions on the other. In the latter, the principle of joint liability is observed, but there are differences in the manner in which the principle is constituted. There is what is called 'subsidiary'* liability which is, as a rule, adopted by Co-operative dairies; the distributive societies adopting the principle of 'unlimited' liability. In the case of large Unions, the principle of joint liability is not observed, and the members do not make themseves liable beyond their own paid up shares.

4. The relations subsisting between a society and each of its members are in most societies, and up to certain point in all, of a purely voluntary character, there being no compulsion of any kind excepting that a member cannot on going out at the same time also shake off liability for engagements already incurred up to that moment.

5. No Co-operative society is allowed to draw its own narrow bounds of membership. It must not exclude any one, but must be open to all who desire and who comply with certain conditions to become members.

It is the adoption of these sound principles which has imparted to Danish Co-operation its peculiar force and power. Denmark is now able to show to the world that 'co-operation is the salvation of the agricultural proletariat,† and no better testimony to this is needed than the recent application of General Botha to the Danish Minister of Agriculture for the deputation of a Danish Co-operator to teach the people in the Transvaal the principles upon which the Danish movement is based. The Danes would never have arrived to the conception of such lofty principles but for the Peasants' High Schools which, as Mr. Hogsbro observes, 'are altogether peculiar to our country and founded upon a profoundly religious idea, to prepare rural population systematically for this kind of ideas and to make those ideas ripen within them so as to bear fruit.'

The salient and most characteristic features of the Italian system of co-operative agricultural organisation are dealt with in a paper prepared by Dr. Raineri, Chair-

* See *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad) for December, 1909.

* In this form of liability, the creditor, in case he wishes to proceed against a society, is not at liberty in the first instance to proceed against any one member except in respect of his own proportionate share in the common liability. Should the creditor fail to recover his proper share from one of them, he is free to recover from the other sureties until he is paid.

† Signor Luzzatti.

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man of the Italian Federation of Agricultural Co-operative Societies, with the collaboration of Dr. M. Casalini, Editor of *Italia Agricola*. It is observed that Italian Co-operators have paid particular attention to the collective purchase of agricultural requisites, and prominence is given in the paper to the Co-operative associations for the manufacture of chemical manures; there are 10 co-operative factories for the purpose, some of which have already been working for several years. The paper modestly concludes with the statement that Co-operation in Italy

"has not yet attained that degree of importance which would entitle it to place itself on a footing of equality with the agricultural co-operation of other countries. But men belonging to all parties, people of lofty intellect and correct judgment, hearts fired with enthusiasm, are labouring on behalf of agricultural co-operation; we are progressing rapidly, and the goal which agricultural co-operators have set themselves no longer seems as far off as it did a few years ago".

The progresss of agricultural co-operation in France formed the subject of a paper by M. de Fontgalland, who is the president of the largest group of syndicates in France, that at Lyons, which has 400 society members composed in all of over 100,000 agriculturists. He took the occasion to refute a widely prevalent, but mistaken, notion that the French movement was composed of the large landed proprietors. Though it originated with the landowners, he pointed out that, at the present day, more than 95 per cent. of the strength of the army of agricultural syndicates is recruited from the ranks of small farmers. The work of these syndicates, which have been copied in other countries, are described exhaustively by the Count de Rocquigny in his work *Les Syndicats Agricoles et leur œuvre*. The causes of the agricultural depression are discussed there at some length; these are mainly economical,* and deserve to be carefully studied by those who wish to copy or transplant the syndicates in other countries.

The progress of the movement in Russia and Belgium is described in the remaining papers read at the Congress; the other subjects dealt with relate to Wholesale Co-operation by Mr. Maxwell (the present Chairman of the Alliance), Women's Part in Co-operation, etc.: The Appendix contains statistics showing the development of the Wholesale Societies in various countries.

A subject in which there is great diversity of opinion amongst co-operators is the extent to which State-aid, as opposed to pure autonomous co-operation, is admissible. Mr. Wolff, the leader of the movement in England, is opposed on principle to financial help from Government, though for purposes of *teaching co-operation* he is 'willing to accept every penny that Parliament might vote.' A great deal has been said and written on both sides, and one needn't be too pedantic. While State-aid is subversive to one of the cardinal principles of Co-operation which is mutual self-help, in the initial stages of the movement help of this kind is not only necessary, but desirable. So far as Italy is concerned, the remarkable transformation which has been brought about in her agricultural and economic condition during the last 30 years is due less to State-aid than to individual initiative, and one of the most prominent figures in this work of regeneration,—one too who has devoted all his 'white-haired wisdom and youthful courage'—is Signor Luzzatti. His opinion on the subject will therefore be greatly valued, and it is hoped, will put an end to the vexatious controversy even among co-operators. He believes in the need of both the one and the other, as the capacities of the workers and *local conditions* may require.

"We look upon the single co-operator armed with his capacities multiplied by association, as the main strength of the social peace army marching in the vanguard to great battles and great victories, the State as the reserve force, which on certain occasions and in certain contingencies places itself in the front rank to win the battle. We think all the theories are good, but the best is that which saves the greatest number from the usury of money, the usury of rent, the usury of food; the best is that which most fully achieves the purpose of raising these people bowed to the ground, of uplifting their faces towards the radiant sun of liberty. That doctrine is the purest, even if it disobeys some of metaphysical laws of economic principle."

The motto which he would inscribe on

* See also article on "The present state of the Land system in France" by Dr. Jacques Dumas, Procureur de la Republique a Rethel (France) in the March, 1909 number of the *Economic Journal*.

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the banner of every co-operative association is 'Help yourselves, and God and the State, will help you.'

"Some bolder than I," said Luzzatti, "would eliminate God, others more anarchical than I, would eliminate the State, others again bolder and more anarchical at the same time would eliminate both God and the State, but even if we eliminate God, even if we eliminate the State, there still remains in tact and flawless, another motto 'Let us help one another,' for in such mutual aid lies the only path to salvation."

What then is *the* lesson which we in India can learn from the work of the movement abroad? It can be expressed in one word, *Organisation*, the value and full significance of which the farmers in the West have come to grasp. The importance of this for rural welfare cannot be gainsaid, for in modern economic conditions, it is an agency of the greatest power. We might perhaps quote a paragraph from the First Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, (which is frequently referred to by publicists as a country not dissimilar to India in many respects), which gives in a nutshell the moral and social aspects of this agency, which to be effective, must be developed by the people themselves.

"Organization is perhaps the most direct means of nourishing the self-reliance, and strengthening so to speak, the moral back-bone of the people; for, through mutual help, it renders the self-help of a community at once effective, and brings the intelligence of the most intelligent to assist in promoting the interests of the most backward individual who engages in the common effort. But not the least important aspect of organization for Ireland, where the isolation and dulness of rural life have something to do with the continuance of emigration, is its social side. Around every little society through which the people of a district have been successfully working out their industrial advancement and learning the powers which combination gives the simplest and most remote of communities, even in complicate business affairs, there is an inevitable tendency for combined efforts for other purposes to group themselves. In this way opportunities and means for educational improvement and social amenity are multiplied in places where such means and opportunities did not exist before; while the faculties of the people are expanded, their hopefulness is increased, and life at home on the countryside is rendered more attractive. The Department, relying as it does, for the ultimate improvement of the country mainly upon the developed character of the people, will encourage, so far as it may, organisation which is calculated to have such results".

Encouragement similar to that given by the Irish Department of Agriculture is also given by the Indian Government, and unless the spirit of self-help is amply developed by the people, the movement can never expect to take a firm root.

Secondly, we in India have the benefit of the experience gained by several countries which we can well profit by. To avoid the mistakes they fell into, it is necessary that we should carefully study the various systems which have been tried. A first hand knowledge can only be obtained by travel and observation, failing which reliable works of the kind before us are of very great help. Our next duty must be to see that the intelligence of the classes whom the movement is intended to benefit is quickened, and their education sufficiently advanced. The Agricultural Associations which have been formed in the various provinces can do immense good in this direction. They can promote the knowledge of the principles of co-operation in the locality and help in the organisation of societies.

Thirdly, it must be remembered that we in India are now experimenting with only one form of co-operation, that of banking, and unless we link to it other forms which are its necessary adjuncts, we shall not have improved the condition of the agriculturist. At the same time it is best to proceed slowly and cautiously, never looking only to a multiplication of the societies. First and foremost, the agriculturists as a body need to be taught to cultivate the spirit of mutual trust.

And lastly, it is perhaps not out of place to refer to a weakness in the present day public life of India—in a work of this kind it is best to cultivate the spirit of compromise which is essential to the success of any undertaking, be it social, political, or religious. The absence of the spirit of give and take is detrimental to the best interests of co-operative work. It is this spirit of compromise which animated the founders of the Co-operative movement in England. "Two of its founders were Vansittart Neale and Holyoake. The first was an English Conservative of the strictest kind, an Anglican who believed that only Anglicans would be admitted to the Kingdom of Heaven. Holyoake was a domocrat, almost a republican, as much so as an Englishman can be—and moreover a

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thinker. These two men who in Parliament would have voted against each other and who in a future life would not even have met—for the one would have excluded the other from his paradise, and the other did not believe in one—were successful and upright enough to build up the edifice of English co-operation in whose shade the tired regions of humanity now rest." It is this same spirit which guides the deliberations of the Co-operative Congress. Is it, therefore, to be wondered at that its President, Signor Luzzatti,—who by temperament is a robust optimist, even more so than 'our dear old' Walt Whitman—looks forward to a time when, as the inevitable outcome of this friendly contact between the different nations, co-operation will bring not only an exchange of views, but an exchange of international products, to an organization "in which each of us, while feeling himself a citizen of his own country shall also feel himself a citizen of a more perfect and advanced humanity; of a humanity freed as far as possible, from all the political, moral, and economic usuries which still afflict us; of a humanity in which equitable rewards proportionate to deserts, equitable payments,—equitable prices for which men sighed all through the Middle Ages and of which the Canon Law and St. Thomas of Aquinæ reasoned in vain, will come to us from the perfectly balanced scales of co-operation, which eliminate of themselves all usury, all waste and every force which asks payment for itself without having contributed its share of labour". This 'Parliament of man and the Federation of the world' for which Tennyson so ardently yearned, has been in *sæcula sæculorum* the dream of poets and the vision of prophets and if—in however small a measure it may be—the International Co-operative Alliance brings about this much-wished-for result, it may well congratulate itself on the noble work it is doing.

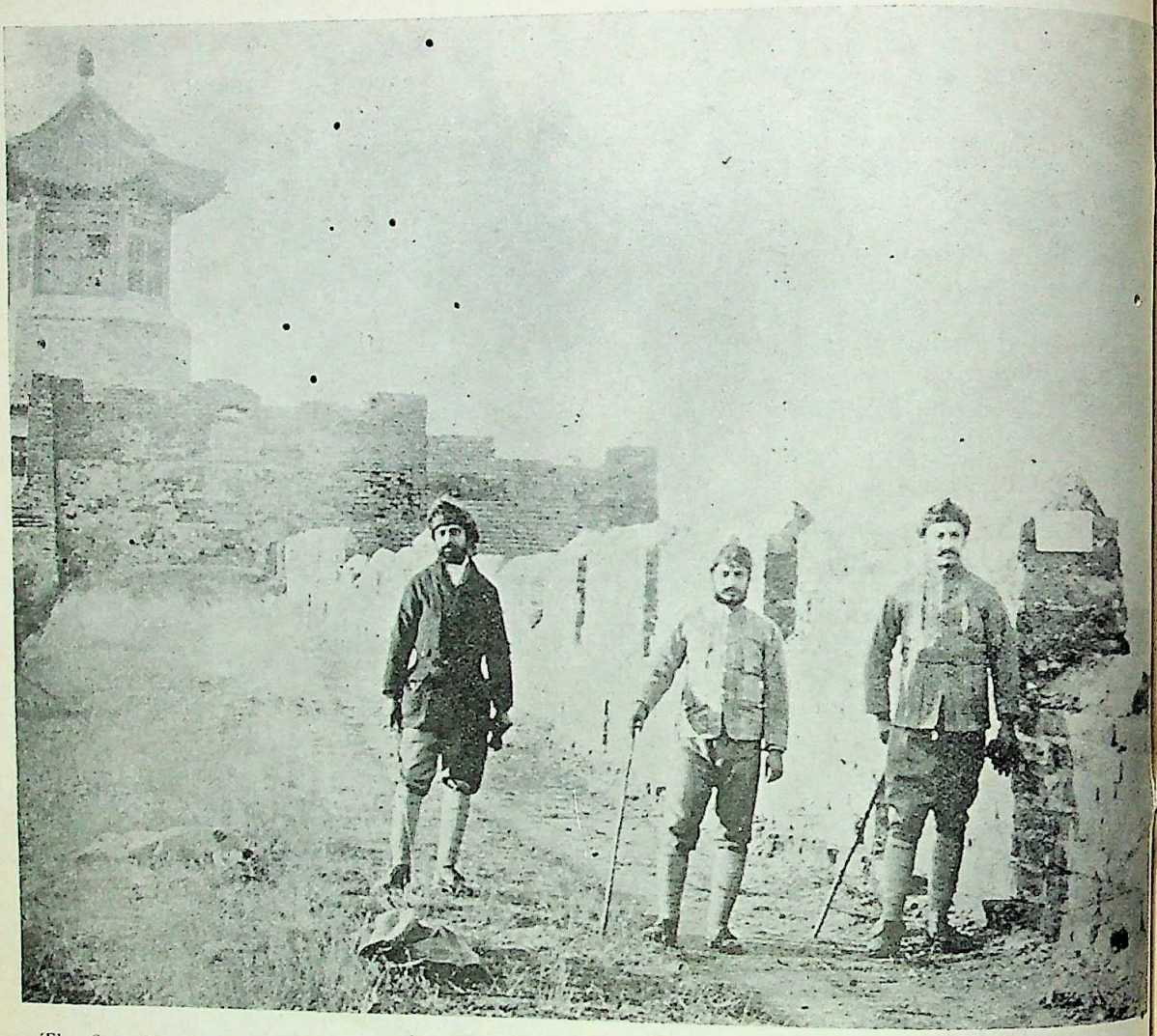
C. S. Raghunatha Rao.

CHINA AND ITS PEOPLE

MANY readers will be curious to know about Cathay or China, as it is commonly known. During my three years' stay in North China or Chili Province, the facts I have been able to gather, I shall lay before the readers of the Modern Review in a series of articles, if they have patience enough to go through them. In the month of August, 1900, I embarked for China with the troops from Kidderpore Dock in the Government chartered steamer, "Sunda" of Messrs. P. & O. S. N. Company. The voyage was to suppress the Boxer Rising which took place during that year. This sectarian rising ultimately took the form of a national rising and the Chinese stood against seven formidable powers of the world, which the readers of newspapers are fully acquainted with. It is unnecessary to give a detailed account of the rising and its suppression. I shall deal only with the country and its people. Our voyage lasted for 26 days to reach Taku Bar, whence we had to go by launch through Peiho river and disembark at Sinho. Thence we had to go by Imperial Chinese Railway to Pekin, the capital of China. This place is also called by European travellers the "Forbidden City." It will not be out of place to mention here that the Railway Administration during this troublous time was under the Russian management. Now about the capital. The city is surrounded by high castellated walls of blue brick, which striking feature may be seen in all the principal cities of China. The height of the wall is about thirty feet with intermediate loopholes. This wall consists of a mound of earth incased with brick. Cannon are not often seen mounted on the walls but some lie about near the gates. The thickness of the base is nearly twenty feet gradually diminishing to twelve or a bit more at the top. Over the gates are erected towers of several

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The first three Bengalis on the Great Wall of China at Shan-Hai-Kwan on the shore of the Gulf of Pechili. A view of the tower constructed over the Great Wall.

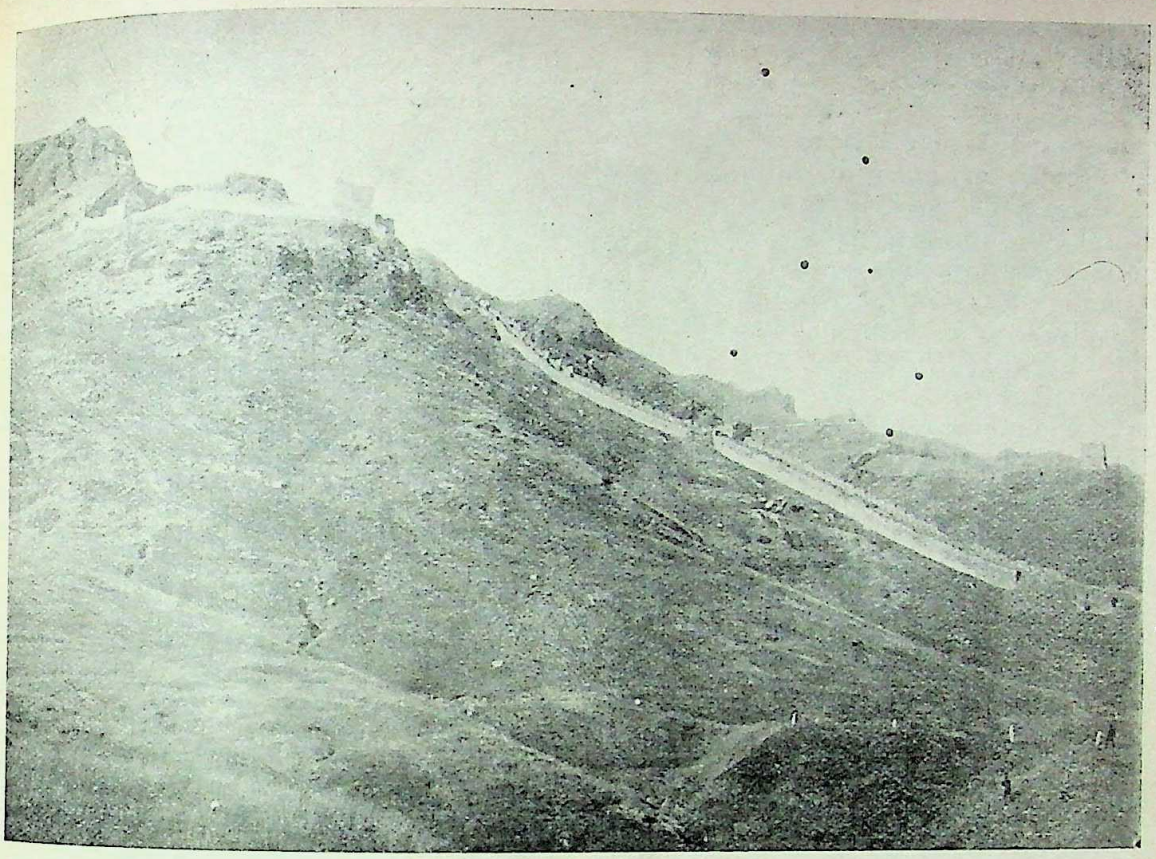
Left side—Ashutosh Roy.
Middle—Satish Chandra Bhattacharyya.
Right side—Amulya Dhan Chatterjee.

stories which serve as the resting place for soldiers who guard them.

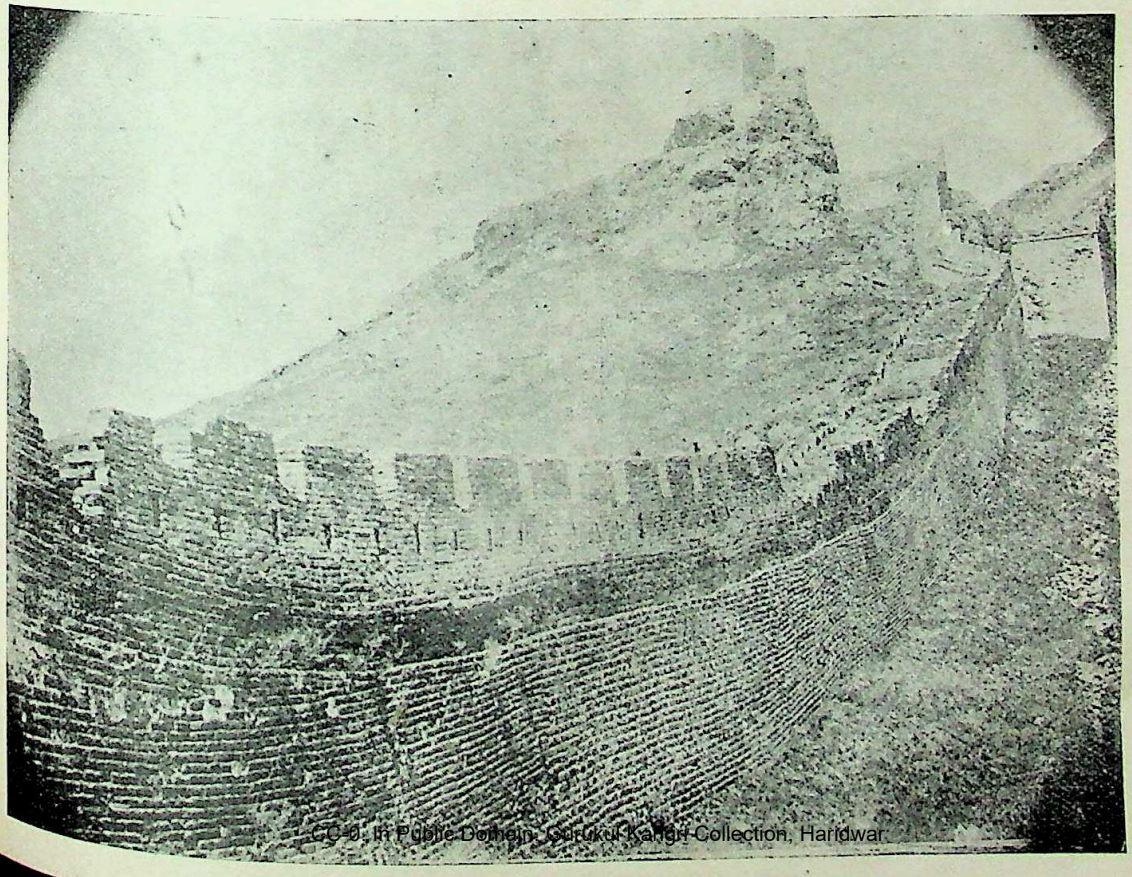
At intervals of about sixty yards some sorts of towers can be seen along the length of the wall. At each gate the wall is doubled. Pekin contains so many vacant places that it is astonishing how it can hold such an immense population considering the lowness of one-storied buildings. A large portion of the city is surrounded by the enclosure which contains the pleasure ground and palaces of the Emperor. Official and religious buildings all face spacious open courts. The streets are wide and paved but not in a good condition. The principal thoroughfares of Pekin are fully one hundred feet in width, which connect its different gates. In the rainy season the principal streets are in a dreadful state for want of proper drainage and in consequence of the perfect level of the ground. The city is said to contain three millions of people or almost the entire population of the kingdom of Portugal. Choongloo or the Bell Tower lies between the north gate of the imperial wall and the extremity of the Tartar City, near to which is the office of the General of Nine Gates to whose charge the police of the city is intrusted. The sound of the bell is heard

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View of the Great Wall of China as it has been carried over and constructed on the highest hills near Shan-Hai-Kwan.

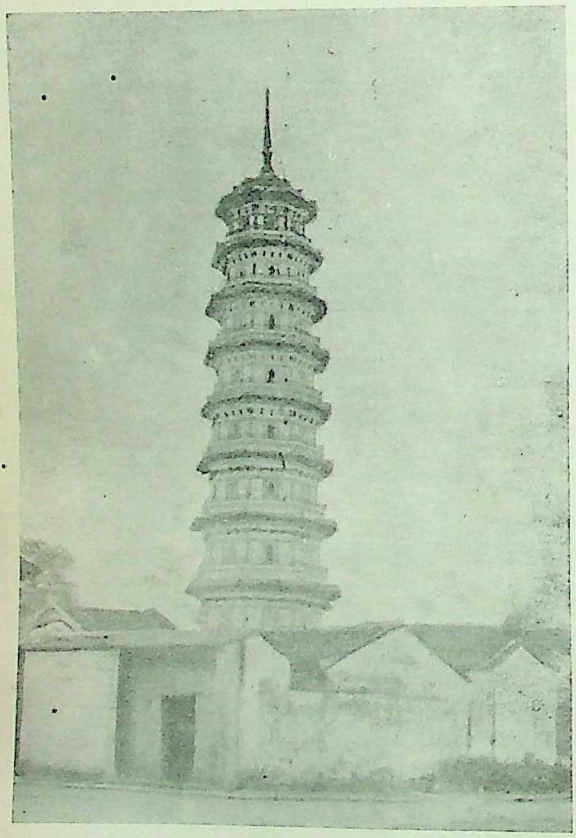


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View of the Great Wall of China on the plain and on the hills.

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through the greater part of the city. Near the southern gate of the imperial wall are the courts of the tribunals of the Supreme Government. The great space occupying an area of about two square miles is just in the centre of the Tartar City and can be entered by none but authorized persons. Within it is a third and still more sacred enclosure devoted exclusively to the Emperor's use, called the "Prohibited Wall". There are the private palaces of the sovereign and his empress, communicating by a gate on the north with a square, two thirds of a mile in length in which are situated the artificial



Temple of the Sun.

hills and woods. The architectural skill and arrangements of the palaces and courts within the "Prohibited Wall" are far superior to other specimens of the same kind in China. The whole population of China is said to have been estimated at three hundred millions or a third of the whole human race. On the east of the city is the temple of the Sun, for the luminary rises from that quarter and the temple of the Moon is on the western side as she sets in the west. The climate of the place makes it necessary to build all houses fronting the south but closed to the north. The eastern side of the house is held sacred on account of the Sun's rising in the East and the master of the house is called "Iongkea" or East of the household.

The Chinese keep the left hand side for their guests as the place of honour, in contrary to the custom prevailing in our country. The temple of Agriculture lies to the south about two miles in circuit where the Emperor performs the ceremony of ploughing the sacred field with a golden plough



Temple of the Heavens.

and sacrifices annually. The Temple of the Heavens stands in a square enclosure measuring about three miles in circumference near the southern wall of the "City of Nine Gates." The terrace consists of three stages diminishing from 120 to sixty feet in diameter, each stage being surrounded by marble balustrade and ascended by steps of the same material. In the north-west of the enclosure is the Palace of

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TEMPLE OF AGRICULTURE.

Abstinence where the Emperor fasts for three days previous to offering sacrifices to the heavens. The production from the field within the enclosure of the Temple of Agriculture or Earth is kept reserved for sacrifices, as this land is ploughed only once every year by the Emperor and his great officers. In the south-east of the Tartar City there are extensive sheets of water and large open cultivated spaces growing grains and vegetables for the use of Pekin. Beyond the Temples of Heavens and Agriculture there is a lake dedicated to the god of water (Baruna) under the name of Hiloong, the "Black Dragon," where the Emperor prays for rain in deluge or drought as the case may be. The Emperor of China is called the "Son of Heaven." There is a summer residence of the Emperor at Yuen-ming-yuen about 12 square miles in extent. The elevation of the place is some thousand feet above the place in which Pekin is situated, rendering it a cool summer retreat during the hot season. The place is extremely beautiful and eight miles to the north-west of Pekin, surrounded with gardens and parks. Within the enclosure of these gardens there exist no less than thirty distinct places of residence for the Emperor and his numerous suite of ministers, eunuchs and servants.

About two hours' drive from Pekin this flower-decked place is situated among hills and valleys, canals and lakes. Any representative from a foreign country is expected to beat his head nine times against the ground on being admitted to the presence of the universal sovereign in the hall of audience.

The Chinese Police keeps the vast populace in due order which forms a marked feature of the Chinese rule. This is solely due to the principle of responsibility. Every town is divided into tithings of ten houses and these are combined into wards of one hundred. The tithing men and hundreders are responsible for their respective charges. The householder is responsible for the conduct of his family. The gates of all

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Royal Marble Barge on the lake at the Summer Palace of the Emperor of China.

Chinese towns are shut soon after it is dark, when the first watch is sounded by a large bell or drum in some commanding station. No one can go out or come in unless he can give a satisfactory reason for his doing so. Every one is expected to carry a lantern and is punished for being found without it. In all cases of persons having lived within the jurisdiction of the imperial city and being sentenced to death, their families and all persons whatsoever who reside under the same roof with them, must remove therefrom forthwith. It must be admitted that by the aid of the unrelenting system of responsibility, there are few countries in the world in which a more efficient police exists than there. Cheefoo palace is at the centre of the Tartar City. Many government offices are inside the enclosure of this place.

House of torture.

Inside the boundary wall is a house of torture worth mentioning here. This may be called a cell six feet long, four feet wide and about eight feet high. The hollow floor of the house is spread with iron gratings like a coal hearth. There is only one door for the inmate of this nice house. This may be called a house of reception for the criminals who receive the extreme penalty of the law. At the mere mention of this horrible house the inhabitants of the place tremble like an aspen leaf. Pity the man, who becomes the inmate of that place. When a man is ordered to be put into this room for killing another or setting fire to his neighbour's house, he is forced to take his place inside the cell, and the door is closed against him. He is made to lie down on the iron gratings to which his feet and hands are tied with iron bands. Then fire is lighted beneath the grating, and the man is slowly scorched. This process sometimes goes on even for twenty-four hours till the man is dead. Imagine, what a cruel sort of death the Chinese concoct to put an end to the life of their fellow-countrymen. At war time we were warned not to go out without proper escort, as the rumour was in the air that if the Chinese

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could catch a single foreigner they would put the unfortunate man to death by starvation and cutting every limb bit by bit, and the Chinese interpreter who was with us corroborated that statement.

North of the imperial wall there is one of the grandest buildings called the "Lama Temple". Lama priests reside inside the sacred enclosure of that grand place. Images of Tantric gods and goddesses made of brass are kept in the temple. Many manuscripts written in the Pali language are preserved inside the sacred place. There is a huge wooden image of 'Sakya Muni' in a standing position about forty feet in height.

ASHUTOSH ROY.

THE DREAD SEVEN

BENEATH the *neem* they sit, as did the Norns of old beneath Yggdrasil,—those seven dread sisters, of whom Sitola, goddess of Smallpox is the first. All the rashes and eruptions they share amongst them, and the youngest of the seven is the old friend of our childhood, Measles. It is strange, we feel, this element of fear that seems so often in ancient mythology to be associated with the feminine. Head of the Fates is she who cuts the thread of life, and all the three are women-kind. Ate, the sleepless doom that pursues after the shedder of blood, is a woman. The Harpies and avenging Erinys are daughters, not sons, of the gods and of Night. And here in India the power that is seen in the burning of fever and the wasting of disease is conceived as the presence within a man of The Mother herself.

The fact is token of the antiquity of the association. When the administration of justice took the form of a curse or a vendetta, pronounced by the grey-haired women of the village, when all power was as yet in the hands of the Mothers, and men were at best but their fierce and courageous children, when rulership could not be conceived of apart from the feminine, thus early awoke the idea of the divinity that is seen in the terrible and the irrevocable. Amongst peoples whose geographical compactness and comparative density hastened their political differentiation, the terror was more apt to take the form of a reflection of the fear of man and his just wrath. Righteous punishment was a thing to be looked for. The avenger of blood was most to be dreaded of all foes. But in India, that land of vast spaces and extended populations, the ideal of malign power remained mysterious, incalculable, and supernatural. From the beginning there was something inexplicable in the exercise of omnipotence. Could any sign of divine presence be more convincing, because more incomprehensible, than the spells of fever or the anger of a rash? Naturally, then, the practice of worship developed the opposite power, that of healing.

Very quaint are the descriptions given by the faithful of the Seven Fearsome Sisters. That Smallpox makes affrighted goes without saying. Her power is open and irrepressible, afflicting men at noonday. But each one, even the youngest, has a potency of her own. Being the youngest, indeed, gives to Measles, it is said, a peculiar ability to do mischief. Her very age makes her the pet of her father and mother. She is therefore much indulged. "She lives suppressed", that is to say, she is apt to exercise her powers in secret, and to leave behind her, when she goes, some terrible memento of her visit, in a permanent blindness, lameness, or deafness. It is evident here that a good deal of fine medical observation has been put into the curious old myth of the Seven Sisters.

It would be strange, however, if so careful an index of diagnosis were entirely dissociated from all consideration of methods of treatment. As we might have expected, the priests of Sitola come from a peculiar caste, being known as *Dom* Brahmins, and are in

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fact doctors of a very ancient order. The oldest worships are associated with libations, the pouring-out of water before God. But in the worship of Sitola, the idea of a sanative cleanliness is very prominently brought forward. One will sometimes in the bye-ways of some busy city, see women, after nightfall, pouring out water in the road before a temple, and sweeping the place with a broom. They are praying to Sitola, the guide will tell us. For those who know have laid down the law that this goddess demands salutation with water and a broom! Indeed she clasps these in her own arms, as represented in her images. And she comes to us, they say, riding on the washerman's donkey, "an unclean beast". In this last point, though undeniably forcible, public opinion is probably wrong. Sitola is represented, it is true, as riding on an ass, but in all likelihood this is because, in that remote past out of which she rose, the ass was the fleet courser, the splendid and romantic steed, hero of all the poetry that now centres in the horse. He may, in an age of degeneration, be relegated to the use of the laundryman's caste, daily parading the town with his load of soiled linen for the wash. But he is most emphatically one of those who have seen better days. Once upon a time he held a ruling position amongst animals, and in the Semitic races, his appearance in a procession would seem to have indicated semi-royal state, as late as the date of the Christian era. Wild in the deserts of Arabia, he appears in the liturgy of Ancient Egypt as the Sun-god, and scholars hold that traces of this identification may still be found in the Rig-Veda itself. Even now, there is a breed in Persia which is famous and honoured, transcending even the horse in swiftness, and making it appear in no wise ludicrous that a goddess should be seated on an ass.

Many students will feel that the assignment of one whole divinity to the province of a single disease, argues a state of society in which there was a very elaborate subdivision of labour. Nor can we help connecting this advance in social organisation, with that sudden accession of medical science of which the worship of Sitola constitutes a remnant. The whole idea is a rare mixture of piety and wisdom. When the patient first succumbs to his malady, there is many a village-wife whose diagnosis is as valuable as the physician's or the priest's. The one anxiety is that the eruption should have free way. Should it remain suppressed, the case is regarded as grave. But if this is not so, and matters appear promising, the next step is to feed with sufficient quantity of milk. The amount of this food that can be digested by a Smallpox patient of robust constitution is said to be quite incredible. If the case is bad, however, there is nothing to be done but call for the special attendance of a priest of Sitola. In this case the sick man will be laid on the floor on cool banana leaves. He is also given medicine brought by the priest. A twig of *neem* is supplied to him and except with it, he is not allowed to touch his own skin. To tickle it with the sacred twig is an invocation of blessing. At the same time, devotions are going on. At first, when the fell visitant was announced, the women of the household repaired in the evening to temple or tree to offer their worship. Part of this consisted in placing flowers on top of an inverted pot, at the feet of the goddess. If the flowers fall, she is pleased, and grants the prayer of her suppliants. But if they remain where they were placed, she is obdurate, and the end can hardly be bright. I have been told of one case in which the women had placed their flowers, and sat in the attitude of prayer to see what was to be their fate. The blossoms did not fall and in agony of mind, the whole party bent still lower in prayer, imploring, with clasped hands, that the Devi might take pity, and grant a life much loved. At this second prayer, as they watched and waited, the flowers slowly slowly fluttered down, and each one felt that an invisible hand had taken them, and the prayer would be fulfilled!

Only half the necessary offering is thus made, however. The idea, in Bengal at least, is that the Mother has been asked to visit the abode of her children and bless them with a healing touch. This is the element in the myth to which prominence is given, although it is not quite clear that there is not also mixed with it an older notion that it is the presence of the goddess that has brought disaster, and that

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she is being begged to withdraw. Outside Bengal, this seems to be frankly the thought. But here we are mainly in the attitude of entreating the Mother to enter the house and bear away its misfortune. The more archaic fear may be traced in the fact that while the illness remains, none in the house will venture to call it by any name but 'The Mercy'. And the visitors who generally throng to see an invalid, remain, here, it is true, on the threshold, but still they come, saying they are adoring the divine Mother, present in the sick. So the conception of the healing divinity of sweetness, has not yet wholly emancipated itself from an older and less noble worship of fear, but it is on the way to do so, for when the recovery has taken place, it is always unhesitatingly attributed to a visit of benediction, and many are the household tales of special experiences illustrating this. From the moment of the announcement, then, when the worship is offered, the house and everyone in it has to be kept in a state of such exceptional purity as is meet for those who expect the advent of some divine personage. No meat or fish may be cooked within the walls. Only after bathing, and wearing the cleanest of garments, may the sick be attended. Fresh flowers and incense are to be offered daily. Water and the broom must do even more than their ordinary work in constant cleansing. And finally when the last remnant of illness is well past, the patient marks his own recovery by a delightful bath, for which he has been prepared by massage, being rubbed well with sandal-paste and turmeric, ancient luxuries of the toilet, full of coolness and fragrance.

The sons of the ash carried into Europe, it is said, the use of bronze, the domesticated horse, and also the knowledge of massage and of healing drugs and oils. We have seen that the horse must have been subjugated by man and reached the world's great trade-routes at Babylon and Nineveh, only after the ass had been long familiar. We know also that it must have come from Central Asia, and the probability is that it had been tamed long enough before the memorising of the present Rig-Veda for its predecessor to be even then amongst the Aryans, only a dim and half-conscious tradition. That Sitola and her sisters should number seven in all, shows that they were the creation of some race in whom astronomic studies and planetary lore had already made the number seven peculiarly sacred and impressive, as it was amongst the writers of the Vedas. They appear also, on comparing their character with those of the fear-creating goddesses of Europe, to belong to a civilisation in which political and military ideas were slower of growth, and personal culture a large factor. Bronze is held by some scholars to have been the result of the exchange of copper at Tamralipti or Tamluk, with the tin of Malacca, in the ages of the Asiatic merchant-civilisation, which preceded the rise of nationalities. In Asia, as amongst the nomads of North America, there seems to have been a short copper age preceding the bronze. Copper razors and copper axes have been found in India, and copper knives in ancient Troy. After this came bronze, and with bronze, as far as Europe was concerned, the knowledge of medicine and the use of the horse. Older, far older than any of these, was that worship of the rude stone beneath the *neem* tree, as the throne of the Mother, and those seasonal dances, that may have given rise to the tradition of the birth of Askr, the first man, from the ash. Holy indeed is the ground beneath the neem and the olive. Sacred homes of the oil-mother, from them and their long past, has come every notion of priestly anointing that a younger world has seen! The chrism of baptism, the oil of coronation, and the last sad rite of unction and benediction to the forth-going soul, here, in the cool breeze that blows through our Indian tree of healing may have been the birth of all these, and of how much more throughout the ages of aid and fellowship between man and man!

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THE TREATMENT OF "HINDU"S IN AMERICA

IT is at the request of Mr. Das, of Seattle, in the State of Washington, that I am writing. Mr. Das is now in this city for a brief visit, and I have had an interview with him cencerning the treatment accorded the Hindus on their arrival from India. A number of friends of the Hindus are endeavoring to form an organization to protect them from the indignities and insults which are heaped upon them by prejudiced people here. As but few of the laborers speak English, it has been difficult to accomplish anything, but we are now hoping to have the co-operation of the Hindu students attending the universities of this State, who can act as interpreters for their countrymen and enable us to get at the facts. Meanwhile, it was thought well to attempt to reach the people of India, and especially of the Punjab, and to warn them of the treatment they are likely to receive when they reach this port. Many of them, we learn, hearing of friends or neighbors who have come to America and have found employment at good wages, make great sacrifices to raise the money for the passage, mortgaging or selling what little they possess in the hope that they will be able to replace the amounts in a short time. If they are turned back from here, they return to India paupers, absolutely ruined. It is to prevent such catastrophes as this that I am writing.

Let me state, first, that there are no *valid* reasons why the Hindus should not be allowed to come here, as our *laws* make no discrimination against them. If they are in sound health, and provided with fifty dollars, so that they will not become public charges, they should be allowed entrance. But some of the officials in the Immigration Commission office are looking for some pretext to keep them out, and they readily find some means of effecting their end. The newspapers of this city contain almost daily attacks, which they publish to win the approval of the union workingmen, a large number of whom come from *Europe* but who have decreed that the *Asiatic* shall not come here. At the present time the union workmen have a large influence in the large cities of America, as they are thoroughly organized, can vote, and are politically powerful; therefore, they must be reckoned with by the "yellow press" of the country. Almost without exception the union workman prefers to live in the city, dislikes the country, the farm, the orchard. Rather than work in the country they will often remain idle in the cities yet they are prejudiced against the man from India who is glad to get the work they refuse to take. The Hindu is not depriving any of them of a livelihood even if he *does* work for less money. The Hindu is doing a class of work for which the farmers cannot afford to pay union labor prices. Moreover, there are vast tracts of land in California, Oregon and Washington which are lying idle, unclaimed and unproductive, so that there is plenty of opportunity for the few who do wish to live with nature. So that there is no sensible reason why the union workman should feel himself injured because the Hindu does work which he refuses; but none the less, the papers look for popularity among the powerful unions by inciting prejudice against the Hindu. Accordingly, everything which is un-American is cited against the native of India. He bathes daily, yet he is dubbed "filthy" by men who rarely enter the bath oftener than once a week! Mr. Das, who has visited almost every camp of Hindus on the Coast, states that in every one of them the Hindus bathe when they come in from the fields, and this without a single exception. Much stress is laid upon the fact that they are "tanned and turbaned"—the turban seeming to arouse derision wherever it is seen. Notwithstanding, the Hindu turban is affected by the lady of fashion

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and no one objects! Although a very small percentage of the Hindus [*i.e.*, natives of India sojourning in America] are Mohammedans, they are all dubbed "polygamists", and at Seattle, the clever Commissioner has found it very easy, we are informed, to exclude *all* Hindus on the ground that they are "followers of the Koran, which teaches polygamy!" And the very next sentence tells us that at least *one in six* is a polygamist! And the next states that, because they do not bring their women here, they lead a nomadic life!

In San Francisco, the Sikhs from the Punjab receive scant courtesy at the hands of the deputy immigration officials, although Mr. North, the Immigration Commissioner, has been quoted as saying that there are "twelve jobs waiting for every Hindu who lands here"! The deputies, however, are of another opinion, and will use any possible pretext to keep them out. Should they be a trifle below average height, they are described as "short and therefore weak, and likely to become a public charge", though in one instance the man thus described could lift 350 pounds! The interpreter, also, is admittedly prejudiced, although these men have no other protection but him. He is an Englishman who has spent some years in India, and knows some of the vernaculars, but the Sikhs claim he does *not* understand Punjabi, and that they cannot understand him. Nevertheless, prejudiced and incompetent as he is, the Hindus must submit to his "interpretations", and petitions to the United States authorities have been absolutely without avail. An effort will now be made to have an interpreter act for the Hindus, to keep tally on the Englishman. When this man first reached the Coast, several years ago, he employed upon a fruit farm near Santa Rosa a number of Sikhs who were new to this country. He very generously paid them the same wages they had received for like work in India. One of their number, who could speak English, found that they could obtain higher wages, and very naturally they all left and sought employment elsewhere. The Englishman, who had theretofore been loud in his praises of the Sikh laborer, now altered his opinion of them, and this altered opinion he has maintained up to the present. Thus one Ralla Singh, who has very recently been deported, was made to say in his statement before the Immigration Commissioners, that he was *without* relatives or friends in this country and without a prospect of employment; although he very well knew that he had two brothers and a cousin, besides other more distant relations, in California, and the cousin aforementioned had come from Los Angeles to meet him and take him to a position which was waiting for him! On this *interpretation* of Ralla Singh's testimony, the Commissioners ruled that he was likely to become a public charge, as he was but five feet six in height, and *therefore* weak! On appeal to Washington, D. C., the same statement and the same *interpretation* were sent on by the lawyer representing the Hindu, and the appeal was denied!

One might naturally enough inquire why such things are permitted in a "free" country, and we can only answer that what is sometimes called "freedom" is more often license, enabling the strong to oppress the weak. Many of the "free" men of America are not lovers of freedom, for they refuse to accord to others that which they accept for themselves. Far worse than this bigotry is the fact that the Hindu has no government back of him to support or defend him. The Japanese and the Chinaman can appeal to their nations should they meet with unfair treatment at the hands of the politicians in control of the offices here; but to whom can the Hindu appeal for justice? The British Consul at this port is either indifferent or negligent, for these are British subjects who should be treated with the same courtesy as the European, and they are of the same blood. The Consul has stated frankly that there is no valid reason why the Hindus should not be admitted, but the fact remains that they are being turned away on the arrival of every ship, and, so far as I know, without protest from the British Consul or his government.

While waiting at the detention shed for examination by the officials, the poor Hindus are subjected to insult and indignity by their "white" brother in whom flows the same Aryan blood. No food is given them save half-cooked rice, for which they are forced to pay $1.55 per day! Such is the statement of a Hindu who remained there for three weeks, without milk or

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fruit of any kind unless he would pay extra for it. When this was reported to one of the officers of the government, he stated that it was untrue, as but 45 cents a day was charged. One wondered who pocketed the other $1.10 which these poor men were compelled to pay. Is it to be marvelled at that many of them are ill at the end of three weeks of such treatment?

Before taking passage for America, the steamship company, to protect itself in case of deportation, exacts from these men sufficient to cover return passage; so that the loss, in case of refusal, falls entirely upon the poor Hindu, who often reaches his native land beggared for life!

The laws of our land provide that no fee in excess of ten dollars may be charged by an attorney acting in behalf of an alien seeking admission. For this reason (?), it is stated, the Hindu must always hire the one lawyer in this city who is willing to give his time for so small a sum! Yet Hindus have declared that they have been forced by this philanthropist to part with $150 or $185; but as they were refused a receipt for the money paid, they can *prove* nothing! One also has stated that *no* Hindu is allowed to land until he has paid *at least* ten dollars to this same lawyer, and none of them dare tell how much money above the sum required they possess! Thus there are the deputies, a lawyer and an interpreter, backed by the newspapers, and public prejudice, on one side of this issue. But who befriends the poor Hindu? In one instance, a Sikh called upon the deputy to secure the release of his brother, who was being detained because he was "weak." The deputy referred him to the lawyer, who promptly demanded a retainer of $20, which was paid at once. The Sikh was to return in a few days, when he was informed that the lawyer could get his brother out for $150. As he stated that he could not pay any such sum, it was reduced, first to $125 and then to $100, which the poor fellow obligated himself to bring, not realizing that there was anything dishonorable in the transaction. When he talked over the matter with some of his "white friends," they informed him that such a transaction was in the nature of a bribe, and therefore illegal. "Why," he exclaimed, "a lawyer wouldn't take a bribe, would he?" Among these friends was a native of the Emerald Isle, who straightway called upon the British Consul, learned that there was no reason why the man should be detained, made the trip to Angel Island, and secured the man's release within fifteen minutes without the payment of a dollar!

Notwithstanding such occurrences as the above, San Francisco treats the Hindu better than do his own compatriots of British Columbia. There the laws are framed to discriminate against the Hindu, and to make it practically impossible for him to land. In the first place, he must *show* two hundred dollars in actual cash. A law has been passed, declaring that the alien must come *direct* from the land of his birth or citizenship. Under the statute, many abuses have arisen, working hardship on the Hindus of the student class, as well as those who have come to the States, and wish to return to visit friends or look after property.

Mr. J. Misra, now a student at the University of Washington, arrived in Vancouver in October, 1909, from Japan where he had been studying chemistry as a student of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific Education in India. He was refused a landing on the ground above mentioned, and moreover, was not even permitted to enter the detention shed but was locked up in a small room, ordinarily used for the detention of criminal sailors from which he was allowed to go for but one hour out of the twenty-four. Meantime he was fed upon rice, unsalted, and nothing else! He wrote to Mr. Das (then at Seattle), who went to Vancouver and found the *prisoner*, who at once requested a little salt! He had then been imprisoned for seven days, in what was practically solitary confinement! Mr. Das instituted *habeas corpus* proceedings against the Dominion Commissioner, and secured his release. It had been Mr. Misra's intention only to pass through Canada on his way to an English university where he expected to complete his studies in chemistry. This he was not permitted to do, but he was allowed to proceed to the United States instead of being deported to Japan. Mr. Misra thereupon determined to remain in the United States, and he is now studying in the State of Washington as above stated.

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Nathu Ram started for Vancouver from Calcutta, where he had secured steerage passage. Finding the hardships of the steerage almost unendurable, he decided to continue from Hongkong as a second class passenger; and therefore exchanged his ticket, paying the difference in cash. Arrived at Vancouver, he was refused entry, on the ground that he had not come direct from the land of his nativity or citizenship! The fact that he had purchased a second-class ticket at Hongkong (a British possession) was construed to mean that he had come from a land other than that of his birth or citizenship!

Mr. Kapur Singh, an educated Sikh residing in California, was called to Vancouver to attend an important meeting of Guru Nanak Trust and Mining Company, in which he was a director, but was denied entrance three times. Mr. Sohan Singh was not permitted to enter the country from the States to attend the funeral of his deceased brother and settle up his business affairs, although his object was fully explained to the authorities. Another Sikh, who had lived for a long time in Victoria, B.C., and afterwards moved to Seattle, where he is a student, was refused permission to re-enter British Columbia to look after his property there. It was only after instructions had been sent from Ottawa, and he had furnished bonds in the sum of $750, that he was permitted to enter.

The above are but a few of the cases which might be cited; there are probably hundreds of others of which nothing is known beyond the detention sheds. Yet many of us feel that these facts should be thoroughly understood by the natives of the Punjab before they start from home, so that they may at least be prepared to meet possible disappointment.

There is, however, one little bright spot in the cloud. It has been stated by one of the most prejudiced papers of this city that the Hindus are wanted in the Hawaiian Islands, where there is demand for their labor at $18 a month in the plantations. After they have lived in the Islands, they cannot be refused entry here, as they have passed the examination of the Immigration authorities in Honolulu. Very little difficulty is then experienced in getting into the United States ports as the Hindus come from another American port. To be sure, the wages are lower than here, but the risks are not so great, so that it would be better for the Hindu to spend a year or so in the Islands, acquaint himself with the language and the customs of America, and acquire skill at his work. There are boats running from Honolulu to San Diego, where the prejudices would not be so great.

For the student, America offers many opportunities—that is to say, in the United States. If they come with a knowledge of English and a small sum of money ($100, if possible), students can find employment in families which will enable them to pursue their studies and support themselves at the same time. For three hours' work per day, they can secure board and lodging, and on Saturdays, working as helpers, they can earn at least $2.00 per day at house cleaning. During vacations employment can be found in the orchards, vineyards and farms in the interior, and enough can be earned to pay for books and clothing. This is the experience of Mr. Das, who is now a student at the University of Washington with a scholarship, a gentleman who has done much for his oppressed countrymen both in the States and in British Columbia.

At this writing, five Hindus are attending the University of California, in Berkeley. Recently, some of their Sikh brothers, employed in that vicinity, called at the house where they were living in search of advice. The next day, the landlady ordered the students to leave, as she did not want those laborers coming to her place. Thus the students are forced to seek quarters where they may be free to receive and advise their countrymen—a right which one would never suppose could be denied them! And yet this is the twentieth century after Christ, in free America! Mr. Das hopes to secure a house for them where they may live their own lives, in peace and quiet and render such assistance to their troubled countrymen as their knowledge of English may enable them to do.

However, notwithstanding such occurrences as this, the Hindu student generally meets with kindness and courtesy, except from the very narrow-minded, who are really deserving of pity. But those coming

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as students should be in sound health and supplied with funds sufficient to keep them from want until employment can be found. Some ladies in the vicinity of the University are now making some effort to find positions for them, and if they will co-operate, much good may be accomplished.

I may perhaps be pardoned if I mention another fact, the matter of dress. Although it seems absolutely childish to a thoughtful person, much prejudice is manifested against the turban. I am told that it is a religious obligation among the Sikhs to wear the turban, and if such be the fact, one cannot expect them to abandon it. But, if not imperative, much prejudice might be overcome by the removal of the turban, which at once marks out the Hindu as distinct from the European. With their clear cut, Aryan features, they are not readily distinguishable from the natives of Southern Europe and South America; so that many of the insults which they are forced to endure might be avoided by the change of head dress. This, however, is merely offered by way of suggestion, by one who would fain be of assistance to the down-trodden.

SAN FRANCISCO. C. B. WALTERS.
August, 22, 1910.

CURRENT LITERATURE: ENGLISH AND AMERICAN MAGAZINES

(I.)

INDIA IN THE ENGLISH MAGAZINES.

IF one were to go simply by the table of contents of the September Reviews, one would take up the *Fortnightly* as likely to be of the greatest interest to the Indian readers. There are practically two long articles devoted to the present political situation in India in this magazine. By far the greatest portion of the "review" of current Imperial and Foreign Affairs, deals with the present Indian situation. Besides this there is a lengthy article by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh, who tries to answer the question:—"What Does India Want Politically".

The "review" of Imperial and Foreign Affairs is by Mr. Garvin, of the well-known Sunday paper, the *Observer*. Mr. Garvin is a leader of Jingo journalism here. There are well-informed people who even regard him as the force behind the present Tory Party in England, and who hold him largely reponsible for the recent troubles between the Lords and the Commons. Mr. Garvin has been to India. He was present at the last Curzonian Durbar at Delhi. And this, it seems, is his title to speak in such cock-sure way as to what should and what should not be done to solve the present Indian problem. There is, however, nothing striking or original in his forceful prescriptions. His article is practically a review and recapitulation of the series of articles that have, for some weeks past, been appearing in the *Times* on the Indian Unrest, from Mr. Chirol, who was the Special Correspondent of that paper in India last winter. One cannot consider Mr. Garvin's forceful futilities without, at the same time, reviewing the contributions of Mr. Chirol.

"THE TIMES" ON THE INDIAN UNREST.

Whether one agrees with the conclusions of the Times' Special Correspondent or not, one can scarcely deny that this series of articles presents a far more exhaustive study of the so-called unrest in India than anything that has, so far, appeared in the English press. Mr. Chirol started with a promise to present a psychological study of the Indian situation. Those who know that situation from the inside, will naturally find many inaccuracies, many misinterpretations, numerous faults, both of omission and comission, in Mr. Chirol's study. It

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was an altogether ambitious attempt. The Special Correspondent of the *Times* has not the necessary equipment for the task that he has so confidently undertaken. The psychology of the acts and attitudes of an individual can only be correctly interpreted by the personality of that individual. The psychology of national movements also can be correctly interpreted by those who thoroughly know the soul of the people. Mr. Chirol cannot, I am afraid, have any pretensions to this knowledge. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that his study of the present Indian situation should be exceedingly superficial. He has not even tried to carry an open mind to the consideration of his subject. He clearly starts with a fixed idea and a definite policy. Consequently, he reads such meanings into the facts that he cites, and, indeed, only picks up such facts, as are likely to support his previously-formed idea, and the previously-determined policy of his employers. He is not a student of the Indian situation, anxious to discover the truth, but a counsel for those who desire that a certain policy should be adopted by the Government of India for effectively meeting the present troubles in that country. Consequently, like a clever counsel, he indulges in all kinds of devices, so familiar to the clever lawyer, for suggesting favourable untruths and suppressing unfavourable truths. But notwithstanding all this, Mr. Chirol, almost in spite of himself, occasionally throws considerable light upon the Indian problem. Above all, this series of articles has been serving one great purpose. It shows the extreme gravity of the Indian situation. And however much Mr. Chirol might try to defend the present policy of the Indian Government, to people endowed with statesmanly insight, his own presentation of the problem is bound to create serious doubts as to the wisdom, and even the effectiveness, of the various measures that have, up till now, been adopted by the present Government, to meet the situation in India,

Mr. Chirol rightly says that this so-called unrest is not merely a political movement. It is essentially a religious and social movement. It is not merely a protest against the political domination of an alien race, but is, practically, a declaration of war against Western civilisation and Western ideals. No one who has any intimate acquintance with the real psychology of the present situation in India, will care to quarrel with the Correspondent of the *Times* in regard to this statement of his. There is, without doubt, a very serious conflict of civilisations in India. It is a natural conflict. The presence of the modern European in the midst of the ancient peoples of India,—the inheritors of a hoary-headed culture, the beginnings of which go back to the dark night of time when history was not yet born,—peoples whose lack of material possessions had not in any way killed their ancient pride of race, who had not lost their institutions and their gods, who had social and moral ideals of their own, differing almost fundamentally from those of modern Europe,—the presence of the European with his new civilisation among this ancient people, was bound to bring about a keen intellectual, moral, and spiritual conflict in the country. The present upheaval is undoubtedly the latest phase of this outstanding conflict. It is this essential conflict that stands behind even the present political movement in India. But for the presence of this fundamental conflict of civilisations, the political problem might have been easily solved. If the present rulers of the country had not represented a different civilisation from that of the ruled, they would have found but little support in their own conscience, and in the general consciousness of their own people, for the exercise of that absolute political domination which they now enjoy. In supporting this absolutism as a necessary part of the British Government in India, Lord Morley actually bases his case upon the superior claims of the ruling race in the matter of culture and civilisation over the ruled. Indeed, he quoted Mill in support of his position.

> Government by the dominant country is as legitimate as any other, if it is the one which in the existing state of civilisation of the subject people, most facillitates their transition to our state of civilisation.

It was, really, on this plea of a higher civilisation that Mill frankly justified the despotic political authority of a civilised over a barbarous, people. "The ruling country ought", as Lord Morley declared, quoting Mill once more, "to be able to do

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for its subjects all that could be done by a succession of absolute monarchs guaranteed by irresistible force against the precariousness of tenure attendent on barbarous despotisms and qualified by their genius to anticipate all that experience has taught to the more advanced nations."

As on the side of the rulers this plea of a superior civilisation is what justifies, to their own conscience, their absolute and irresponsible political authority over the people of the country, and harmonises this authority with their general philosophy of freedom and humanity, so also on the side of the people it is this claim which is felt to be the most offensive and irritating. At one time, so far as the English educated classes were concerned, there was really no intellectual or moral conflict between them and the foreign rulers of their country. Their education had more or less denationalised them. They had ceased, to some extent at least, to cherish any high regard for the ancient culture and civilisation of their country. They had accepted the civilisation of modern Europe as positively superior to that of their own people. Their ideal was to educate themselves and their people up to the standards of this foreign civilisation. They practically accepted the ideal of Mill and Macaulay as their own. Consequently, so long as this attitude of mind lasted, there was only a mild rivalry between the educated classes and the foreign rulers of the country, in political and administrative matters, but really no fundamental conflict of ideas or ideals. It was a conflict of personal ambitions and material interests but actually no conflict of moral or spiritual, nor indeed, even of intellectual ideals. The National Congress represented this mild rivalry, this political conflict. The granting of a few concessions, the expansion of the legislative councils, the larger appointments of educated Indians to the higher services of the Government, these and similar reforms might have well solved the problem that the National Congress had raised. Had these reforms been granted betimes, the subsequent conflict of civilisation might have possibly been indefinitely postponed, if not entirely avoided. The acceptance of the programme of the Congress in the earlier days, by the Government, might have helped to slowly Europeanise the educated, that is the thinking, classes in the country; and thus indefinitely postpone, even if it might not have positively killed, all chances of a keen conflict of civilisation. So long as this conflict had not come up to the surface, the problem before the people and the Government in India was essentially a mere political problem. But it is no longer so. The present upheaval in India is not a mere political upheaval. Of course, the political emphasis is there. Owing to outer conditions this emphasis has somewhat engrossed the mind and thought of the people at this moment. But it does not represent the real nature of this so-called unrest. As Mr. Chirol says, this so-called unrest is far more religious and social than political. It is, as he does not hesitate to admit, essentially a conflict of civilisations. In the very first article of his series, the writer defined their object thus: "The question to which I propose to address myself is", says he—

"Whether Indian unrest represents merely, as we are prone to imagine, the human and not un-natural impatience of subject races fretting under an alien rule, which, however well-intentioned, must often be irksome, and must sometimes appear to be harsh and arbitrary; or whether to-day, in its most extreme forms, at any rate, it does not represent an irreconcilable reaction against all that not only British rule but Western civilisation stands for?"

One sees here that almost intuitively Mr. Chirol has gone to the very root of the present problem in India. Of course, the terms in which he puts the problem will not be accepted by the Indian Nationalist. He would not admit that his movement is a mere *reaction*. Nor perhaps he would agree with Mr. Chirol in his statement that it is opposed to "all that Western civilisation stands for." Mr. Chirol has put the problem in an essentially negative form, and the mere negative statement of a problem can never bring out its full character. There are many things in common between the higher ideals of the East and the higher ideals of the West. Both what is called Western and what is called Eastern civilisation, are the expressions of the same human mind, the same human spirit. They are both expressions of Universal Humanity, which though never fully expressed by any perticular race

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or culture, lies implicit in all races and all cultures, in some more fully expressed than in others, but never absent from any. Consequently, one race or civilisation cannot by any means stand absolutely opposed to another. These oppositions and conflicts are only oppositions and conflicts of expressions and emphases but not really of essence or substance. The present unrest in India, even in its most extreme forms, does not represent, therefore, a reaction against *all* that stands for Western civilisation. It rather represents, in every one of its forms, moderate or extremist, the yearning of the eternal spirit of the Indian people or peoples, to find adequate self-expression and self-fulfilment. In seeking this natural self-expression and self-fulfilment, it has come in conflict with the particularities of another and a very different type of culture and civilisation. This is the truth of what Mr. Chirol puts in a very crude, negative form.

But though the statement of the probelm is crude, the nature of it, as indicated by Mr. Chirol, is essentially true. He traces the present so-called unrest to the Hindu Revival of the last quarter of the last century. Generally speaking, this also is true; but Mr. Chirol here also betrays his intellectual poverty, in his absolute incapacity to analyse and correctly interpret the inner meaning of this Hindu Revival. He sees only one particular phase of this Revival. He represents it simply as an attempt of the Brahmins to regain their lost ascendency in Hindu life and society. The Hindu Revival does not, however, represent only a Brahminical revival; it is a general, one might even say a universal, awakening of a new self-consciousness all over India. As there is no doubt an attempt to revive the old Brahminical ascendency, so there is equally an organised attempt by many of the other castes, including some that had hitherto been relegated to a very low social position, to assert and even extend the status and privileges of their own caste. Side by side with the Brahminical movement, there is the new Kayastha movement in Bengal and elsewhere. There is the movement among the Namasudras of Bengal for a higher social recognition than what had hitherto been accorded to them. All these show the wide range and the deep character of the forces that stand behind what Mr. Chirol has represented as a mere Brahminical movement. Indeed, it seems to me that the true meaning of this Hindu Revival has been all along misunderstood by many people. It is not really a reaction against the old progressive social movements, but a determined and many-faced protest on behalf of the *progressive* thought of Hindoostan against the *aggressive* civilisation of Christendom.

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The Conflict of Civilisations in India.

Now if this be the true nature of the problem in India, namely that it is essentially a conflict of cultures and civilisations, a conclusion that seems, on Mr. Chirol's own showing, to be absolutely irresistible, —then the solutions offered by the Fortnightly Reviewer would at once be found to be absolutely worthless. A conflict of civilisations is essentially an intellectual and moral conflict and such a conflict can never be overcome by any sort of political remedies. In fact the application of such remedies, is, on the contrary, likely to aggravate the conflict instead of overcoming it. What is essentially needed here is the growth of a new thought, and not the granting of a few belated concessions. Not even the granting of full-fledged parliamentary government to India would solve the present Indian problem. I am, indeed, not very sure whether it would not even add to its complexities. What particular form of state organisation India may need for her self-fulfilment, cannot be determined beforehand, any more than you can fix beforehand the particular kinds of organs that a growing and living organism may require in the future, in the natural course of its own evolution for the fulfilment of its own organic needs. To burden a growing, living organism with any organs from the outside, however well-intentioned the effort might be, would be bound to hinder and not help its growth. Judged from the view of organic evolution, both Mr. Chirol's and Mr. Garvin's recipes seem not only foolish but positively mischievous. Mr. Garvin admits that "recent methods of concession do not reach the root of any of the more disquieting features of the situ-

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ation". He does not absolutely condemn the recent concessions as of no value. "We are not to think," he says,

"only of the extremists of the school of Mr. Tilak and Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, of Mr. Arabindo Ghose and the *Yugantar*. There is a moderate element among the educated classes, though it has been on the whole very weak and timid in expressing itself. The enlargement and the wider functions of the new Legislative Councils are to be welcomed as affording more encouragement and opportunity to the moderates. They are in this sense an experiment, but a welcome and necessary experiment. But let us repeat and make it perfectly plain to ourselves that neither these concessions nor any concessions upon the basis of representative principles—which it is impossible for us to carry to any logical conclusion—can touch those psychological and economic roots of "Indian unrest" which have been traced to their deepest fibre by the Special Correspondent of the *times*. We must depend in the future for the discharge of our task upon that which, from the beginning, has been the only justification for our rule—the beneficence of an impartial, peaceful, constructive administration. As the late Charles Pearson said, 'For one war we have waged in India, we have prevented twenty.' We and we alone still stand between India and war, plunder, anarchy, upon an unexampled scale. Our business is to make that administration still more vigorous and vigilant for progressive and repressive purposes alike—to rule India in no conventional spirit; to rule it even more than hitherto for the practical good and the mental advancement of its humbler majority, and less for the advantage either of Brahmins or money-lenders. We must do this not only in a real temper, but in the quite obvious temper, lately lacking, of unhesitating and unflinching determination to hold our own".

Granting that the real problem in India is one of a conflict of two different types of culture and civilisation, which is the irresistible conclusion of Mr. Chirol's articles, the utter folly of prescribing such remedies as are suggested here by Mr. Garvin seems to be absolutely apparent. What the situation demands really are neither concessions nor repressions, but a larger synthesis which will harmonise, under a broad and universal philosophy of life, the rival ideals and cultures. The real work in India is not that of mere politicians or publicists, but of philosophers and statesmen. There is a political side to this problem, demanding some sort of political remedy. But the political symptom being what may be called a mere local trouble, though arising out of a deep-seated constitutional malady, it may be treated with local palliatives to remove local irritation. This must be the objective, namely the removal of local irritation, of all political palliatives. But they will not cure the disease. The place and purpose of these palliatives, in a general scheme of treatment, is to keep up the strength of the patient and get time for the doctor to work out the slower and more radical cure. This is what true statesmanship would seek to do. Above all, these local applications must be of such a nature as will, by no means, either increase existing irritation or by driving a local eruption below the surface, give it the fatal opportunity of attacking the more vital organs. Yet this is exactly what quack prescriptions like those of the Jingo publicists of the type of Mr. Garvin and the *Times*, are calculated to do.

* * * *

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh's Article.

But though one may not be surprised at such quackery from ignorant and unappreciative publicists of the type of Mr. Garvin or Mr. Chirol, one had a right to expect stronger grasp of the actualities of the present situation in India, and a clearer insight into the nature of the problem and its possible remedies, from an Indian publicist like Mr. Saint Nihal Singh. His presentation of the problem in the current *Fortnightly* is to my mind, unpardonably superficial, and these superficialities coming from an Indian writer, are likely to work more mischief and create greater confusion than what all the futilities of a Garvin or a Chirol could do. In fact, the statement of the problem by Mr. Chirol is infinitely more correct, whatever may be said of his conclusions, than that of Mr. Nihal Singh. Mr. Nihal Singh does not seem to know the present condition of his country at all. It is not surprising, either, that this should be so; because, practically, he went out of India as an immature youth, and has acquired all his wonderful education in America. He has no doubt tried to keep himself in touch with the current movements of his country through the Indian newspapers and periodicals, but he never has stood face to face with the forces that are shaping the course of historic evolution in India in our day. He writes, therefore, not as an Indian of the twentieth, but as an Indian of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Judging from his presen-

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contribution, one may well say that Mr. Singh belongs, intellectually, to the generation in India which thought and worked before his birth. It is, therefore, that he so confidently asserts

> That India is profoundly agitated and that the agitation is *almost wholly political are to-day established facts which need no demonstration*. Of course, it has to be readily conceded that all Hindostan is not in a ferment: it is only educated India that is agitating for a governmental change. The masses may be feeling the pinch of poverty and may be economically distressed, but as a rule they are ignorant of the political issues, and are not directly engaged in waging a war for securing administrative concessions and reforms from the English. The educated community in India, however, though in the minority when compared with the unlettered masses, is by no means a negligible quantity. For one thing, despite all aspersions, the educated Indians are the natural leaders of their unenlightened countrymen. What the enlightened East-Indian thinks to-day, his uneducated *confrere* is apt to think to-morrow. Moreover, slowly but steadily, the ranks of the illiterates are being thinned and those of the educated augmented; and all educated Indians, of whatever religion, caste, or race, seem to have one factor in common—a desire for the political advancement of Hindostan. Naturally, it is to-day pertinent to ask: Just what does educated India want politically? The question is all the more appropriate in view of the fact that some of the East-Indians have gone to the length of making and throwing bombs, when frenzied, because of their political demands not being fairly fulfilled. (The italics are mine).

Such being Mr. Nihal Singh's presentation of the meaning of the present situation in India, it is not surprising that his answer to the question: What does India want politically?—should be that what the educated Indians want is that they should replace the present British agency of Government in India by an agency essentially manned by themselves. "Indian autonomy" says Mr. Nihal Singh, means this.

> And the agitation in India is fated to continue so long as the majority of the Governmental positions carrying the higher salaries and executive, administrative, and financial authority are not held by the natives of the land. Educated Indians urge that they are capable of efficiently discharging the duties connected with the responsible Governmental positions. The controversy about Indian autonomy rages around this claim. Plainly interpreted, India's political aspirations mean the substitution of native in lieu of the present day alien administrative agency, East-Indians not objecting to run their Government under the guidance of the British.

This is Mr. Nihal Singh's answer to the question he puts to himself in this article. To the Indian reader the whole essay would appear to be very superficial and, indeed, exceedingly misleading. The way in which Mr. Singh answers the question, would tend to support the ordinary Anglo-Indian view that the so-called unrest in India is the work really of a handful of self-seeking educated malcontents who have got up all this disturbance simply with a view to snatch from the British, the more lucrative offices under the Government. This is what the enemies of Indian progress have been always trying to tell the British public. It is their game. A good deal of the general listlessness with which the ordinary Britisher looks upon Indian problems is largely due to the notion so assiduously circulated by ignorant and mischievous Jingo journalists and Anglo-Indian scribes, that there is nothing more serious or substantial behind all this clamour than the selfish and private ambitions of a body of office-seekers whom the system of education introduced into the country by the British Government has called into being. It is a pity that Mr. Nihal Singh had nothing better or deeper or more intelligent and helpful than this to tell the British public through this article of his. To a British publicist such superficialities are, however, quite pardonable; it is hardly so in a son of the soil, writing about his Mother-Country. And it is the more pitiable because Mr. Singh is an able man, a capable and clever journalist, and sometimes writes really helpful things.

(2)

The Japanese Peril.

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh appears in a more favourabe light in his article in this month's *Contemporary*, headed "Asia for the Japanese". Here he writes with a closer acquaintance of his subject and a clearer insight into its essential psychology. In this article, he tells of the large hopes entertained at one time all over the articulate populations of Asia by the sudden rise of Japan into the position of a great world-power. Mr. Singh points out how recent revelations of Japanese character and ambitions have killed those hopes. The cry, he says, is no longer—Asia for the Asiatics, not at least in Japan, whose ambition is not to stand up as the saviour of

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Asia from European exploitation and aggression, but to appropriate to herself the position and function of the supreme ruler of that ancient continent. In view of the formal annexation of Korea, Mr. Singh's article has a special interest at this time.

Japan's successes over Russia created a hope in more than one Asiatic country that having stopped the aggressions of Russia in the North-East, Japan, to quote Mr. Singh, "would help the other Asiatics to fling off the Western yoke that weighed heavily on the Eastern continent." Even

The Japanese eloquently proclaimed to the world that one of the chief reasons for their undertaking to fight the Russians was their desire to save China from being worsted and plundered by the land-hungry Czar, and the young and volatile Orientals expressed their conviction that the Japanese would help the rest of Asia in its fight to free itself from the clutches of the West.

Not a long term of years has elapsed since the Russo-Japanese conflict came to an end, but meantime the Mikado's government has formally extended "protection" to Korea, and begun vigorously to "develop" Manchuria, and aggressively "negotiate" with China. These actions are fraught with grave possibilities for the Orient. They have provoked comment from the Westerner as well as the Easterner and are compelling the world at large to ponder over the problem as to just what part Japan is likely to play in the political arena of Asia. It may be granted that the most intelligent Orientals are convinced that the occident has been exploiting Asia for many decades, and that the Asians are anxious to throw off this unbearable incubus; but the query naturally arises; will Asia succeed in shaking the Occidental off her back only to find that the Japanese has occupied the place from which the Westerner has been ousted?

The writer frankly recognises the necessity that her peculiar position has imposed upon Japan. The Japanese Empire is composed of a small group of islands, which both in extent and in natural capacities is hardly able to support the increasing population of the country. The present population of Japan is about 48,000,000 and the resources of Japan are bearly sufficient, says Mr. Singh, to feed about half the number. If Japan wants to live and grow, she must develop an aggressive colonial policy to find an outlet for her growing populations as well as sources of feeding and clothing the home population, under her own control. At one time Japanese emigrants flowed towards Canada and the United States. But these white dominions are jealous of non-white immigrants, and both these States have by open treaty with the Mikado's Government, restricted Japanese immigration into their territories. The Australian Commonwealth does not welcome Asiatics. The surplus population of Japan could find some accomodation in the South American Republics, but there the Japanese would have gradually to accept the citizenship of the country of their domicile, and they could hardly exert any direct political or commercial influence upon the development of their original homeland. Japanese ambitions required colonial possessions nearer home. And these ambitions have been the permanent inspiration of Japan since a long time past in regard to her dealings with Korea and Manchuria.

Indeed, the geographical situation of Japan and certain traits of national character that a small insular habitat naturally develops, have quickened an ambition in the Japanese heart to occupy the same position in the Pacific which Great Britain has, for centuries past, occupied in the Atlantic. This ambition is the key to Japanese politics. Japan is obviously imitating Great Britain. She has even caught the very tricks of British diplomacy. She has already assumed the pharisaical cants of Western civilisation. The annexation of Korea has been forced upon her by the unfortunate position of that old empire. Japan had to step in and proclaim a protectorate over Korea five years ago, not because she wanted to grab that land, but because it was essential that Korea should have a strong and settled government in the interests of international peace in the Orient. Japan was anxious to maintain the independence of Korea, provided, as the late Prince Ito, quoted by Mr. Singh, is reported to have said,—"Her independence could be arranged in such a way that Japan would be sure that she (Korea) would always be a friend of Japan."

I should like to see Korea independent, provided her independence can be arranged in such a way that we would be sure that she would always be a friend of Japan. The geographical situation of the country is such that it is necessary to our peaceful existence as a nation that she should be friendly to us, and that to a certain extent she should be controlled by us. If the Koreans could convince us that that would be the case, and they would hold to their

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promise, they might be independent. Otherwise they must be subordinate to Japan. If not they will be forming alliances with other nations, and they would be sure to bring us into trouble of one kind or another. ..As to Korea for the Koreans, I hope that we shall give the nation a continued existence as such, although it may be a sort of dependent independence.

There is a frankness about this statement which one may sincerely appreciate. No one would refuse to admit that Japan had very vital interests in Korea. But the limits of these interests are that Korea should have a strong and settled government, generally friendly to Japan, a government that would neither find excuses by its weakness or internal dissensions to other neighbouring powers to come and take possession of her, nor cherish any unfriendly designs upon herself with regard to Japan. This is what one can fairly understand. To see that Korea secures these conditions was a legitimate duty of Japan. But this also was the absolute moral limitation in Japan's relations with Korea. But though Japan talked of ethics like the other civilised nations, she was all the while devising means as to how she might appropriate this old Empire to herself. And now she has done it. Even the name of Korea is henceforth to be wiped off the literature of world-politics. Korea is by the decree of the Mikado henceforth to be known as Chosen, the Koreans to be called Chosens. And it is impossible to read the documents in connection with the annexation of Korea without feeling how Japan has learnt all the tricks of trade from the European powers. In proof of it, I might quote here the Imperial Rescript attached to the Proclamation and Treaty of Annexation.

We, attaching the highest importance to the maintenance of permanent peace in the Orient and the consolidation of lasting security to Our Empire, and finding in Korea constant and fruitful sources of complication, caused Our Government to conclude in 1905 an agreement with the Korean Government by which Korea was placed under the protection of Japan in the hope that all disturbing elements might thereby be removed and peace assured for ever. For the four years and over which have since elapsed Our Government have exerted themselves with unwearied attitude to promote reforms in the administration of Korea, and their efforts have, in a degree, been attended with success, but at the same time, the existing *regime* of government in that country has shown itself hardly effective to preserve peace and stability, and in addition the spirit of suspicion and misgiving dominates the whole peninsula.

In order to maintain public order and security, and to advance the happiness and well-being of the people, it has become manifest that fundamental changes in the present system of government are inevitable. We, in concert with His Majesty the Emperor of Korea, having in view this condition of affairs, and being equally persuaded of the necessity of annexing the whole of Korea to the Empire of Japan in response to the actual requirements of the situation, have now arrived at the arrangement for such permanent annexation. His Majesty the Emperor of Korea and the members of his Imperial House will, notwithstanding the annexation, be accorded due and appropriate treatment. All Koreans, being under Our sway, will enjoy growing prosperity and welfare, and with assured repose and security will come a marked expansion in industry and trade. We confidently believe that the new order of things now inaugurated will serve as a fresh guarantee of enduring peace in the Orient. We order the establishment of a Governor-General of Korea. The Governor-General will under Our direction exercise the command of the army and the navy and a general control over all administrative functions in Korea. We call upon all Our officials and authorities to fulfil their respective duties in appreciation of Our will, and to conduct the various branches of administration in consonance with the requirements of the occasion, so that Our subjects may long enjoy the blessings of peace and tranquillity.

But Mr. Singh points out that Japan has not only annexed Korea, appropriated Formosa, and brought Manchuria under the "sphere of her influence", but she is even casting lustful eyes on Chinese territory. In their recent dealings with the Celestials the methods of the slant-eyed Japanese have invariably been those of a pugilistic bully. Japan fully realises that China is in no position to slap back when insults are offered, and ever and anon she takes advantage of the helpless condition of the Dragon Empire. On more than one occasion China had to give way before the bullying of Japan, but the Chinese, though lacking in naval power, is, however, superior to Japan in diplomatic cunning. This was seen in the sequel of the Tatsumaru incident. Though Japan had no moral right to demand reparation from the Chinese authorities for the seizure of a vessel containing contraband articles, yet she claimed this reparation from China, and as China is without a war fleet, she had to accept the Japanese terms. The whole affair, as Mr. Singh puts it, resembled a little boy taking his whipping without murmur at the hands of a big comrade, and then being compelled to bow and scrape and kiss the hand that had beaten him. But there are other ways of retaliation than what could

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be made through the help of a war fleet. And Japan

"felt that cannon and sword are not the only weapons that are effective in a fight between powers and when Tokyo complacently considered the Tatsu Maru affair closed, the Chinese smiled the bland child-like smile that is peculiar to the pig-tailed people of the Middle Kingdom, and stealthily set about revenging the insult in the subtlest form imaginable, ---by carrying on a boycott of Japanese goods and thus hitting Japan in the region of the pocket, which is far more effective than sinking or capturing a battleship.

In carrying on the boycott, China has been "wise as a serpent" in every move she has made. Japan has ever been on the look out for fresh insults that mayhap would make it possible for the Mikado's statesmen to demand that China should give over a substantial slice of territory to appease the hurt—for, as already explained, territory is what Japan needs most of all. It has been positively asserted by the Chinese that agents, disguised as pedlars, swarmed in the streets of the larger cities of China immediately after the Tatsumaru incident, offering Japanese goods for sale, hoping that they would be mobbed, and thus an opening would be made to further punish China by making her pay a large indemnity and give up some of her land. The Chinese were too wily to do anything rash and the plan failed. With a diplomacy that is born as an integral part of the Celestial character, China did not even name the movement against Japanese goods, a "boycott." Japan might have been furnished with an excuse for a quarrel if that had been done, and this the clever Chinese wished to avoid. So the boycott was called the "National Disgrace" and throughout the land, "National Disgrace Leagues" were formed. The people understood. It was a case of a rose by another name smelling as sweet. The name did not count. The boycott was just as effective as if it had been called anything else than "National Disgrace".

The Chinese boycott of Japanese goods is significant inasmuch as it plainly shows that the Sunrise Kingdom is by no means destined to find it easy to exploit China.

(3)

American Parochial Politics.

An article on "The Problem of City Government", by Mr. William J. Gaynor, Mayor of the City of New York, in the September *Century Magazine*, has received added interest from the recent attack on his life made by a disappointed place-man. The government of the City of New York has long been notorious for the corruptions of its officials, and especially its police force. Mr. Gaynor is one of the new Mayors who have in recent years tried to purge this augean stable; and it is believed that the attack on his life had something to do with his reforming zeal. According to Mr. Gaynor, the problem of municipal good government divides itself into a number of smaller problems. The first of these is "to get the government of large cities into honest and competent hands." Occasionally they had an honest government in New York, but oftentimes it has been incompetent; and the result has been even worse than having a dishonest government, for the lack of ability to grasp and control his government, it gets loose from the honest governor, and corruption is soon all about him, generally without his being able to see it. Having dismissed the common plea that a city's government can best be conducted by business men just as they conduct their own business, and indicated the general qualifications for mayoralty in a big city, Mr. Gaynor says :—

The thing, then, is to get men who are honest—fanatically honest, if you will—and competent. Only the union of these two qualifications can suffice; and with them you will have good government whether with a good charter or a poor one; one is almost tempted to say in spite of bad laws. Such an official will know how to keep within the laws, which should be the first and most scrupulous care of all officials in a free government, and still fashion and turn good and intelligent purposes to them. Such an administration lifts government up and makes it respectable, while the other kind degrades and corrupts it and makes it contemptible in the sight of all.

A Patriotic Actress: Madame Sarah Bernhardt.

A writer in the September *Lady's Realm*, enters a protest against the action of the French Government in refusing to confer the Legion of Honour on Madame Sarah Bernhardt, who is unquestionably the greatest actress of her time. Two years ago the present writer had the privilege of seeing Sarah Bernhardt act in a theatre in Lyons; and the fascination that she exercised upon one who did not understand a word of what she was talking, but who nevertheless fully enjoyed the expression of the varied emotions which the actress represented in interpreting her part, was an undeniable proof of her inimitable histrionic capabilities. The emotions or *rasas* are said to have each its own specific figure or form, its own *murti*, as the old Hindu masters call them. The perfection of acting consists in bringing out by muscular movements, the specific forms of special emotions. And if

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an actor or actress is able to do this, then it is immaterial for the enjoyment of the emotions depicted in a play, whether you know and understand the words of the play or not. It is like music, where not the words but the tune is the essential thing. And in the expression of emotion, Sarah Bernhardt has attained a degree of perfection that has not been reached by many actors or actresses, perhaps by no other actress of our time. But the writer in the *Lady's Realm* depicts another aspect of Madame Bernhardt's character. She is presented here not as an artist but as a patriot. Sarah Bernhardt devoted herself to nursing the wounded soldiers during the Franco-German War, when the Odeon Theatre was converted into a hospital. And throughout all these years, she has not forgotten or forgiven the injury that Germany inflicted upon her beloved country, and has persistently refused to accept any engagement in Germany, though once she was offered as much as a million francs for it. But her greatest service to her country is through her art, by the help of which she has brought the French language, French literature, taste and elegance to the remotest parts of the world.

In South America students have been known to fight with swords when an attempt was made to prevent them from saluting her with the cry of "Vive la France!" In the Argentine Republic they had learnt the works of Racine, Corneille, and Moliere by heart in honour of her visit. In Canada the French-Canadian students sang the Marseillaise after each of her performances, while the British (as she proudly relates herself) listened standing and bareheaded. In Hungary the towns she visited were decorated with French flags; in spite of the orders to the contrary given out by the Austrian Government. Sydney also once welcomed her with flags and bunting, and here she was officially received and carried in triumph. In America she is treated like a reigning queen. A special train for her use is put at her disposal, and as it runs for her company only, she can stop where she likes and go on when she chooses. Sometimes, when they are tired of rolling, the company alights and has a romp in the fields. In the United States she receives £120 for one performance, plus a third share of the receipts, and £40 a week for hotel expenses. But during her first years in Paris she had to be satisfied with something like £8 a month, all told, for impersonating leading parts in the classical repertory! And with this salary she was called upon to supply funds to her mother and sisters!

London, September 9th, 1910.

HARIDAS BHARATI.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N.B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space. We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

Mrs. Besant's Translation of the Gita.

Mr. P. N. Chatterjee has come down upon me with all the thunders and storms he could grasp with both his hands for the unpardonable crime of my pointing out certain blunders in Mrs. Besant's Translation of the Gita. Though I have been doing this purging work in the field of Hindu scriptures for the last twelve years or so, Mr. Chatterjee has taken it upon him to think that I have had a glimpse of the translation only lately. Since we wrote, Mrs. Besant has made certain changes in the book. At that time we also showed that the translation was not at all compatible with the high sounding preface. It was really a scanty repast after so mouth watering an invitation. She has made certain modifications in the preface also. She has not written new prefaces for the later editions, as is customary, but has revised the old one unannounced, thereby giving the whole thing an appearance of "All right." But this is matter historical. Let us now turn our attention to the point at issue.

One stands aghast at the amount of inventive genius that Mr. Chatterjee has employed in order to justify Mrs. Besant's mistranslations. All I have said is that the Divine nature, whether *para* or *apara*, can not be identified with "matter in its widest sense including all that has extension." And Mr. Chatterjee, while conceding that "it is blasphemy if matter be taken in its ordinary sense," contends that it should not be taken in its ordinary sense and cleverly explains away all the difficulties that attach themselves to the expression in this connection. But unfortunately, all his misapplied zeal and ingenuity have availed him nothing. If for argument's sake it be yielded that matter in the abstract may be forced to mean the objective side of the Divine nature, the mere school boy even would not require any teaching to understand that when clad with "all that has extension" matter must be taken in its ordinary sense, and Mrs.

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Besant had this sense in her mind when she wrote as is evident from her reference to extension. When Mr. Chatterjee was ransacking heaven and earth in order to find out a justification for the term as applied, here he seems to have altogether lost sight of this clog in his wheel. None but Mr. Chatterjee would even dare to identify extended matter with the creative energy of God. That energy may manifest itself as extension but extension can not form one of its attributes. When energy is etherealised, as Mr. Chatterjee has been told by one of his authorities, it is matter. But does this mean that matter is energy and energy is matter? If so, human language must be very defective and the charge that it was invented to conceal thoughts would be only too true. If matter be centre of force, matter is still there, it has not altogether vanished from the field of human consciousness. "Force and matter are two different forms of one and the same thing," so says another of his authorities. But he does so simply to dislodge Mr. Chatterjee from his pedestal and knock the bottom out of his foothold. Though they are manifestations of the same thing and from the Vedantic view-point the manifold world is so, they are still *two* forms, so they must be conceived as *two* and not *one*. In their manifested existence one cannot be merged into the other. Now, if we take all the scientific authorities, from whom Mr. Chatterjee has quoted, into our confidence, matter and energy would still be two distinct categories of thought conveying two distinct ideas. So his proposal of cutting down the scientific entities into two, would seem a little too premature. If it is, then, absurd on his own showing to take away the difference that exists between the concepts of matter and force even in the scientific sense of the terms, how much more absurd it would be to identify matter with the creative energy of the Supreme, whatever sense you may please to smuggle into it.

Mr. Chatterjee has fallen into a grave error by thinking that earth, air, &c., mentioned in this verse are gross elements, whereas Sankara and other commentators have taken them to be the subtile rudimental elements or *Tanmátras*, so quite inexplicable from the standpoint of "matter including all that has extension." I beg his pardon to repudiate the charge laid at my door by Mr. Chatterjee that I have no objection to call earth, air &c., alluded to above as matter in this sense. I have serious objection, because "matter including all that has extension" cannot explain the *Tanmátras*. If then it cannot explain, how much less will it render an account of *manas*, *buddhi*, and *ahankára*, it does not require the intelligence of a Buddha or Plato to understand.

Mr. Chatterjee has made a desperate attempt at explaining away the text from the Sankhya standpoint, and thought it is finished. But unfortunately for him he forgot, we are here concerned with Brahma Jnanam literature and according to the universally accepted canons of interpretation we are wholly precluded from taking the Sankhya view where the Vedantic explanation is in any way available. As all the commentators of the Gita have taken Prakriti to mean the *máyá* belonging to Ishvara, the question of the Sankhya Primordial Matter does not come in at all, the door being closed against it. But alas! how little has he understood his Sankhya even. Whether you understand the thing in the cosmic sense or psychic sense, whether it is in Buddha or in the primitive man, the intelligence is always an emanation of Prakriti in the presence of the Purusha. Is there any qualitative difference between the empirical ego in Plato and that in X? You will tax your imagination to its utmost capacity and find none. Nor will the category of "matter including all that has extension" explain either.

Mr. Chatterjee has expended as much of his energy in order to explain *Pará* Prakriti and Besantine "life-element" and has achieved as little. With all his erudition at his back he has not been able to relieve the translation from being classed as absolute nonsense. In our philosophical literature we have got distinct categories to express distinct ideas and in no case we are allowed to confuse them. It is an old thing to be able to promulgate a new philosophy. But the attempt to create a philosophy offhand to justify an absurd position is brand-new, and the credit must be given to Mr. Chatterjee. But his machiavelian tactics have failed him at least for once. Nobody knows by what occult process he has metamorphosed Mrs. Besant's "life-element" into his "life-giving principle" and then invited us to call this upstart creature of his consciousness, *chit* or soul, as if the Sanskrit vocabulary were so poor as to necessitate these higher conceptions being included in the lower, almost the lowest category of life. The Upanishads have given us categories to mark the evolution of ideas such as *anna*, *prana*, *manas* &c. In ordinary literature also we have got our classifications of things into heads, as *jada*, *jiva*, *mana*, *jnana*, &c., in order to signify those evolutionary stages. Now, when the category of mind is not allowed to enter the precincts of Chit or Soul in common parlance, it is very easy to understand, what an amazing amount of mental calibre Mr. Chatterjee has shown by trying to capture the *para* Prakriti of Brahman under the category of life—Mrs. Besant's "life-element" and his own "life-giving principle." The absurdity is too clear to require any refutation. It does not stand a moment's scrutiny. It breaks down under its own weight. In spite of all the smoke he has managed to raise round the point, he has not been able to hide the palpableness of its absurdity. Mrs. Besant's translation was simplicity itself and Mr. Chatterjee has made it simpler. Only none of them have given us the thing required. Mr. Chatterjee has the gift of making the words yield any meaning he likes.

DHIRENDRA NATH CHOWDHURI.

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NOTES

Two Sadhus who are doing good work.

The Sadhu, as Sadhus go now-a-days, typifies in himself the waste of national energy. The old behests which required the *Sannyasin* to devote his life to the uplift of the people at large are obeyed by few who go under that sacred name. In fact, today one finds that the average Sadhu is no more and no less than a man who does not want to work for his living, but has made up his mind to feed and fatten on the labour of others. This is the height of demoralization, and it often expresses itself in a so-called "Saint" actually playing the role of "Satan" and lowering the tone of the community in which he lives.

However, we thank our stars that there still are some Sadhus left amongst us who are real Sadhus, and are working for the uplift of the people—and thus ensuring salvation for themselves as well as for those they help. To this category belong Swamis Vishweshwaranand and Nityanand who are giving up their entire time and energies to make it possible for the present and coming generations of Indians to take the fullest advantage of their heritage of ages, by compiling, strictly on scientific lines, a concordance of the Vedas and a dictionary of Vedic Literature.

The first work has been already completed and now is available from the Swamis, who live at Shant Kuti, Simla. Although it consists of four volumes, each one of which is neatly printed on good paper, the entire set is sold for Rs. 10. When one compares this with the Rs. 36 demanded by the German firm which has published Max Muller's Concordance of the Rig Veda alone, one realizes the cheapness of the work. And without presuming to hurt the dignity of the Western scholar, we may say that the compilation made by our Swamis is in no way inferior to that of the Occidental savant.

The dictionary of the Vedas and Vedic literature is now being pushed ahead. In it the Sanyasins are aiming:

(a) To arrange all the words used in the Vedas in alphabetical order and give their etymological and grammatical construction.



SWAMIS VISWESWARANAND AND NITYANAND.

(b) To give the meanings attached to these words grammatically, in easy Sanskrit, and explain them with quotations wherever possible.

(c) To give the meanings of these words as found in Vedic literature and in books of a similar character.

(d) To give the meanings assigned to

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Vedic words by European, Indian and other scholars.

(e) To notice the interpretations given by the different sects.

(f) To state meanings according to the terminology applicable to the Vedas, and to compare the various interpretations, basing arguments on catholic and liberal principles and on Upanishads and Brahmanas.

(g) Wherever necessary, to point out the religious, social, moral, and physical applications and aspects of words.

Such a work no doubt will be very valuable, and we commend its preparation to the public as a cause worthy of encouragement and support.

We may add that the completion of the Concordance of the Vedas is due to the generosity of that enlightened Prince—the Gaekwar of Baroda, who stood the cost of preparation and printing—the Swamis, of course, charging nothing for their services. He has also donated Rs. 15,000 toward the compilation of the Vedic Dictionary now being pushed ahead. However, this work will require much more money than the Gaekwar's allowance. Therefore the Maharaja has directed his Private Secretary to send the following letter to Swamis Vishweshwaranand and Nityanand:

"His Highness has considered your letter with regard to the Vedic *Kosh*. He thinks he cannot undertake to spend more than Rs. 15,000 out of Rs. 48,000 required, and he suggests that the remainder may be secured by application to other Princes and Zemindars. The Maharajas of Kashmir and Mysore would no doubt contribute liberally if appealed to and there are many wealthy and educated landholders in Bengal, such as the Maharaja of Durbhanga, who might help. Their orthodoxy would, His Highness believes, be no bar to sympathy, as your *Kosh* is to be edited in a catholic spirit and give all shades and schools of opinion. When you have secured subscriptions amounting to the required Rs. 33,000, His Highness would complete the sum with Rs. 15,000, or if this cannot be done, he would contribute a proportionate monthly sum out of the Rs. 500 required, (*i.e.*, related to 500 as Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 48,000) if you can secure the rest as monthly subscriptions from other Princes and Zemindars. His Highness is laying the question before a Committee of Officers and Scholars in Baroda and his final order will be given subject to their advice and suggestions. This letter is meant only to throw out preliminary suggestions and clear the ground a little, so that it has not been thought necessary to deal with all the points in your letter. His Highness further suggests that the letter you have sent to him may, with the necessary modifications, be circulated to different princes, landholders and men of wealth as an appeal.

"His Highness would like the work to be done under his patronage, but if there should prove to be any difficulty in the matter, he would not press his wish, as he cares more about the work itself than about the name.

"If His Highness can be of any service in this work of national importance, he will always be glad to assist."

X.

Sea-Voyage and Benares.

Hindu Benares, led by its Maharaja, and Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Sudhakar Dvivedi, have deserved well of India and the world at large by the unstinted support that they have given to Hindus going to foreign countries for education, commerce



PANDIT SUDHAKAR DVIVEDI.

and travel. All honour to them and their colleagues.

One of the causes of India's decay was her isolation. We must do away with it, if we want to live and take our rightful place among nations.

What Two Bengali Brahman Girls did

In the village of Bhatpara, Dacca district, there live two brothers Kunjamohan Bhattacharya and Pyarimohan Bhattachar

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SARALA SUNDARI DEBI AND CHAPALA SUNDARI DEBI.

Kunja's wife is Sarala, aged 19, and Pyari's wife is Chapala, aged 18. In this village lived a young profligate named Binod. He was a drunkard and *ganja*-smoker. With him were associated a gang of ruffians. For the last two or three years they had made the lives of their neighbors unbearable, and night hideous by their devilry. During that period, too, they had tried, by alternate coaxing and intimidation, to seduce and ruin Sarala and Chapala, but without avail. Unable to bear these insulting advances and harrassments, the helpless girls had appealed to their husbands and relatives and even at last to the adoptive parents of Binod; but in vain. On the night of the 25th March last, Sarala's husband having gone to Dacca, on some business, Sarala and Chapala lay down to sleep together in the same room. Near midnight they had occasion once to go out together and when re-entering their room, seeing the aforesaid band of ruffians quite close to them, they hurriedly entered their room and shut the door. But on approaching the bed they found that Binod was already there. For a moment they were at their wit's end. But their mind was soon made up. On Sarala advancing towards Binod, the rogue thought that she was friendly. And so he caught hold of her hand and sat reclining on the bed. In the meantime, quick as lightning, Chapala, unnoticed by Binod, took up a knife and dealt him a fatal blow near the neck. He then let go Sarala's hand and grasped Chapala's with the knife still in her firm grip. It was now Sarala's turn. She took up a *dao* and struck Binod, who fell back exhausted. Another blow and the wretched man was no more, leaving behind,—poor innocent thing!—a young widow of 15.

Sarala and Chapala now found that Binod's comrades were still outside knocking at the door. So they kept inside with the door bolted, the corpse of their dead foe near them and their clothes wet with blood. In grim silence they waited for

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the morning, when, their terrible vigil over, they called the elders of the village together and told of all that had happened. In due course they were sent up for trial. We need not describe at length all that now happened. Suffice it to say that at the last stage Government withdrew from the prosecution and Mr. Newbold, the Sessions Judge, released the girls.

The facts given above are taken from the *Bharat-Mahila*, an excellent Bengali monthly edited by a lady and published from Wari, Dacca. Annual subscription Rs. 2-10. For the cut of the portraits of Sarala and Chapala, too, we are indebted to the same source.

The Artificial split between Hindus and Muslims.

The gulf between the Hindus and Muslims, from all we hear, see, and read, is growing daily wider and more unbridgable. The latest move, engineered by some Muslim League men, is to give a separate garden party, to bid Lord Minto God-speed before he leaves Simla for good; although a farewell function already had been arranged to be given by the Hindus and Muslims combined. At the time of this writing, we learn that the Islamites will gather on September 13, at the summer capital, to praise the regime of the out-going Viceroy and wish him success in his after-life. We understand that three days later, on September 16, the residents of Simla, including Hindus and Mohamedans will do the same thing. It now is an open secret that the Islamites of Simla disdainfully refused to listen to the overtures made by the Muslim League leaders, and they are going to unite with their Hindu brethren, under the Presidency of Rajah Sir Harnam Singh, the pre-eminent native Christian, to bid adieu to the out-going Viceroy. We make no secret of condemning the separatist propaganda which some small-minded Muslim "leaders" are engineering for their own unrighteous, selfish ends. To us it seems a pity that India should have come to such a dire pass that the educated members of the "largest minority" should find it essential to hold a separate session for the mere expression of kindly wishes to the highest official in the country on the eve of his surrendering his august post. But we forget that some Mahomedan gentlemen succeeded in wresting the political plum of "separate electorates" in the reign of Lord Minto—and they naturally are averse to giving him an impression at the last moment that the Faithful in India can make common cause with the Hindus in such a small and purely formal social affair as to bid him good-bye.

The saddest feature of all this is that the separate Muslim garden party does not represent any real and serious cleavage between the masses of Hindus and Muslims; but are the expression of a feud between some of the leaders of the two sections of Indians. We learn from a correspondent in Simla, whose veracity and insight into affairs are trustworthy, until a couple of Mahomedan leaders from Lahore conceived this idea, the Hindus and Muslims proposed to offer Lord Minto a joint farewell. Such artificial separation is bad because of its consequences—since it creates differences where none really exist and make the coalescing of the various elements of the population into a nation extremely and progressively difficult.

The Hindu-Muslim Split in other Directions.

The Hindu-Muslim relations are showing considerable tension in many other directions. There is a movement on foot in many cities in the Punjab—especially in Delhi—to boycott Hindu confectioners, milk-sellers and other shop-keepers. We do not at all object to the followers of the Prophet taking to making and and selling sweetmeats, milk, etc.—something which they have let the Hindus do for centuries. However, we do not seek to hide the fact that we do not like the wanton display of the spirit in which they are going ahead to accomplish this.

Our readers know through the daily press that the Muslim boycott of the Hindus resulted, a short time ago, in a breach of the peace in Sindh. We briefly referred to this in our last, and take the following resume of the affair from the *Phœnix* (Karachi) to refresh our readers' memory;

"The Mahomedans of Darbello have for some time been continuing their reign of terror with a vigour worthy of a better cause; but we refrained from chronicling constantly their activities in order

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to enable the authorities to quietely nip the scandal in the bud. Immediately after our last appearance information arrived which showed that the Darbello fanatics were taking full advantage of the proverbial slownsss of Government and pushing matters to a breaking point. Their oppression and unlawful actions committed in broad daylight had already driven thirty Hindu families out of the village. About thirty Mahomedans are said to have entered the village armed with *lathis,* and assaulted and looted several Hindus. The local officers, including the Collector of Hyderabad, the Assistant Collector and the Superintendent of Police, were informed of the loot and riot by wire. The *Mukhtiarkar* and the Police Inspector were soon on the scene, but felt hopelessly helpless. The boycotters having prevented the Hindus' way of egress, the latter shut themselves and their families up until Monday last. The Hindus asked for a European Police Officer to help them to leave the village safely. But their cry was again a 'cry in the wilderness'; so on Monday they took courage in both hands and all the Hindus of the place are reported to have deserted the village as the following telegram dated the 15th instant and received here by an inhabitant of Darbello, would show: 'Whole town fled, myself Jessaram, son and Kundomal went to Hyderabad today....come immediately on receiving telegram with family Kandiaro station.' The desertion of the whole Hindu population of the village, in spite of their utmost efforts to arouse the local and higher authorities from the very beginning to the seriousness of the situation and their piteous appeals for the protection of life and property which is the very greatest blessing of British rule in India, is an extremely sad and significant commentary upon the dilatoriness of Government."

We do not reproduce this quotation to stigmatize the administration, but only to point out with regret that such unfortunate occurrences are directly traceable to the Mussulman fulminations that appear in the Jingo Islamic press. Here is what a correspondent writing to the Lahore *Watan* says :

"The attention of the Muslim League ought to be invited to the humiliating treatment accorded to Mahomedans, high and low, by the Hindus, who, even the poorest among them, would object to taking food on the carpet polluted by the touch of a Mahomedan. The Muslim League ought to take a strong measure in the matter and pass a resolution prohibiting Mahomedans to patronize Hindu shops and to partake of anything that is touched by a Hindu. Leaving aside the religious prohibitions, from the sanitary point of view alone, the Mahomedans ought not to take anything prepared by a Hindu."

Talk such as this, to say the least, does not promote cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims. Such effusions must be deprecated at this time, when the Hindus are relaxing their old-time rules regarding inter-dining, and when there is a strong movement on foot in nearly every part of the country to ignore the age-long restriction of not eating with Musulmans.

But the strangest and saddest fact of all is that the gulf is the widest between the Hindus and Muslims who do not object to interdining with each other, whereas it is the narrowest between the ignorant Hindu and Muslim masses who keep up their old-time prejudices in regard to eating. This can be readily observed in any Indian city. It will be found that the educated leaders amongst both the communities are not very orthodox about social observances. Yet they are the very people who are at daggers drawn, while the ignorant villagers do not fight amongst themselves on religious and social, much less political scores, unless they are prompted to do so by their urban brothers.

Hindu-Muslim Relations Outside India.

Hindu-Muslim relations outside India also are showing signs of straining, through the same artificial process that is going on in Hindustan.

Some years ago we read of a feud waxing hot in Canada between Hindus and Muslims. Mohammad Khan, a half-educated Punjabi, headed one faction: the other was captained by an equally half-educated Punjabi "Doctor", Devi Chand. Their wranglings led them to the courts, and Vancouverites, who already were hostile to the Indian immigrants, became still more antagonistic. In the court the Hindus and Muslims, while setting forth their evidence, gave unbridled expression to race hatred. The reporters of the Canadian yellow press circulated these bitter and harsh expressions, and held up Hindustan to the scorn of their people.

Now comes the news from Australia that the Muslims are falling foul of Hindus and Sikhs. The reason advanced is that the latter eat meat butchered by the *Jhatka*—Sikh—process. What a trivial ground for wrangling!

What a pity that these fighting factions will not take to heart the splendid example that the Transvaal Hindus and Muslims have set to the world by forgetting their religious differences, recognizing their community of interests, and presenting a solid

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phalanx to their oppressors—the authorities of the South African Colonies.

Governing others.

The Christian Register of Boston writes :—

A generation ago all Americans hailed with glad consent the statement of Abraham Lincoln that no man was wise enough or good enough to govern another without his consent.

Is it suggested that Americans are now of a different opinion ? If so, why ?

Hindus in California.

"A San Francisco telegram states that a campaign is being begun against Hindu immigrants, of whom there are nearly 10,000 in California. The Californians' principal grievance is that they work on the railways, farms and in factories much cheaper than the white men, that they live cheaper and do not spend their money in their adopted country. The average pay for a Hindu labourer is low, and yet out of this they manage to support themselves, and send two-thirds of their wages to India. Attention was recently called to the fact that gangs of Hindus employed by the railways in the northern part of California and by the Diamond Match Company were buying money orders to the value of £200 a day, yet the pay received by these men was very small."

"London. August 10th.

"The correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* telegraphing from San Francisco says that the anti-Asiatic feeling on the Pacific Coast has been accentuated by the continual influx of Hindus, numbering ten thousand in California alone. They have been driven from Canada by cold. They are considered even more undesirable than the Chinese and Japanese, because they refuse to learn English, contending that as British subjects they did not find it necessary to learn English in India."—*Reuter.*

Of course every white man learns the language of the country in which he sojourns for earning a livelihood, and spends *all* his income there sending nothing home.

Every Indian ought to feel proud that not even the enemies of his countrymen abroad can say anything against their character or their capacity for work.

"When is an Empire not an Empire ?"

"The British Empire looks very well on the map, but when it is tested by the ordinary rules it does not seem to be much of an Empire. Adam Smith regarded an empire—all the component parts of which did not contribute to their common defence—as a shadowy semblance of an empire rather than the real thing. But matters are still worse when we are confronted by the impossibility of securing for all the subjects of the King equal justice and free transit through all his dominions beyond the sea. The Indians residing in Canada have preferred a temperate petition to the Government asking that the Dominion Immigration Laws may be amended. Japanese are allowed to enter Canada on showing they possess from £6 to £10. No British Indian can land unless he has £40, and has come direct from India—which is an impossibility. The petitioners say :—

'We appeal and most forcibly bring to your notice that no such discriminating laws are existing against us in foreign countries like the United States of America, Germany, Japan, and Africa, to whom we do not owe any allegiance whatsoever.'

"The Indians, I fear, will appeal to deaf ears. Neither in South Africa, Australia, nor Canada do His Majesty's loyal Indian subjects enjoy the privileges of citizenship in one common Empire."—*Review of Reviews.*

The case seems to be the most scandalous in South Africa. Persons of Indian extraction who were born and have passed all their lives in the Transvaal are dumped in Portuguese territory, whence the obsequious Portuguese officials deport them to India. There can be no greater international infamy than this. The British Imperial Government should at once put a stop to such things. It is idle to say that it cannot dictate to a self-governing colony.

"Let Major Seely—is he not the same man as the Under-Secretary of State ? reply. What did he say in his speech on the debate on the Address to the Throne in the House of Commons on the 20th February, 1906 ? He is reported to have said that 'he supported His Majesty's Government in the action which they had taken, and he was grateful for the reforms announced by the Prime Minister; but one thing more he would ask, and that was that they should not say that this thing was intolerable and wrong and in the same breath should say that they would leave it to the Responsible Government of the Colony to decide whether the wrong should be continued. (Cheers.) He was glad that the Prime Minister said yesterday that when he declared that the question of Chinese labour or no Chinese labour was to be referred to the Transvaal he by no means inferred that the question of the conditions under which that labour was to be allowed was a matter of indifference to the people of this country and to the Empire at large. (Cheers.) That was what they asked, and he took it that that was what his right honourable friend meant. He only asked that it should be stated clearly and emphatically, and, if possible, before the close of the debate, that the principle on which the British Empire rested was that those who came under the flag, if they were to come under it at all, must be free. (Cheers.) It might be said that they could not dictate to a self-governing colony, but they had done it again and again in far less important matters. (Hear, Hear.) This must be done at once, because delay would only do great harm and continue the uncertainty which now existed.'"

Education in Native States.

The Maharaja of Patiala has ordered that every village prepared to collect 30 boys for learning the Gurmukhi language will have a primary Gurmukhi school

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provided at once and that in the selection and appointment of Zaildars and Nambardars, other qualifications and considerations being equal, preference should as a rule be given to those who are literate and educated and have assisted in the spread of or otherwise taken interest in, education.

The Native State of Jamkhandi in the Southern Mahratta Country has made education free for the masses, and the result of this measure has been a constant increase in the number of scholars. The policy of the State has been to provide schools in the larger villages first. There are now only two or three places possessing a population of 500 and upwards without a school. The State, with its limited revenue, spends about 4·8 per cent. of the 'gross' income on education; and 5·2 per cent. of the 'entire' population are under instruction in schools. Earnest endeavours are being made to popularise education among the depressed classes, and the attractions offered are free meals and other advantages, which should necessarily appeal to the "untouchables", who do not get even a full meal a day. The resources of the State are small, and they prevent it from opening free schools in smaller villages.

There is absolutely no reason why primary education should not be made absolutely free in all Native States, large and small. There is no political reason to deter them from taking this most needful and necessary step.

Mr. Nevinson on Nationality.

In one of his recent lectures Mr. Nevinson said:—

"Nationality implies a stock or race, an inborn temperament, with certain instincts and capacities. It is the slow production of forgotten movements and obscure endeavours that cannot be repeated or restored. It is sanctified by the long struggles of growth and by the affection that has gathered round its history. If nationality has kindled and maintained the light of freedom, it is illuminated by a glory that transforms mountain freedom into splendour. If it has endured tyranny, its people are welded together by a common suffering and a common indignation * * *. It has inspired the noblest literature and all the finest forms of art. Chiefly in countries where the flame of nationality burnt strong and clear, has the human mind achieved its greatest miracles of beauty, thought, and invention * * *. Chiefly by nationality has the human race been preserved from the dreariness of ant-like uniformity, and has retained the power of variation, which appears to be essential for the highest development of life. With what pleasure, during our travels, we discover the evidences of nationality even in such things as dress, ornaments, food, songs, and dancing, still more in thought, speech, proverbs, literature, music, and the higher arts! With what regret we see those characteristics swept away by the advancing tide of dominant monotony and imperial dullness!"

According to the London Correspondent of the *Madras Standard*, Mr. Nevinson cited as the greatest evils of subjection the loss of manhood inevitable in the subject race, or the penalty which it pays in tormenting rancour and the corresponding penalty imposed on the soul of the dominant race. "As a rule," he affirmed, "we may say that the worst characteristics, not only of our own but of all dominant races, such as the French, Germans, and Russians, are displayed among their subject races." The moral he drew was two-fold. In regard to races already subject the duty of the dominant Powers is to keep up to the level of their own pretensions—"to maintain among them equal justice, equal rights, and equal consideration as members of one great community, instead of depriving them of their manhood and kicking them out of their own railway carriages. We have to train them on the way to self-government, instead of clapping them into prison if they mention the subject. We have to encourage their local arts and industries instead of regarding them as a ground where our dry rubbish may be shot, or as a stable for the breeding of cheap labour."

"And in regard to nationalities that still retain their freedom we must bring our Governments up into line with the leading thought of the day. We must show them that the destruction of a free people like Finland or Persia is not a local or distant disaster only, but affects the whole community of nations and spreads like a poison, blighting the growth of freedom in every land and encouraging all the black forces of tyranny, darkness, and suppression. Rapidly growing among us, there is already a certain solidarity of all free states, and the problem of the immediate future is how to make their common action effective on the side of liberty."

Turkey under its new Rulers.

In a letter to the *Times* of July 4, Mr. Frederic Harrison wrote:

The new *regimè* in Turkey is doing its best to fulfil our hopes of it; public confidence is increasing, though improvements and reforms still go very slowly; the Chamber is working with honesty, good sense, and order; and, above all, the various races and creeds

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in the motley empire are beginning to understand the idea of a common Ottoman patriotism.

* * * *

All that I saw or heard in various quarters led me to believe that the new *regimé* is doing well, and will overcome the inveterate difficulties with which it is surrounded. I noticed a visible improvement in the police and free life in Constantinople since my first visit in 1890. I am assured that something is going to be done about the streets and the dogs, but as yet both are nearly as troublesome as ever. Vagrancy and robbery are certainly being repressed, and I even walked about the quays of Galata at night with impunity.

* * * *

How far Parliamentary government is as yet practicable in Turkey I will not say. I neither observed, nor did I hear of, any serious objections to the maintenance of military rule, which, after all, is invisible to the visitor, and seems to be popular with the mass of the people. The business of the Chamber seemed to me to be more like a lively afternoon at the London County Council rather than in a European Parliament. No collision is noticed between the various religions, though nearly half the members are Softas wearing white turbans. One Beduin attends in his native costume, but he gives no trouble. The speeches are short and practical. In a morning I heard thirty or forty Deputies give their opinions, frequently in two or three sentences, without rising—short, sharp, and decisive. I trust that the Speaker of the House of Commons had an opportunity of observing how pithy honourable members can be when they try. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was listened to with attention in a long detailed statement, and was not heckled so severely as our own at Westminster. But perhaps what impressed me most was that men of different creeds and races now serve in the ranks together for the first time in the history of Islam. So experienced and energetic a soldier as Ma or Stephen speaks well of his new recruits.

Forward and Backward Races.

The Christian Register of Boston writes:—

The doctrine now commonly accepted by the ruling governments of the world is that nations and tribes that are incapable of founding stable governments and administering justice with impartiality and success must necessarily come under the control of some other nation that has the power to maintain order and is righteous enough to administer justice. The doctrine is now accepted because all the great nations are practising that which they preach,—or rather are preaching a doctrine of international relations to justify their practices. They, therefore, by the familiar process called log-rolling sustain each other. They say, in effect, "Keep your hands off from my preserves, and I will not meddle with yours." Some day the question will arise in another form, and we shall ask, if a dependent nation is to be governed for its own good, what are the qualities which will justify any nation in volunteering for the office of control?

When the peace of the world has been secured by mutual consent and co-operation of the great powers, some new questions will be submittted to the new international court of arbitral justice. The weak, dependent nations that are governed without their own consent will make an appeal to this court and demand the credentials of those who claim the right to govern, and beg also to be informed as to the terms and limits of their enforced apprenticeship. They will desire to know when the hour will strike when freedom for them will be proclaimed.

Japan and Korea.

Japan has extinguished the independence of Korea. She wishes to do more. She wants the Koreans and the world at large to forget that there ever was such a name as Korea denoting an independent country and people, But though others may forget, the Koreans will not: Chosen, the new Japanese name for Korea, will not be as dear to the Koreans as Korea. The Telugu people have not ceased to call their country *Andhra*, though that name is not to be found in any modern map.

Evidently the Koreans are not satisfied, though dissatisfaction cannot find expression in their native land. The voice of discontent comes from far-off free America.

Reuter wires from San Francisco that the Korean National Association, the general office of which is at San Francisco, has passed a resolution firmly repudiating the cession of sovereignty and the tyrannical compulsion of Japanese methods. The resolution concludes: "We, true sons of Korea, will never give up the struggle for liberty and independence."

The "Times" correspondent telegraphs from Tokio that the Minister for Home affairs has issued instructions urging all Japanese to offer their hand in sincere amity to their new countrymen in Korea and to be guided solely by the principle of equality.

We hope the Minister for Home affairs is sincere, and we hope, too, that the Japanese will succeed in practising what some other conquering races have preached.

An M. P. on the Influence of Bengal.

Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P., writes in the *Daily Chronicle*:

The Bengalee inspires the Indian Nationalist movement. In Bombay the Nationalist is a Liberal politician, a reformer who takes what he can get and makes the best use of it. In the Punjab he is a dour, unimaginative person who shows a tendency to work in a lonely furrow. In Bengal he is a person of lively imagination who thinks of India, and whose nationalism finds expression not only in politics, but in every form of intellectual activity. Indeed I have not taken away with me a very favourable impression of Bengal politics. There are no good political

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leaders there. They have excellent speakers and eloquent writers, but none of their prominet men seem to have that heaven-given capacity to lead. They are magnificent agitators (I use the word in no uncomplimentary sense). They can prepare men to be led, but no shepherd there steps forward to pipe the flocks to the green pasture.

But Bengal is perhaps doing better than political agitation. It is idealising India. It is translating nationalism into religion, into music and poetry, into painting and literature. I called on one whose name is on every lip as a wild extremist who toys with bombs, and across whose path the shadow of the hangman falls. He sat under a printed text: "I will go in the strength of the Lord God"; he talked of the things which trouble the soul of man; he wandered aimlessly into the dim regions of aspiration where the mind finds a soothing resting-place. He was far more of a mystic than of a politician. He saw India seated on a temple throne. But how it was to arise, what the next step was to be, what the morrow of independence was to bring—to these things he had given little thought.

In the last few sentences Mr. Macdonald undoubtedly refers to Aurobindo Ghosh. Mr. Macdonald continues:

From Bengal gush innumerable freshets of religion, all flowing to revive and invigorate the Nationalist spirit.

A literary revival makes for the same end. It is still crude, particularly in its romance, but it is groping after Hindu realism. It is written in Bengalee in the same aggressive way that some of our Irish friends are trying to revive the use of Erse.

So also in music, poetry and the fine arts. That past, glowing with nationalist spirit, has been revived by [Abanindro Nath] Tagore and some of his pupils. The former enjoys already a vigorous popular life. They brought us out on the river on Sunday, and sang to us—"Bande Mataram" amongst other things. Their "Marseillaise" and their "Carmagnole" are hymns thanking God for endowing life with beauty, are invocations to India, their mother, full of yearning endearments. They sang from well-thumbed copies of a collection of hymns written by [Rabindranath] Tagore, the poet, and the music, much of it new, and all so unlike our own, clung round our hearts and stole again and again all that day into our ears.

When we were still in the North-West we were told of this incident. A concert was held one evening at one of the orphan schools controlled by a missionary society in the Punjab, the boys themselves doing the entertaining. The Punjabees sang their rather monotonous and common popular songs, but one lad singing in an unknown tongue swept the auditors off their legs by the vim of his style and the enchantment of his music. He had been picked up on the Calcutta streets, and he was singing some of the Bengalee national hymns.

India in Song and Worship.

That is what Bengal is doing for the National movement. It is creating India by song and worship, is clothing her in queenly garments. Its politics [illegible] for some time an uncertain mingling of [illegible] possibilism and moderate opportunism. It is romantic, whilst the Punjab is dogmatic.... Bengal will brood for long over the bereavement to its heart caused by the Partition; it will cling fondly to Swadeshi; on the shores of its enthusiasm it will throw up the bomb-thrower as a troubled sea throws up foam; and from this surging of prayer and song and political strife will come India—if India ever does come.

Later on, I sat at the table of the Great Official, and, in bad temper and rude manner, he demanded of me to tell him where I had been and whom I had seen, and of what I was thinking. I told him of the hymns and the pictures and the prayers. And he laughed a great rude Western laugh and explained things by reasons made up of blind Western superficialities. He knew nothing about the pictures; the hymns were a mixture of double meaning and sedition to him. Each sentence ended with the authoritative "I know." But I have heard the children sing, and the women talk, and the men join in with both. And I think I know.

Do the Great Officials really know? Is it the case with them, then, that though knowledge *has* came, "wisdom lingers"?

Count Okuma and India.

The following passage taken from Count Okuma's article in the July number of the Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association deserves to be earnestly thought over by all Indians:

India was at the head of all civilized countries in ancient times, but what was the cause by which she was reduced to her present state? She brought it about herself. She fell behind, because her social organization did not conform to the international standard. From the reprehensible caste institution, from religious superstitions, from the discordance of languages, conjoined with various other causes, the Indian nation has been unable to withstand the international competition. The rise or fall of a nation is brought about by the people themselves, and no other force is responsible for a nation's downfall. Rome was not brought to its destruction by tbe northern barbarians, but by the Romans themselves. Therefore I always give advice to my most beloved Indian friends to cease from their aversion to England, and to recognise their own weak points and to cultivate the knowledge and morality that correspond to the present world requirements.

No vacancy for Bengali Brahmins in Mrs. Besant's Kitchen.

According to a report published in the *Madras Standard*, in the course of a speech which Mrs. Annie Besant made at the Central Districts Theosophical Federation, held at Madanapalle, she said:

The interdining was connected purely with the magnetism of the person. If the person was pure in his magnetism one could eat from his hands. I do not advocate interdining everywhere as a whole. But I do advocate interdining between sub-castes.

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Pure magnetism is the thing that should be looked to. The reasons have been forgotten and the forms are maintained as a matter of distinction. For instance, I could not take food from a Bengali Brahmin cook, who is a flesh-eater or fish-eater. I would rather eat food from my servant whom I know than from a Brahman who was a meat-eater, because I walk by knowledge and not by form."

The humour of the situation lies in this that the class of orthodox Bengali Brahmins who generally become cooks would consider Mrs. Besant's touch itself as pollution, for she is, to them, in spite of her assumption of superior physical holiness, a *mlechchha* woman after all, one of a race sprung from monkeys and *rakshasas*. It would be difficult to decide who was the funnier fossil of the two, Mrs. Besant or the orthodox Bengali Brahman cook. We are sorry for the Bengali Brahmin, all the same; for one more avenue of employment is closed to him.

Every Bengali married woman, Brahman or non-Brahman, eats fish during the lifetime of her husband, as it is considered a privilege to which widows are not entitled. So, you see, the whole Bengali race is tainted, for the Bengali mothers are not good enough to cook Mrs. Besant's food. For this reason the Bengali race, from prehistoric days down to September 30, 1910, has not produced any saint or even a good man of ordinary virtue.

In what laboratory is this magnetism generated? Will any scientist kindly let us know? We wish to have a little of it; for though we have not taken meat or fish for a quarter of a century, we are afraid the original taint of being a Bengali Brahman has not left us yet.

In spite of its unwisdom, how excruciatingly funny the idea is that no fish-eating Bengali Brahmin is good enough to cook for Mrs. Besant! In these days of high prices, what shall we do if we can not with a clear conscience cherish the ambition of being cooks even?—for our touch is contamination.—Heigh-ho for the good old days when there was no Mrs. Besant to bring our culinary virtues into disrepute!

Caste as a qualification for High Court Judgeship.

While at one end of the ladder the Bengali Brahman's chances of becoming Mrs. Besant's cook are gone, at the other, his claims to occupy the Calcutta High Court Bench are being seriously disputed.

Some rogues, having found that the game of setting class against class has succeeded to some extent in some provinces, have begun to say that Mr. Ex-Judge Lal Mohan Das ought to be succeeded by a non-Brahman judge. Bengalis will not stand this mischievous nonsense. What has caste got to do with judicial capacity? These mischief-making rascals ought to be deported forthwith to Mount Erebus in the South Polar regions to try their tricks with penguins, seals and albatrosses.

The Range of Ancient Hindu Influence

When India was not isolated she was great. There was then a Greater India beyond the bounds of India proper, as there is a Greater Britain beyond the narrow limits of Great Britain. All the lands in the vicinity of India,-Burma, Anam, Cambodia, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, Tibet, China, Afghanistan, Bokhara, Central Asia, and Siberia, and Asiatic islands like Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Bali, and Japan,—felt and benefited by Indian influence and emigration. Archæological discoveries are making this fact clearer and more indisputable day by day. For instance we are told that Herr Lueders, the Berlin authority on Sanskrit, has according to a London telegram, succeeded in deciphering the Sanskrit manuscripts discovered at Turfan, in Central Asia, by Leeps. The manuscripts, it is said, are scenes from plays, some being 2,500 years old.

In all countries, particularly in countries like ours, there are worthless descendants of ancestors of note who rest their claims to the respect of their neighbours on what their forbears were or did. We have long played the despicable part of these do-nothings. Is it not time that we exerted ourselves to show that we are men? If a nation has a glorious past, it ought to be all the more a reason for striving to live worthy lives in the present. And what if a race has no great past, no proud history? It ought to *make* history *now*. There is potential greatness in every race.

Dr. Broda of Paris, Editor of the *International*, once told us that the Negroes of the small island of Hayti could [illegible]

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original workers in science than we could!

Let us cease merely dreaming of the past.

"Independent Wales."

"AN EXTRAORDINARY SPEECH.

"LONDON, September 21st.

"In a speech last evening Mr. Lloyd-George, referring to the Welsh, said their patriotism was intense but not narrow. He believed in the Empire, though he did not display his imperialism by insulting foreigners and jeering at the races in the Empire to which he belonged. Some of us, he concluded, might live to see Wales independent and free.

"The Master of Elibank, in a speech, said the time was perhaps not distant when, as in English-speaking communities overseas, both the Saxon and the Celt on our shores would be called freely to exercise that genius for Self-Government with which they were so highly endowed."—*Reuter.*

The above telegram refers to two speeches by two responsible statesmen. Mr. Lloyd-George is a Welshman and fills almost the most important office in the British Empire, and his country, Wales, that is to say, is well-represented in the British Parliament. But still he cries out for independence! Does the conquest of Wales by the Saxon centuries ago still sting him? Alas for the imperialist! God did not consult him while mixing up the constituent elements of the human mind; so love of independence continues to form part of the mind of even the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the British Empire. Even his proud position cannot make him forget that, though his country has the substance of self-government, it has not got the semblance of freedom,—it was conquered hundreds of years ago, and it forms part of the British Empire not of its own free will, but because of that conquest.

We have been told again and again that we ought not to be sentimental, and ought not to cry for the moon. We try not to. It is British statesmen who spoil and have always spoilt us, from the days of the Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General of India, downwards,—the Marquess who wrote in his "Private Journal" under date the 17th of May, 1818:—

"A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she can at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactress that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest." P. 326, Vol. II.

And now, why does a Chancellor of the Exchequer disturb the even tenour of our endeavour to be very good boys?

The Indian Daily News pleasantly suspects that with Mr. Lloyd-George it is a case of incipient insanity. It writes:

After his speech on Monday night with its absurd conclusion the only reflection possible is that Mr. Lloyd-George stands very sorely in need of a holiday, and that even if he were to risk the perils of land and sea, as Mr. Winston Churchill has done in the Near East, it would be better there should be some change of scene and rest to restore his balance of mind.

If his friends are wise they will forcibly convey Mr. Lloyd-George to some place where he can take a long holiday. New Guinea would be a favourable retreat.

Should the Chancellor of the Exchequer go to New Guinea, would he kindly receive as paying guests some Indian lads who indiscreetly dreamt, talked and wrote of independence but did not possess the protective armour of a Chancellorship of the Exchequer?

Self-Government for whom?

The Master of Elibank speaks of self-government both for the Saxon and the Celt in the British Empire. Does he mean that the other races in the Empire, referred to by Mr. Lloyd-George, are helots and must remain helots? But this is God's world and no people can ever remain helots.

Devanagari on Indian Coins.

The Kashi Nagari-Pracharini Sabha has submitted a memorial to the Government of India praying that the value of all the Indian coins of the reign of King George V. "be indicated in the Devanagari character also." It says:

The Devanagari script is used and read by the largest number of His Majesty's Indian subjects. It is the most widely known character in India. The ancient and modern Sanskrit and Hindi literatures, sacred and profane, are written in Nagari character. The Hindi speaking population of India which generally uses this character numbers 85·68 millions To the Guzerati and Marathi speaking populations which number 10·62 and 18·88 millions respectively and the Bengalis generally, who number 41·34 millions, the Devanagari character is well known, inasmuch

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as their more or less common sacred books are written in that character.

The subject is not altogether without an historical precedent. In the Mohammedan coins from the time of Shahabuddin Mohammed Ghori to that of Ghayasuddin Tughlak, the Devanagari character was invariably used.

The prayer is eminently reasonable and natural. But that may also be its weak point.

Education and Health.

We find in our country that university education has a very injurious effect on the health of many of our young men and young women. But that it need not do so, will appear from the following extract from the "Christian Register" of Boston:

Horrible things are told in these days about the morals and the health of young men, and all kinds of statements are made to the effect that young women by modern processes of education are rendered unfit for the duties of home and society. True statements of this kind undoubtedly may be made, and yet anybody who is old enough to remember the changes that have been going on since the Civil War may testify that *young men and women were never so strong and well proportioned, capable of enduring fatigue, and alert for the activities and pleasures of life as they are to-day. It is notable in all parts of the country that the tendency of young people is to outgrow in stature their fathers and mothers, and that the graduates of colleges, especially of theological seminaries, are more robust and of a more wholesome type in body and mind than their predecessors.* We hear much about the powers of endurance of the stalwart clergy of a hundred years ago, yet Dr. Greenwood said that it was a well-known fact that there was not at that time a minister in the circle of Massachusetts Bay who was in good health. (The italics are ours).

The reasons why our young students, male and female, are for the most part weaklings, are many. In addition to the other causes which produce greater bodily weakness and mortality in India than in any other civilised country and which fully affect our student population along with other classes of the people, there are causes which operate only in the case of students. These are the multiplicity of examinations, the irrational methods both of instruction and examination which promote cramming, the heaps of books in a foreign language which have to be gone through in a more or less mechanical manner, the hours of work in the hottest part of the day, which in a tropical climate ought naturally to be set apart mostly for rest, chronic semi-starvation and bad food, living in ill-ventilated and insanitary lodging houses, studying in insufficiently lighted, ill-ventilated and over-crowded class-rooms, want of suitable and sufficient physical exercise, and absence of buoyancy, hopefulness and bright prospects due to causes which we need not definitely mention or discuss. In addition to these, female students are further subjected to the disadvantage of remaining confined to their houses. In fact, unless we who advocate higher education for women and also give such education to our daughters can also provide plenty of physical movement in the open air for them, our efforts must end disastrously. To be cabinned and confined is bad enough for all women, but it is worst for those who have to do brain work.

Can we not have a park or an open square in Calcutta and other big cities for the exclusive use of our women? What do our medical friends say? If they insist on prescribing fresh air for their female patients wherever necessary, the remedy will certainly come sooner than otherwise.

Age of Compulsory Schooling in Germany.

Throughout Germany the education of boys and girls is compulsory up to a certain age, and therefore free up to a certain standard. The ages of compulsory attendance in the different States are given below. Unless exceptions are mentioned, it is to be understood that both boys and girls must attend:

States	Age
Prussia	5 to 14 or 15
Bavaria	6 to 16.
Saxony ...	6 to 14. Boys up to 1
Wurtemburg ...	6 or 7 to 14 or 15:
Baden	6 to 14. Girls up to 1
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	6 to 14
Mecklenburg-Strelitz.	6 to 14
Oldenburg	6 to 14
Brunswick	5 to 14
Saxe-Meiningen ...	6 to 14
Saxe-Altenburg	6 to 14. Girls may leave at 1
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha ...	6 to 14
Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen	6 to 14
Schwarzburg-Budolstadt	6 to 14
Waldeck	6 to 14
Reuss V. L.	6 to 14
Reuss J. L.	6 to 14
Schwamburg-Lippe ...	6 to 14
Bremen	6 to 14
Hamburg ...	6 to 14

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	Age
States	6 to 14 May be pro-
Lubeck	longed for one year.
Alsace-Loraine	5½ or 6 to (boys) 14 or (girls) 13

Everywhere Germany is taking the lead owing to its excellent educational system.

Our foremost duty in India to-day is to reduce the mass of illiteracy in the country. The best patriot is he who can honestly say that he is doing his very best to see that in his hamlet, village, ward, town or district no boy or girl grows up in illiteracy. Every one who is literate is bound to destroy illiteracy in others.

Prof. Gilbert Murray on Kipling and "Punch."

Professor Gilbert Murray of Oxford delivered an address at the opening of the Conference on Nationalities and Subject Races. The text of the address has been printed in the *Sociological Review*. We subjoin an extract.

If ever it were my fate to administer a Press Law, and put men in prison for the books they write and the opinions they stir up among their countrymen, I should not like it, but I should know where to begin. I should first of all lock up my old friend, Rudyard Kipling, because in several stories, he has used his great powers to stir up in the minds of hundreds of thousands of Englishmen a blind and savage contempt for the Bengali. And many Bengalis naturally have read these stories. You cannot cherish a savage contempt for anyone without its being quickly reciprocated. And when both sides regard each other with the same savage contempt it is not likely that they can dwell together in peace. And in case Mr. Kipling should feel lonely in his cell, I would send him a delightful campanion, Mr. Anstey of *Punch*. Year after year, clever natives of India come over to England at great sacrifice of money and trouble, to study in our Universities and satisfy the tests for obtaining positions in their own country. They compete with us well, and with all the odds against them. And year after year they have found in our greatest newspaper caricatures of themselves—ridiculous Baboos, cowardly, vain, untruthful, in every way absurd, talking bad and bombastic English (not nearly so correct, I suppose, as Mr Anstey's Hindustani), held up for the amusement of the public. Now if these men are to be in any sense our subjects, that sort of thing is not fair play. It is not fair play, and it is not decent policy. If you must insult somebody, insult one who is free and can hit you back. If you want to govern a man, and to have him a loyal and friendly citizen—well, you must give up that luxury. You cannot govern the man and insult him too. This incessant girding at the Bengali, the most intellectual and progressive of the peoples of India, has an ugly look. It goes along with much irritable hostility to the Congress, to the students, to [illegible] most every Indian society that professes higher aims, such, for instance, as the Arya Samaj. There is in such sneers something perilously like jealousy. And if ever in a ruling race there creeps in a tendency to be jealous of its subjects, to hate them for their good qualities rather than their bad, to keep them out of power not because they are unfit for power, but because they are too obviously fit; such a tendency is, I believe, disastrous to any Empire, and the individuals and parties who foster and inflame it have forfeited their claim to stand among the great leaders and governors of the world.

An alleged Interview with Sir E. Baker.

Mr. Frank G. Carpenter, an American journalist, has published a report of an interview which he says he had with Sir E. N. Baker, in the *Times-Democrat* of New Orleans, U. S. A. Here are some extracts from the report.

Protective Tariff in India.

My conversation with the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal here drifted towards finance, upon which he is an authority in the Far East. Said I:

"Suppose you were the absolute ruler of India, your Excellency. Suppose you were not controlled by Great Britain, but that you had the same armies and the same administrative machinery that you have to-day, what would you do to better the condition of these people?"

"I would give them a protective tariff. I would encourage the establishment of factories and favour them in every way as to the making of goods for India in competition with those of Europe, Japan and other parts of the world. What India needs is industrial development, and a protective tariff would bring that about. As it is, we are tied up by the manufacturing industries of Great Britain. We can levy no duties to speak of upon our imports of cottons. We once had a tariff of 5 per cent., but the Manchester mill men objected, saying that it ruined their trade. They demanded that an excise duty be added to equalize our competition, and the result was that the duty was reduced to 3½ per cent., that amount being levied on all goods made in India. Do you wonder that the natives object? A protective tariff would foster our industries and we could in time build up a mighty industrial empire."

India's Coal and Iron.

"Could you do this along other lines than the textiles?"

"Yes. There is no reason why Indians should not make everything in iron and steel. Their country has mineral resources which have never been exploited. No one knows what we have. Take our coal. Only a few years ago the people sneered at the coal of Bengal and said it was of no value. We exported more than 2,000,000 tons of that coal last year, and during that time our output was almost 10,000,000 tons. We have a coal field at Barakar which covers over 200 square miles and is supposed to contain fifteen hundred million tons of available coal. In the Karanpura fields there are something like nine billion tons, and we have other deposits of considerable

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value. We have iron not far from the coal, and steel works are now being put up with native capital to manufacture with native iron and native ore. Within a short time we shall be making steel rails for our East Indian roads. There is no reason why we should not make our own hardware and develop industries along other lines."

If these views are really held by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, they certainly do credit to his intellect. And if this interviewers accuracy can be relied upon, Lord Minto also holds similar opinions. But at present India is not in the least a gainer by such views being held by them. For after all they do not in the least affect Great Britain's economic policy towards India; they are at best only the cold intellectual convictions of private gentlemen meant for the consumption of interviewers and newspaper-readers. If there be any warm heart-force behind them, the industrial aspect of India can be changed for the better a great deal in spite of the wickedness of "the other fellow," Manchester.

After all it is only achievements that count. Without them, words and opinions and intentions are practically useless.

Commerce writes in this connection:

"Sir Roper Lethbridge suggests that to give India fiscal freedom—i e., to permit her to impose protective tariffs upon English goods if she thought fit—would lead to the disruption of the Empire. We have always held—and our view is confirmed by those expressed by Lord Minto and Sir Edward Baker—that, on the contrary, such liberty would enormously strengthen the hold of Great Britain upon India. It would remove one of the greatest grievances which now embitter the Indian mind—the sense of feeling that India is being ruthlessly exploited in the interests of English capitalists."

This view is no doubt correct. For in the last debate on Imperial Preference in the Commons it was argued that the absence of a system of Imperial preference had injured the commercial interests of England. In reply Mr. Asquith said that when British goods competed with Colonial ones, they were excluded frompreference and were taxed equally with other goods by the Colonies; that price was gladly paid by England for a free and loyal Empire, which they should not have had if they continued to dictate their fiscal policy to the Colonies. That means that fiscal freedom instead of breaking the bonds of loyalty only serves to strengthen them. In fact the Premier admitted that "complete freedom is the only security for unity."

The Proclamation Pillar.

The proposed Proclamation Pillar at Allahabad will be useful both to European officials and the people of India, only if a sufficiently large number of them can be induced to go to Allahabad and read and understand the inscriptions at its base. The British official will be reminded thereby of the ideals of British rule proclaimed to the world by Queen Victoria and confirmed by her son and grandson and will be in a position to compare the actual and the ideal for his guidance. The Indian who reads the inscriptions will also be in asimilar position to compare the two. Whether the comparison will stimulate his loyalty or accentuate healthy discontent, will depend on the decreasing or increasing distance between the actual and the ideal. Either result it is in the power of the British rulers of India to achieve.

We do not know what objects the promoters of the project and the donors have in view. In any case we could suggest a cheaper and more effective, though less imposing, scheme. It is to secure in perpetuity a prominent position in all important periodicals and newspapers in India, and to print therein the passages of the Proclamation which are meant to be inscribed on the Pillar. In the case of vernacular publications, translations will have to take the place of the original. We are sure all Indian proprietors of papers will charge only cost price for the space required, not the ordinary advertisement rates; many will be prepared even to print stereos of the passages gratis. We cannot speak for the proprietors of Anglo-Indian journals.

Our suggestion will appear quite humdrum to many, as it does not at all appeal to the imagination; but we are convinced that it will be an incomparably more effective means of making the Proclamation known than the Pillar plan.

We have no mercenary motives. Should our suggestion be accepted, we would give free insertions to the passages chosen as long as our periodical might live.

The Bengal Provincial Conference.

The outstanding event of the last month in Bengal was the Provincial Conference. The chairman, Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, Faridpur delivered a political

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address. We share with him his optimism to the full.

Many important resolutions were passed at this session of the Conference. Some of them can be given effect to only by the Government. There are others which we also can carry out, to some extent at any rate. We shall refer to some of these.

The seventh resolution "urges the people to continue the agitation against" the Partition of Bengal. It does not cost anybody anything to pass such a resolution. But in the face of the repressive laws against public meetings and the press, the leaders ought to have pointed out some definite means of continuing the agitation. After the deportation of Babu Krishnakumar Mitra and others, for months no front-rank political leader in Calcutta would address even Swadeshi meetings. We hope similar methods of continuing the agitation will now be at a discount.

Then there is the Swadeshi resolution, to which every Indian, young or old, rich or poor, can give effect in a thousand and one different ways. But we do hope our manufacturers will give up the fond delusion, if any among them entertain it, that we shall always buy and use worthless goods because they are Swadeshi. By this we do not mean to say that all or most Swadeshi things are bad. But some undoubtedly are. Some again are only European manufactures masquerading under Swadeshi names.

We also strongly feel and invite the attention of the country to the "necessity of devising a telegraphic service between this country and England with a view to check the mischievous misrepresentations which often find place in the English newspapers and the publication in them of adequate and correct information regarding Indian affairs."

Every thinking Indian must also feel the urgency of the questions of (a) settlement of disputes by arbitration, (b) village sanitation, (c) social reform, and (d) the formation of co-operative credit societies.

There is no doubt that Government can do most to check and ultimately put a stop to the ravages of malaria, the chief diseases, but the people [illegible] something, [illegible]rly [illegible] "A Plolders. But made, in this direction, can be completely successful unless there be something like universal education and the elevation of the economic condition of the people to at least the low level of two full meals a day. May we suggest that the teaching of hygiene be made compulsory in all primary and secondary schools, whether Vernacular or Anglo-Vernacular?

The other resolutions to which we accord our heartiest support are:

19. That this Conference urges the people to organise and foster a system of literary, scientific, technical and industrial education for both men and women on national lines and under national control, and the Conference further appeals to the country to devote special attention to the furtherance of primary education.

20. That this Conference urges the people to take practical steps for the amelioration of the depressed classes.

22. That this Conference calls upon the people and specially the land-holding classes of the country to maintain adequate pasture lands in villages.

23. This Conference further urges upon the Municipalities and the District and Local Boards to take steps for improving the breed of cattle in the country.

24. That this Conference accords its hearty thanks to those noble-minded Englishmen, within and outside the House of Commons, who, under circumstances of great difficulty, have nobly upheld the liberal traditions of the British race and have fought against repressive measures in this country and advocated the cause of the Bengal deportees against imprisonment without trial. This Conference begs to place on record its deliberate conviction that the services of these gentlemen have been of immense value to the Indian people.

The Allahabad Exhibition.

India writes:

According to the custom now happily established, there will be an Industrial Exhibition held along with the forthcoming National Congress, and we are extremely glad that the committee has entrusted Dr. A. K Coomaraswamy with the arrangements for the Arts department. In the hands of a director who is at once an artist and a critical expert, the Arts section at Allahabad will doubtless turn out a very different thing from some other collections of Indian craft work got together under official auspices in recent years.

We agree in thinking that Dr. Coomaraswamy's selection has been a very happy and wise one. We, however, beg leave to point out that the forthcoming Allahabad Exhibition does not owe its origin or in fact anything to the Congress party. It owes its birth to official initiative, is an official affair, and was conceived some time before Allahabad had been chosen as the place

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for the next sitting of the Congress. Sir John Hewett has thus saved the U. P. Congresswallas much worry and expense. But his action has also deprived that party of a splendid opportunity for developing and demonstrating their powers of organisation and for coming into close contact, if they so desired, with the industrial classes of the country, who are the real backbone of the nation. We once more repeat that this Exhibition is in no sense a Congress Exhibition, as the Bombay, Calcutta and Benares Exhibitions, for example, were. But, of course, as a collection of things Indian and foreign and as an attractive *tamasha*, it bids fair to throw into the shade any Congress Exhibition hitherto held anywhere. In its results, too, it does not promise to differ from the latter.

The good and evil of Exhibitions.

The good and evil of Exhibitions are apparent on the surface. Let us broadly classify the results as they affect Indians and foreigners. (1) Indians may bring their products and manufactures before the home and foreign public and secure for them a wider market. They may also feel a desire learn the more modern, swifter and more precise manufacturing methods of the West on seeing from the machinery exhibited by Western people. (2) Western manufacturers find a ready means of introducing their machinery and manufactures into Indian markets. They also obtain facilities for studying the tastes of the Indian public from the indigenous goods exhibited and also for obtaining descriptions, drawings, copies, models or photographs of these Indian articles. Vast capital, and modern methods and machinery enable them to flood the Indian market with cheap imitations of Indian articles, thus taking the bread out of the mouths of Indian artisans. The "Specimens of Indian Textiles" of which we told the story in one of our previous numbers and of which a set was brought from the Lucknow Museum and exhibited in the last Allahabad District Exhibition, is a case in point.

The advantage that Indians may derive from exhibitions remains for the most part a possibility, because of their inferiority in training, organisation, energy and possession of capital. The advantage on the side of the foreigner becomes an actuality because of his superiority in the above-mentioned respects.

Why Mr. S. P. Sinha Resigned.

The London "*Daily News*" rejects the "*Times*" explanation or rather insinuation that Mr. S. P. Sinha has resigned his office owing to pressure brought to bear upon him by his disaffected countrymen. It says:—

> There are several quite adequate reasons which no instructed observer of Indian affairs could fail to perceive. First, there is the nature of the work which falls to the head of the Legislative Department. That work is mainly, in these unhappy days, the drafting and defending of repressive Acts. How much of it, we would ask, is possible to an Indian Minister of the British Government? Secondly, there is the singular and delicate position of the one Indian at the Council Board. He belongs to the inner circle of the autocracy, and yet in certain subtle ways is outside it. Before the Law Membership, or any other portfolio in the Supreme Government of India, can be made tolerable for an Indian of high principle, his English colleagues, it is perfectly certain, must accept him without reserve."

We presume these "quite adequate reasons" have something to do with the difficulty in finding a suitable Indian to succeed Mr. Sinha, and another for the Bengal Executive Council. In Macaulay's time the Law Member was not consulted in many transactions and deliberations. (See p. 413 of the Modern Review for May, 1909. Was it possible for this practice to be revived?

The Berlin Religious Congress.

The Fifth International Congress of Free Christianity and Religious Progress which met at Berlin in August last was a great success. Though the papers read and the addresses delivered were all learned and many were on abstruse topics, over 2,000 tickets of membership were issued, and almost at the eleventh hour the committee were obliged to secure a much larger hall than they had originally engaged. The meetings were throughout crowded and enthusiastic and sometimes lasted till close upon midnight Such a thing is possible perhaps only in a cultured country like Germany. Sixteen national ties a[illegible] different religious bodies [illegible]anding everl[illegible] foremost scholars [illegible] was the Pro[illegible]rman[illegible] operated in [illegible]nan, Babu Amb[illegible] of religious [illegible]Faridpur [illegible]

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American and continental scholars and divines of note also took part.

A German lady, correspondent of the London *Daily News*, writes to the *Bengalee* that "from the Far East came Heramba Chandra Maitra, M. A., President of the [Sadharan] Brahmo Samaj and Principal of City College, Calcutta; Rev. Promotho Loll Sen of Calcutta; Prof. Jayatilaka of Ceylon; Pastor Minami from Tokio; and Mr. Teja Singh, representative of the Sikh religion." To these we may add the name of another delegate, Professor Vaswani of the Karachi Brahmo Samaj, which is also omitted in the report of the *Inquirer* of London, an organ of the British Unitarians. This *Daily News* correspondent says:

> One of the most scholarly and elevating addresses was that delivered by Mr. Herambachandra Maitra on the subject of "The Longing of Man for the Infinite." It was listened to with rapt attention, and being in faultless English, the majority of the large audience could understand every word.

Of Mr. Maitra's second address she writes:

> Mr. Herambachandra Maitra—to the gratification of a crowded meeting—addressed his auditors for a second time on the last day of the Congress. He spoke for half-an-hour without any notes, his theme being "Christianity and Hinduism." Mr. Maitra again fascinated his hearers from beginning to end by his eloquence and earnestness, and as he finished the applause was loud and genuine.

Several German papers contain similar accounts of Mr. Maitra's addresses. Mr. Minami gave an account of the spread of Christianity in Japan in excellent German. Of Professor Vaswani's address we take the following appreciation (in translation) from a description given by a correspondent in a leading German paper:

> The time was all too short, and I am glad to record that in spite of the chairman's frequent efforts to curtail Prof. Vaswani's address, the interested audience shouted "go on". The Professor did go on to the end. The Professor is a Hindu of the Brahmo Samaj-a pilgrim of the New Dispensation to the nations of the West. His voice at the commencement was the voice of a young country curate, its symmetry of tone gave one vividly that idea. As he proceeded all man in stature, clad in the long flowing yellow his n... to grow in volume ...ate admiration for ...eloquent voice ...did and the ...ental ... "A Pas Professor ... a convinced

Buddhist and invested his religion with all the charm of ardent personal faith. Buddhism, he said, has a direct bearing upon life. Self-help, self-reliance—you must put forth effort, that is its great message.

The true progress of the world depends on international amity, which, again, is possible if nations can respect one another. Nothing can ensure this respect more than the recognition by mankind of the underlying spiritual unity in the higher thought of humanity in all countries. From this point of view gatherings like the Berlin Congress are of supreme importance.

Our Frontispiece.

Srimati, Martyr.

In an old Nepalese book, called A *Century of Buddhist Legends*, occurs the story of Srimati, Martyr. Historically, it is worthless, for the events it narrates could not possibly have had to do with Ajatasatru, the contemporary and penitent of Buddha. If the tale is to be regarded as true at all, it must be placed a thousand years later, in the reign of Shashanka of Bengal, the enemy of Buddhism, in the middle of the seventh century A. D. Ajatasatru between the date of his accession and that of his recorded visit to the Lord, might possibly have gone through a period of coldness and hostility to the Great Teacher. But it could not have proceeded to the lengths here described, nor can we imagine the worship of minor personal relics of Buddha so rigidly formalised, within the life-time of the Blessed One Himself. Yet the tale has an interest of its own. It shows us, incidentally, how the stupa was worshipped. And in India, where breadth of thought and philosophic charity have made religious martyrdom almost impossible, we do well to treasure with a special reverence the names of such as are said, under any circumstances, to have died for their faith. Life holds no other thing so great as the cause or the idea for which we may joyfully die. Without this, history would be empty. Even the saints have needed it, and the story of Srimati, Martyr, is the legend of how an Indian woman was too absorbed in worship to know that the call to the scaffold had sounded, and went through death as the door to supreme beatitude.

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"Raja Bimbisara", says the *Avadana Sataka*, "receiving the knowledge of truth from the Lord, built a great stupa, in his zenana, over the Lord's hair and nails, and the maids cleansed the place every day. When Ajatasatru had killed his father and ascended the throne, he forbade the women to sweep and tend the stupa, on pain of death. But Srimati, a woman slave, caring about her own life not at all, bathed it well, and lighted it with a row of lamps. The king, in great rage, ordered her to the place of execution. After her death, she, as a Devaputri, appeared before the Lord in the Bamboo-grove, and, 'cleaving the mountain of human misery by the thunder-bolt of knowledge', obtained all that is to be desired."

In this picture by Mrs. Sukhalata Rao, we see Srimati, Martyr, kneeling before the stupa. In her hands is the light which she is dedicating. At the foot of the stupa lie the flowers of worship. We could wish that they had lain on the bare floor, for the Benares tray, with its associations of cheapness and modernity, sounds a jarring note, in a composition that has much promise. We wish, also, that the stupa had been in full view, and the worshipper subordinated to the thing worshipped. But there is a suggestion of silence and a great space, nevertheless. The messengers of death are drawing near. But they will find a soul enrapt, absorbed. Srimati Martyr, will not hear.

N.

TO SIND

O lone Princess in thy castle by the sea,
Queen of shingle and sand and silence primal!
Waiting through the ages fancy free,
Virgin-bosom'd, fragrant, pure vestal!
Thy dimpled hand beckoned me from afar—
O my first love, O early quest of mine!—
Oped the portals of my heart wide ajar,
My thoughts the tendrils of thy love did entwine.
The Indus hems thy garment with a silver band,
And the wheeling cycles bring me to thy side
Weary with the weight of years, wandering in many a land
My thoughts always with thee did abide—
Musing o'er the mystic whisperings of the shells of thy sea
And the whirling magic of thy shifting sands!

KARACHI. N. GUPTA.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

A study in comparative mythology.

The Eagle and the Captive Sun—by Jnanendralal Majumdar, B.A.

This book, which purports to be a study in comparative mythology, has been published by the Indian Research Society, of which the author is a member. The author puts in clear terms in the preface, what he has sought to prove in the book. "Our labours on the subject," states the author, "have tended to prove three things:—First, that the legend of the Eagle is a common heirloom of all branches of Aryan mythology; second, that the Eagle of the legend was originally only the constellation Aquila; and third that the legend contains reference, to the constellation Aquila which were true at least six thousands years ago in an Arctic home." Let me set out the propositions of the author in my own way consistently with what the author has said in h book:—(1) That the Aryans who have bequeathed t us the Vedas, were in an Arctic home about 4000 B. C (2) These Aryans in their subsequent dispersion and migration, peopled many countries of Europe and Asia (including northern India), and the [illegible] groups of people of Europe and Asia who speak [illegible] languages, are, in the main, descendants of the Aryans of Arctic h[illegible] The A[illegible] before dispersion and existed till close up to mid- formed some [illegible] is possible perhaps only being tra[illegible] country like Germany. Sixteen heirloom[illegible] a genetic[illegible] different religious (4) The [illegible] foremost stars into [illegible] was the Pro[illegible] is Aquila—[illegible]nan, Babu Amb[illegible]

It is quite a p[illegible] Faridpur [illegible] a poli[illegible]

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no doubt a very capable man, (who has superior attainments in many branches of knowledge), could in all seriousness undertake to prove some propositions, no portion of which can be pointed out to be correct, at a time when the results of researches by eminent anthropologists from Darwin to Brinton and Keane have become widely known throughout the world. The first absurd proposition on which the author has built his whole edifice, regarding the Arctic home of the primitive Aryans, was stated by Mr. Tilak some years ago. If reference be made to any comprehensive work on Ethnology, wherein the distribution of land and water from the time of the evolution of man as a species to the beginning of the historic period has been stated according to the best authorities on Geology, the idea that the Arcti cregion (whatever be the latitudes) was ever a cradle of culture, will not arise in any mind. It will also be found that long before 4000 B. C. the men of the historic period evolved a high degree of civilisation in the Nile Valley and Mesopotamia. Menes, the reputed founder of Memphis and of the first empire (about 5000 B. C.) is but a recent man compared with the builders of the rude monuments brought to light by Mr. Flinders Petrie at Captos, Upper Egypt, in 1894. With the progress of archæological research the beginnings of Indian culture (in this very Indian home) is receding farther and farther into the remote past. The cumulative effect of the whole evidence collected by the anthropologists, is, that the seat of culture even of the historic man of the earliest times, was not and could not possibly be far removed from the original cradle of evolution of Hominidæ, lying between South Africa and the island of Java. I cannot discuss the question here at length,—I only refer the readers to the literature I have mentioned above.

As to the 2nd proposition of the author (in the form I have stated it) I beg to request the readers to refer to the Modern Review for July 1908,pp,66-71, In those pages, while reviewing the second volume of the newly published 'Imperial Gazetteer of India' I stated all the principal propositions of the Aryan problem and mentioned some authorities in support thereof. That the Aryans were a linguistic group and not an ethnic group to begin with, that there cannot be any ethnical relation amongst all the groups of people speaking Aryan languages, that the Aryan migrations cannot be conceived as successive swarms going forth from some cradle land and for the first time peopling a great part of the northern hemisphere, and that under certain circumstances, the Aryans spread their culture—their language and religion—over a great portion of the world, may all be studied with [illegible] in the works of the modern anthropo-

propositons of the author fall to the ground. the props for [illegible] have been taken [illegible] the strength of [illegible] im to make sure of [illegible] which [illegible] gestion. [illegible] his zeal [illegible] cientific [illegible] r is no [illegible] distantly [illegible] quila. He [illegible] tory as to when [illegible] he name Aquila.

His argument is that it may be that the so-called common ancestors (whom MaxMuller created by an assumption of his, and thereby brought philology into disrepute with all anthropologists) had the culture to group some stars into constellations, when they were enjoying a cool breeze in the home created for them by Mr. Tilak. The author says, that "though the origin of the constellations is shrouded in a mystery" still it may be that the prehistoric forefathers "invented them at a time of untold antiquity".

Not knowing how to overcome the difficulties, the author who has a scientific training, resorted to an unscientific and legendary evidence. When interpreting a fact of the remote past, he should have referred to the earliest available documents - the Vedas—to begin with. He had no justification in getting together words and legends, unknown in Vedic times, from the Mahabharata Samhita, for an interpretation of a fact of the pre-Vedic period. It is a notorious fact that the legends of the Vedic days differ considerably from those of the later Puranas. Partly because of the ignorance of the Vedic literature in later times, partly because of the subsequent indigenous growth of new Pauranic ideas, and partly owing to the fact that new mythological legends of altogether foreign origin were grafted on Indian soil when many powerful foreign tribes were Hinduised with their tribal gods, the Purana literature of later times assumed considerable proportion. It is also very well known that very late or modern gods and legends were sought to be affiliated to things Vedic taking advantage of some similarity of sounds in respect of words, or of the similarity of character of some legends. It is consequently very unsafe to crawl backwards with the new stories of Garuda, churning of the seas and so forth, as occur in the Mahabharata, to the Vedic days when the stories were unknown.

There is a pressing need for capable scholars in the field of research, in the field of historical criticism in our country and my impression is, that the author will prove a good labourer there, if he would resist the temptation of creating things original by indulging in theories of a vague character. It is for that reason I have criticised his maiden work offering my humble suggestions.

I may be permitted to note another word of caution for those who seek to compare different mythological notions and faiths of different tribes of the world. It should always be remembered that some coincidences are fortuitous, and some result from the evolution which leads all the human groups through the same stages and by the same steps. Theories of 'common origin' and of 'borrowing' are, in many cases preposterous. Many far more inexplicable coincidences than any of those generally referred to and criticised, occur in different regions, where not even contact in the remotest degree can be suspected or thought of.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

The Life of Mohammed.

The Life of Mohammed: by Mirza Abul Fasl. Published from the "Hitabadi" Library, 70, Colootolla Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1/8/0.

A comparative study of all the great religions reveals a wonderful similarity in all essentials, and the moral sense of enlightened peoples throughout the world as expressed in religious congresses and parlia-

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ments has already advanced so far as to perceive this unity-in-difference and emphasise it as the permanent element in all the creeds. In this modest volume of 237 pages we find ample evidence of the author's catholicity of thought and love of truth. He is full of admiration for Islam, but he has the courage to say: "Mohammed's commands and aphorisms which have been called forth by the passing exigencies of the day or related to the circumstances and requirements of a primitive and archaic society will have to be differentiated from what is permanent and general and what was temporary"—(p. 216). Again: "And it is not only to Moses and Jesus and Mohammed that the Moslems owe allegiance, but to *all* the prophets of *all* the nations who have appeared in different ages of the history of mankind. Thus along with the others, in India Rama, Krishna, and Buddha have alike a place in the hearts of the followers of Islam"—(p. 198). When our Mahomedan brethren approach the study of their religion in this broad spirit of tolerance—a spirit which can be cultivated only by those who are endowed with the historic sense and can follow the comparative method of criticism—they are sure to arrive at results which while revealing the real greatness of Islam—its monotheism, rationalism, democratic spirit of human brotherhood—will command a respectful hearing from the followers of other religions. The greater part of the book under review deals with the life of Mohammed, while supplementary chapters dealing with religious and social questions from the Islamic point of view are given at the end. Appreciative quotations from European writers have been liberally interspersed throughout the book. The book is handsomely bound, but the printing and paper leave room for considerable improvement. We welcome the book as a serious attempt by a Moslem scholar to interpret the life and teachings of the founder of his religion and hope that it will succeed in removing many prevailing misconceptions and bridging the gulf between the followers of Islam and the other great religions of India.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan K.C.S.I. New and Revised Edition: by Major-General C. F. I. Graham. Thacker, Spink & Co., 1909.

This volume of 286 pages, nicely printed on thick paper in Great Britain, and containing a frontispiece of the subject of the biography, is dedicated by permission to H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught. In the preface the writer truly says that Sir Syed Ahmed's "name will be handed down to posterity as that of a man who was determined to do everything he could to bring his co-religionists into line with the rest of the world as regards education." Born in the year 1817, he entered Government Service in 1850 as Subordinate Judge, rendered signal assistance to the British Government during the Mutiny, visited England in 1869, and reared the greatest monument to himself by founding the Aligarh College, which was opened on the 24th May, 1875, with donations and subscriptions raised from Mahomedans and Hindus alike, the former of course contributing the largest share. Full of years and honours, Sir Syed died in 1888. Sir Syed Ahmed was a personal friend of the biographer, who has succeeded in presenting the life story of the great Mahomedan leader of Upper India in an eminently readable form before the public. Some of Sir Syed's speeches in the Legislative Council have been quoted in the volume before us. We find that in a speech on the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act he strenuously and with convincing force combated the charge that the Indians are prone to litigation and opposed the provisions of the Bill tending to restrict the employment of pleaders as of doubtful expediency. While considering education to be the greatest need of the Indians, specially of the Mahomedan section of them, he said: "I am personally of opinion that the duty of Government, in relation to public instruction, is not to provide education to the people but to aid the people in procuring it for themselves..... After a full consideration of the question in all its bearings, I have come to the conclusion that the native public cannot obtain suitable education unless the people take the entire management of their education into their own hands, and that it is not possible for Government to adopt a system of education which may answer all purposes and satisfy the special wants of various sections of the population. It would, therefore, be more beneficial to the country if Government should leave the entire management of their education to the people and withdraw its own interference." Mussalmans will be glad to note that Sir Syed was one of the earliest advocates of national education. The attitude of the bureaucracy towards education was indicated in another speech in the following terms: "The majority of those subordinate European officers who have the Administration in the mofussil in their hands, are careless of, and indifferent to our Education and enlightenment...But there are also some European officers, though they are few, who strongly feel that the spread of education and enlightenment among the natives, and especially among the Mussalmans, is contrary to political expediency for the British rule. This class of men dislikes natives educated in English, and regard them with anger and jealousy. Similarly, some officers of the education department used to view the establishment of independent educational institutions with a jealous eye". The visit of his Majesty the Ameer of Afganistan to the Aligarh College, and the Mahomedan deputation to Lord Minto—events which happened long after Sir Syed's death—have been described in detail to show how the seeds sown by him have borne fruit. The volume before us is eminently worthy of perusal by all sections of the Indian community, and the only word of comment which occurs to us relates to the [illegible] ful and unseemly attacks on the Hindus [illegible] and the Bengalees in particular on pp. [illegible] the quotations in sup[illegible] of them from papers [illegible] of the *Times* and the [illegible] have gained, not lost, [illegible] altogether, and [illegible] the remarks [illegible] which la[illegible] strong e[illegible] Egypt, n[illegible] their obs[illegible] wholly unca[illegible] book will not g[illegible]

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The Ages of Man: Reprinted from the Wednesday Review: by J. Nelson Fraser, M.A. Trichinopoly, 1910.

This little pamphlet of 36 pages contains six short essays on Infancy, Childhood, Boyhood, Youth, Manhood and Old Age. They are written somewhat in the style of the immortal *Essays of Elia* and furnish ample proof of the author's extensive reading and intimate acquaintance with the modern and ancient languages and literatures of Europe. The sentences are crisp, pithy and suggestive. The author's love of poetry and painting are apparent in every page. The semi-reflective style affected by the author is well suited to a periodical moulded after the London *Saturday Review*. We rise from a perusal of the essays with the wish that they were longer and there were more of them.

Baba Bharati.

Baba Bharati in Madras: G. C. Loganadham Bros., Mount Road, Madras, 1910.

This booklet contains an account of the lectures and conversations of Baba Premananda Bharati during his stay in Madras in February and March of this year. Baba Bharati is a son of Babu Abinas Chandra Mukherjea, who was a Deputy Magistrate, and a nephew of Justice Ashutosh Mukherjea. The book begins with an account of the Baba's life in his own words. Reading this narrative, no one will venture to say that he errs on the side of excessive self-depreciation. Evidently the Baba's American training has had something to do with it. The account begins thus.—"I was born of a Brahmin family of very high respectability in Calcutta,—a family which was distinguished for producing some intellectual and spiritual giants of modern days, some of whom were leaders of Calcutta society." We learn that at the age of ten or twelve, he had a better knowledge of English than most boys of his class, and that he used to read books too difficult for boys of his age to understand. At the age of twenty-two he launched into journalism and was for two years the Editor of the *Tribune* of Lahore on a good salary. He left the paper much to the regret of his employer. Next he edited the *Punjab Times* which came to be recognised as an influential journal all over India. Later on he started in Calcutta a society paper called the *Gup and Gossip*. 'This paper soon achieved renown for originality of thought and literary finish'. Then the call came from within, and he went to a place near Ayodhya and resolved to drown himself in the sacred river Saraju if he did not find his Guru in three [illegible]. Fortunately he found his Guru within [illegible] it prescribed, and the drowning became [illegible]. Next he settled down at holy Brindabun, [illegible] ecstatic vision [illegible] heard the Lord [illegible] mission of [illegible] ishna in America. [illegible] wrote an [illegible] *Westminster* [illegible] honorarium [illegible] announced [illegible] ed, and [illegible] *New York* [illegible] for telling [illegible] of one of its [illegible] ced his real life-work and succeeded in establishing a temple of Radha and Krishna in Los Angeles, the capital of south California, where also his magazine, *The Light of India*, was started. The Baba had in the meantime written a book on Krishna. "Thus in five years I had made about five thousand disciples who regularly practised Hindu religious forms and performed the worship of Srikrishna with all the force of their being". Baba Bharati is again going to America, after a period of rest in India. His visit to Madras this year was in connection with an address presented to him by the Hindu public of the town. From the speech of the Chairman of the Meeting which voted him the address, it appears that the object of the address was to strengthen his position in America by letting the Americans know that he is not a person unknown in his own country and without any credentials. The address says: "You have been privileged to accomplish in America what the late Swami [Vivekananda] during his short and brilliant career, was able to plan and lay the foundations of." According to the president of the meeting (Hon'ble S. Iyer, Advocate-General,) Vivekananda lay stress on the philosophical and intellectual aspects of Hinduism, whereas the Baba laid more insistence on the emotional aspect. Few people on this side of India would perhaps be disposed to place the Baba by the side of the late Swami in intellectual greatness, in depth and comprehensiveness of spiritual vision, and in virile patriotism. But the Baba may console himself with the thought that a prophet is not known in his own country. The opinion of this latter-day saint on politics is indeed original and may be quoted in passing. "The political cult in India is a phantasm born of self-deceived imagination. Nor does India want it....A real Hindu patriot, not one of the *Bande Mataram* kind who only worships the skin of mother India, skin woven out of the warf and woof of economics and politics, but a patriot imbued with the ancient spirit of his country, religious, philosophical, social and domestic. Such a patriot does not care whether the wealth of the whole country is taken away or millions die of starvation and in famines, so much as if the age-long religious consciousness is tampered with or destroyed. That is a matter of far wider consequence than if all the Hindus of Hindustan lived in hovels or on one meal a day".

We learn from this book that President Taft of America, who was then Secretary, happened to travel by the same steamer with the Baba, and that he spent the whole of his time in the steamer in the company of the Baba, learning the religion and philosophy of India; also that the Baba made the acquaintance of Admiral Togo in Japan, and spoke of the heroic deeds of the Japanese in the war against Russia, and Admiral Togo replied, "Yes, yes, but your country is divine."

The object of the Baba's second American tour is two-fold: (1) He wants to establish an Indo-American Zenana Mission. It may be mentioned here that the Baba returned after his first visit with four lady-disciples from America. "The object of the institution", says the Baba, "has been more than fulfilled by the efforts and labours of these American ladies who are almost entirely Hinduised in their conscience and in their consciousness. I have hundreds more of such ladies now in America, ready to come out to do unselfishly the work of the mission, and I shall bring them with me to establish mission-

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houses at all our large centres of population all over India". (2) He also intends to bring out some gentlemen disciples to give practical lessons in the scientific industries of America at the Young Men's Hindu Associations which he is going to start in India "where the young men of our country and even middle-aged men can attend practical coaching (save the mark!) in Hindu religion and philosophy." The scheme is ambitious and nobody can deny its usefulness. But the Baba has already shown that he knows how to succeed, and with a people like the Americans whose thirst for novelty is insatiable, the Baba may again succeed in a yet fuller measure.

Indian National Education.

Indian National Education: In Two Parts. Part I by B. P. Sitaramayya B.A., M.B. & C.M; Part II by K Hanamanth Rao, M.A.,B.L. Masulipatam. Kistna Swadeshi Press, 1910. Price 0/8/0.

This small book of 133 neatly printed pages has been a most welcome surprise to us. Before we took it up for perusal we had no idea that this unpretentious-looking volume contained so much that is really first rate and excellent. Part I is a constructive criticism of the present system of education and Part II deals with the training of the emotions in a system of national education. The learned writers of these two essays which make up the volume command a felicitous style which reaches at times the dignity of eloquence. They have between them put forth an earnest, thoughtful and instructive plea for the introduction of a national system of education and have supported it by the most convincing arguments. They have thoroughly succeeded in their attempt to make us realise the great loss, material, moral and intellectual, which the country suffers for want of such a system of culture. The book deserves a wide circulation, and offered at a remarkably cheap price, deserves to be sold by the thousand. The aim and scope of the joint authors of this inspiring little volume will be evident from the following extracts which are the only ones which limitations of space will allow us to make:

"It is not for a moment contended that existing social evils should be perpetuated or that time-honoured superstitions should be adhered to. We only desire that change begotten of newly-acquired ideas should neither be vehement nor sweeping, but that it should have a check upon its unbridled course in the form of some healthy conservatism, some salutary prejudice in favour of indigenous customs, manners and institutions. When we say that a system of education should be suited to the needs, to the conditions and to the temperament of a nation, we mean that all ideas of progress, all innovations and all aspirations fostered by it should be such as will preserve and perpetuate whatever has been good and noble and edifying in the national asset." (p. 6) "A salutary faith in the larger meaning and purpose of our ancient institutions and our ancient philosophy and arts should be reborn perhaps at first in mere trustfulness in all things Indian but later to be proved by that understanding sympathy which will know the place of each by the stream of Aryan culture. And with a full, whole-hearted appreciation of the pure Indian ideal would come back that sensitiveness of soul which would by very instinct distinguish the false from the true in the confused and uncertain intellectual life of to-day." (p. 116).

Mrs. Besant's Translation of the Gita.

(2)

Here is a verse, 32nd of Chapter IV.

एवं बहुविधा यज्ञा वितता ब्रह्मणोमुखे। Mrs. Besant has translated it to be "many and various sacrifices are thus spread out before *Brahman*." I do not think that there is anybody including Mrs. Besant herself who can discover either the head or the tail of this translation. But we are not hopeless. If Mrs. Besant has not given us any light Mr. P. N. Chatterjee will. The most important word here is Brahman the right understanding of which only can give us any solution, but that is the very word which she has left untranslated to shift for itself, thereby making the translation as literal as the "salutation to the butterfly," as a translation of "Prajapataye namah." Here, evidently, she makes the word mean the Supreme Being. But what is the meaning of the sacrifices being spread out before the Supreme Being nobody knows. Sankara and other commentators would translate वितता ब्रह्मणो मुखे as "are known from the Vedas." "Known from the Vedas" and "spread out before Brahman" are really two cognate expressions.

Though a short footnote in the above case would have removed all difficulties Mrs. Besant has denied us one. But she has appended a big note to the word *Janardana* (verse 36 of Chap. I) which has increased our difficulties a hundredfold. She translates the word by "the destroyer of the people" and in justification of this rendering of the word she hastens to add that Janardan is "Srikrishna as the conquering warrior against all forms of evil." Whence she has got her light we cannot say. We know that *Vishnu*, and not Krishna, is called Janardan, because he killed the demon, Jana. Krishna is called Janardan in the Gita not because he is "the conquering warrior against all forms of evil," but because he is taken to be an incarnation of Vishnu. However, ordinarily the word *jana* means "people" and Mrs. Besant interprets the whole thing literally (!) and allegorically, flinging the history or mythology of the word to the four winds. Where lies the similarity between "the Destroyer of the People" and "the conquering warrior against all evil"? Let Mrs. Besant's Indian *Chelas* discover. One having the slightest knowledge of the fables and legends of Hindu [illegible] which may be gathered from the current [illegible] of the country, could not commit the [illegible] A reference to [illegible] ordinary dictionary of the settled the [illegible] Yet [illegible] before the responsibility rested till close upon [illegible] copious [illegible] thing is possible perhaps only on the [illegible] country like Germany. Sixteen [illegible] interpretations [illegible] different religious translators [illegible] standing even [illegible] The foremost Hindu [illegible] was the Provincial [illegible] man, Babu Amb[illegible] translate the [illegible]

One other [illegible] Faridpur [illegible] 33 of Chapter X

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by "left handed." The translation is literal because those who saw Arjuna have borne unmistakeable testimony to the fact that he really possessed a left-hand. But though this will prove a mine of information to the many disciples of Mrs. Besant, our difficulty remains where it is—it does not explain the text. In the Mahabharat we find,—

उभौ मे दक्षिणे पाणी गाण्डीवस्य विकर्षणे ।
तेन देवमनुष्येषु सव्यसाचीति मां विदुः ॥

i. e. Arjuna was called सव्यसाची because he could draw his bow with his left hand as well.

Once in my school days I was asked by the Pandit to give the fifth case of मन: । I said मनात् । The Panditji rebuked me by saying "मुखस्य चोटात्" । In explanation of all these translations and clarifications I do not find a better reason than that मुखस्य चोटात् । More afterwards.

DHIRENDRANATH CHOWDHURI,

BENGALI.

Santipatha—Kumur Parivrajak, Series No. 4, Pp. 44, published by Sevananda Swami, Kasi-Yogasram, Benares.

The pamphlet is for free distribution. It is worth reading.

Siksha Vijnaner Bhumica or an introduction to the Science of Education by Babu Binoy Kumar Sarkar, M A., Professor, Bengal National College, Calcutta with a preface by Babu Hirendra Nath Dutta, published by Babu Manilal Gangopadhyaya, Indian Publishing House, 20 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 5+7+48. Price six annas.

The author is engaged in the preparation of a "Science of Education Series" what will be completed in twenty parts. The booklet under review is an introduction to the whole series. The author deserves our best thanks for the services he is doing to the cause of Educational Reform in our country and we recommend this introduction to our teachers for perusal.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

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In these two parts Madhva has fully developed his philosophy and explained in his own peculiar ways some of the important texts of the Upanisad. In the Sixth Chapter we find the following text :—

"Sa yah eshah anima aitad-atmyam idam sarvam tat satyam, Sa atma, '*Tattvamasi*' Svetaketu iti." Madhva says here the text is not "Tat-tvam-asi" (Thou art that) but it is *Atat-tvam-asi* (Thou art not that). Owing to *Sandhi* 'a' of 'Atat- tvam-asi' has been elided, *i. e.* Sa atma + 'atat-tvam-asi' = Sa atma 'tat tvam asi'.

The text about the "*Bhuma*" (Infinity) has been explained by Madhva in the following way :—

He who is (the Lord Narayan) called the Infinity is real pleasure, without the grace of the Infinity, there is no pleasure for the finite but *Muktajivas*. Infinity alone is pleasure, one must, therefore, inquire into Infini... 'Sir, I desire to understand Infinity. (Yah vai ... suma, tat sukham, na alpe sukham asti, Bhuma ev... mkham, Bhuma tu eva vijijnasitavyah iti Bhum... Bhagabah-vijijnase iti) VII, 23.1. Without ... Bh... rmitted by whom, one does not see an... abo... one does not hear anything else, one d... ot understand anything else, He is the Infin... But where he sees a thing under the co... something else or hears it such or under-sta... it such that is the limited. (Yatra na anyat p... ti na anyat srinoti, na anyat vijanati, Sah ... ma; atha yatra anyat pasyati, anyat srinoti, ...at vijanati, tat alpam) VII, 24. 1.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

GUJARATI.

Vipin, by Rajendra Rao Somnarayan, B. A., Bombay. Printed at the Prajabandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound: pp. 297. Price, Rs. 1-8-0. (1910).

This is a novel, written by a young gentleman engaged in the prosaic work of a share-broker. It purports to give a picture of the modern life of Bombay

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and the Native States, and this is the writer's first attempt, made 2 or 3 years after leaving College. We have no hesitation in saying that he has made the utmost of every opportunity he must have met with, for the book at every step demonstrates the results of keen powers of the observation of life in town and country, and digestion of what he has read. The delineation of scenes of Bombay life, and the setting out of the intrigues in Native States give promise, commendable as they are even now, of much better work in future. But above all, what has impressed us most is the style of the author. It is all that one could desire: neither vulgarly simple nor pedantically Sanskritized. In his smooth, homely language, using at times only to a little high pitch. When his characters require it, he has set an example of the capacity of simple Gujarati in the expression of even delicate sentiments, to those who can not but write Sanskrit in a thin Gujarati garb. We may say, that at places, there is a striking imitation, perhaps unconscious on his part, of the scenes and situations in Saraswati Chandra, in this novel; *e.g.*, where Vipin and Shishir meet and their bodies touch each other, one feels there is a faint echo of the meeting between Saraswati Chandra and Alak Kishori; or where some of his characters break out into English instead of Gujarati to give force to their works; or the intriguing in the Native States, where the whole idea seems to be conceived in the spirit of that part of the plot of Saraswati Chandra. That unique novel has taken so much hold of the present generation of Gujarat that it now dominates a very large part of their pen and heart. We may say also that the choice o some of the names of his characters is rather unhappy. In Gujarati Society it is unusual to hear names like Rang Rao and Jasmine, the one being a Parbhu or Deccani name, and the. other purely English.

Pushti Margiya Siddhanta or the Elements of Shuddhadwait, Part 1 by Ranchhodlal Vandravandas Patwari, B. A., LL. B., Chief Minister, Palanpur. Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound: pp. 188. Price Rs. 0-12-0 (1910).

The work under review evinces a d th study of his subject by Mr. Patwari, and is or tated by a sincere desire to put right the public with respect its prevailing ideas about Vaishanvism concentrate in Krishna-Worship, *i.e.*, the worship of Krish as the Creator, Destroyer, and Maintainer of t world. From his early days, the bent of the author mind has lain this way, and it has now culminated this compilation, in the preparation of which he h ransacked every possible work bearing on the subject the Vedas, the Upanishadas, the Puranas, the Bhagva the Gita and the books written even by Dayanan Saraswati, have furnished materials to support t author's arguments, which all are advanced with view to shew that Krishna and Parabrahma are o and the same. It would require more space tha available here to examine the soundness of the poin tried to be made from the Upanishadas, for instanc it would have to be seen whether the works themselv belong to an undisputed age. When were they writte whether the passages quoted, torn from the conte are capable of leaving the interpretation put on the or not. Whether the passages are genuine or interpolate and many other things. Opportunity is taken by M Patwari to refute the point of view with which Bab Bankim Chundra Chatterji (mis-called Pal) h written his Krishna Charitra, who has tried to pai Krishna as an ideal human being, when he is sho of his Divine origin. From start to finish, the bo reads like a piece of special pleading, that being t avowal purpose with which it is written. Bein absorbed in the one thousand and one pursuits of th Minister of a progressive State like Palanpur, it no small credit to Mr. Patwari to have triumphe over all such cases in his time, and produced such studious work.

K. M. J.

Durga Puja Holidays.

The Modern Review Office will remain closed on account of the Durga Puja Holidays from October 9 to October 23. Orders and other business communications received during this period will be attended to from the 24th October onwards.

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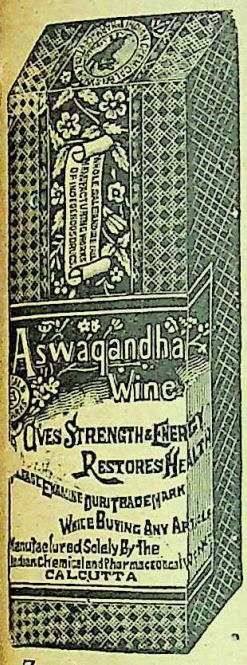
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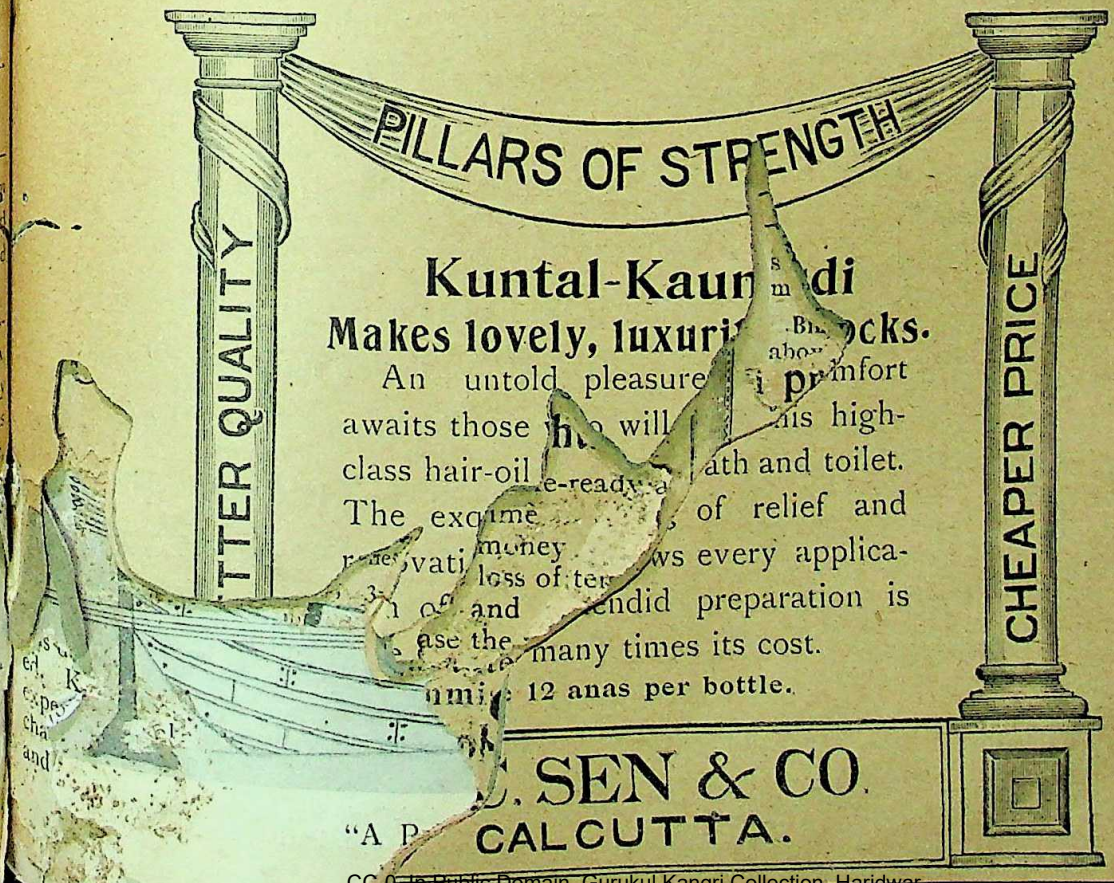
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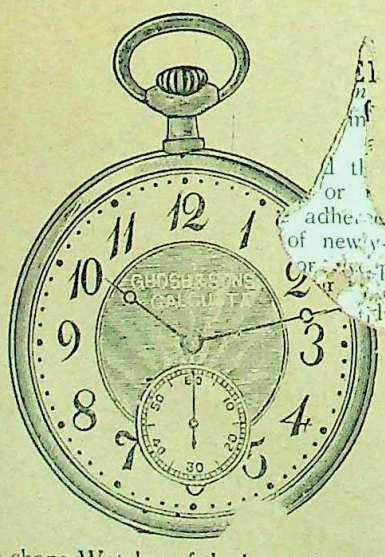
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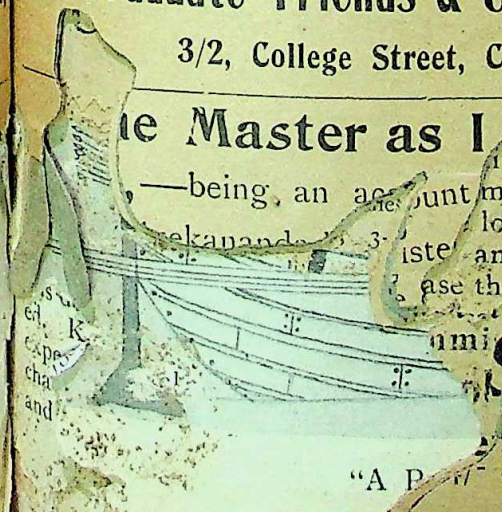
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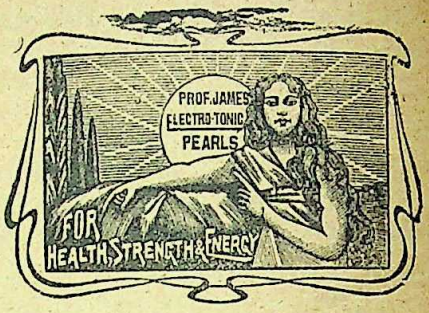
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Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee
NOVEMBER, 1910

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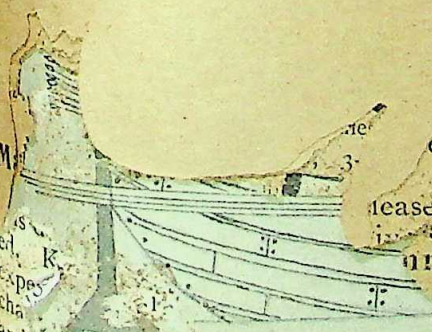
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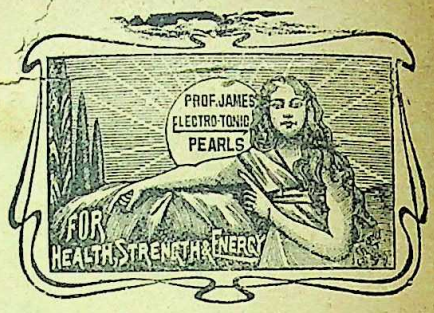
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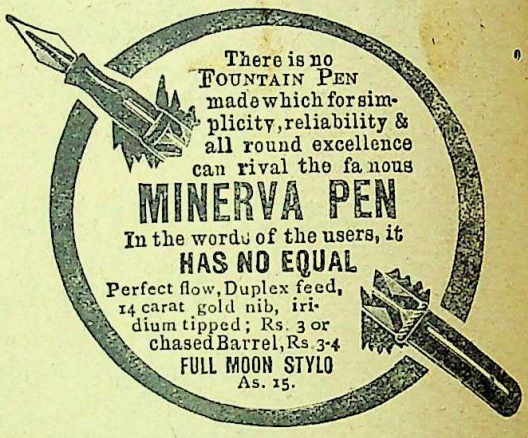
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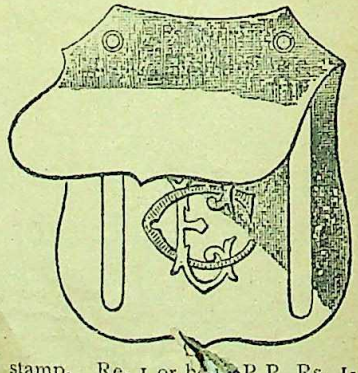


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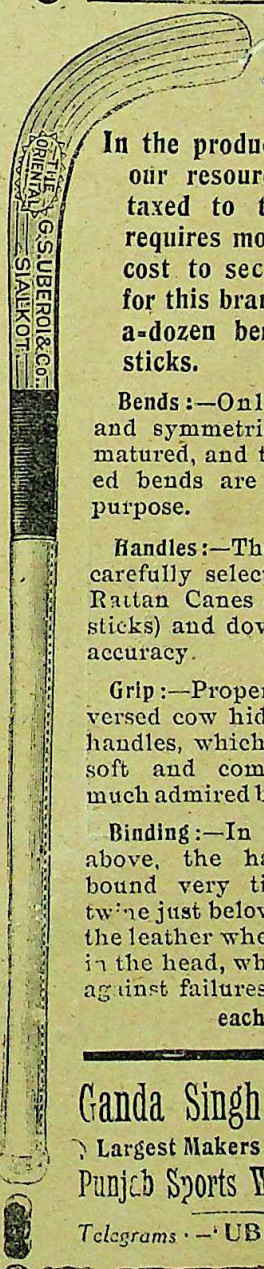
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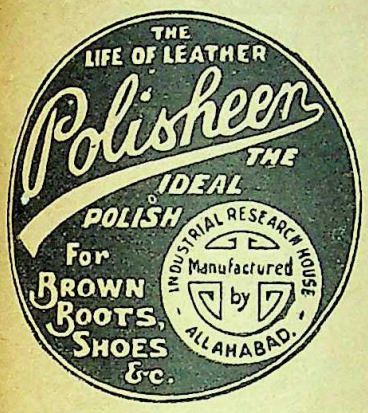
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NOVEMBER, 1910

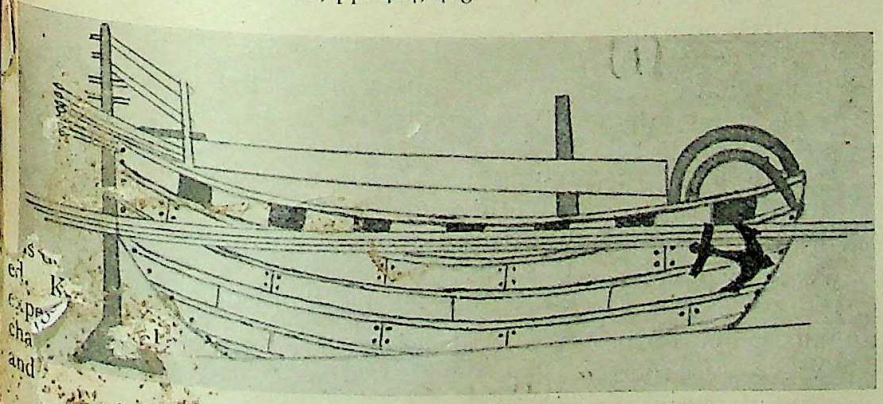
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INDIAN SHIPPING IN THE TIME OF AURANGZIB

A CHAPTER FROM THE WRITER'S FORTHCOMING BOOK, "INDIAN SHIPPING."

WE have given in the last number an account of the development of Indian shipping and ship-building in the reign of Akbar and of the contributions made to it not only by his government but also by private efforts, by independent Hindu and Mahomedan rulers. Nor was this development checked after Akbar's death, but continued through successive reigns. After the death of Akbar in 1605, Islam Khan, Governor of Bengal, transferred the seat of government from Rajmahal to Dacca and increased the Nowarrah or fleet and artillery which had been established in the time of Akbar in order to check the renewed aggression of the Afgans and Mughs. As stated in the contemporary Persian account of Shitabuddin Talist, "in Jahangir's reign the Mugh pirates used to come to Dacca for plunder and abduction, and in fact considered the whole of Bengal as their jagir."* Islam Khan shortly afterwards defeated the combined forces of the Rajah of Arracan and the Portuguese pirate Sebastian Gonzales, then in possession of Sundeep and commanding an army of 1,000 Portuguese, 2,000 Sepoys, 200 cavalry and 80 well-armed vessels of different sizes, who both made a descent upon the southern part of the province laying waste the country along the eastern bank of the Megna.

In the reign of Shah Jahan, in 1638 A.D., there began a trouble from a new quarter. Even during the closing year of Akbar's reign, the tribes on the eastern frontier of Bengal belonging to Kuch-Behar and Assam began to cause trouble. In A.D. 1596, an expedition was sent against Lachminarain, the ruler of Kuch-Behar, who commanded a large army consisting of 4,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 700 elephants, and 1,000 ships (*Akbarnama*). In 1600 an Imperial fleet consisting of 500 ships was sent to encounter the fleet of Parichat, ruler of Kuch Hajo in the Gujadhar river, who was defeated and taken prisoner (*Padishanama*). But Baldeo, brother of Parichat, fled to Assam and having collected an army of Kochis and Assamese attacked the Imperial army with nearly 500 ships and defeated them.* At last in



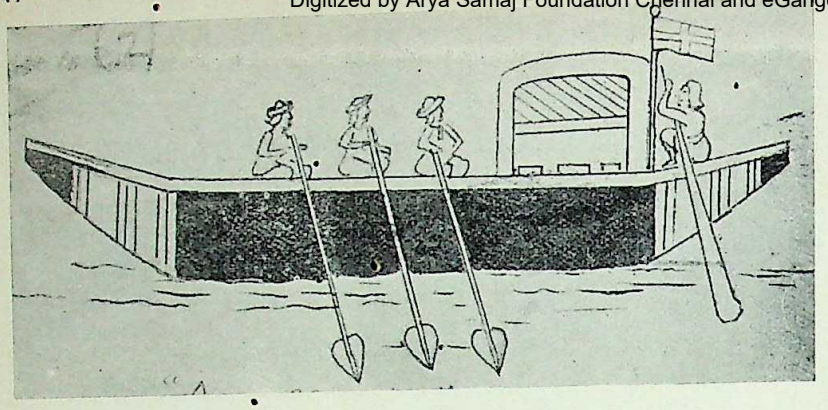
"A PATELLA."

* J. A. S. B., Vol. III N. S., pp. 424, 425.

* J. A. S. B., 1872, Part I, No. 1, pp. 64 and ff.

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"An Olocko."

1638, the Assamese themselves made a hostile descent on Bengal from their boats, sailing down the river Brahmaputra and had almost reached Dacca when they were met by the Governor of Bengal, Islam Khan Mushedy with the Nowarrah. An engagement ensued in which 4,000 of them were slain and 15 of their forts fell into the hands of the Mogul Governor. The Mughs also were continuing their depredations in the southern parts of the district. "The established rental of the country was at this time almost entirely absorbed in jagirs assigned to protect the coasts from their ravages, and such was the reduced state of the revenues that Fedai Khan obtained the Government, on condition of paying ten lacs of rupees a year; *viz.*, 5 lacs to the Emperor and the same sum to Noor Jehan Begum in full payment of the Imperial dues; while on the invasion of the Assamese, it is said that not a single rupee was remitted to Delhi." Matters instead of improving became worse and worse owing to the continued delapidation of the Bengal fleet on the one hand and the growing power of the Mughs and Feringhi fleets on the other. When in A.D. 1639 Prince Shuja was appointed Viceroy, "great confusion was caused by his negligence, and the extortion and violence of the clerks (*mutasaddis*) ruined the Pargannahs assigned for maintaining the Nowarrah (fleet). Many (naval) officers and workmen holding jagir or stipend were overpowered by poverty and starvation."

In the reign of Aurangzib when Mir Jumla came to Bengal as Viceroy in 1660 removing the seat of government again to Dacca, he began "to make a new arrangement of the expenditure and *tankhah* of the flotilla, which amounted to 14 lacs of rupees."* With a view to guard against an invasion from Arracan, Mir Jumla built several forts about the confluence of the Luckia and Issamutty and constructed several good military roads and bridges in the vicinity of the town.† In 1661 Mir Jumla marched against Kuch-Bihar and easily annexed the kingdom when the Raja Bhimnarain fled. In the following year (1662), he embarked on his conquest of Assam with a large force consisting of infantry and artillery and the Nowarrah. About 800 hostile ships attacked the Imperial fleet, the cannonade lasting the whole night. The Nawab sent Muhammad Munim Beg to assist the fleet. This decided the fate of the engagement resulting in the capture of 300 or 400 ships of the enemy with a gun on each. The Assamese burnt some 1,000 and odd ships many of which were large enough to accommodate 80, 70 and 60 sailors, 123 bachhar ships, like which no other existed in the dockyard at Ghargaon. The Imperial fleet used in the engagement consisted of 323 ships, *viz*,—

Kosahs	159	Patils	1
Jalbahs	48	Bhars	3
Ghrabs	10	Balams	10
Parindahs ...	7	Rhatgiris	10
Bajrahs ...	4	Mahalgiri ...	5
Patilahs ...	50	Palwarahs and other small ships	22
Salbs	2		
... ...			

Total ... 323 Ships.‡

It was after all a pyrrhic victory, for a terrible sickness spead among the troops carrying off many naval officers and men including Mir Jumla himself. At the death of Mir Jumla, the Bengal flotilla was utterly ruined, and, taking advantage of this, the pirates early in the year 1664 appeared before Dacca, "and defeated Muna[illegible] ed.

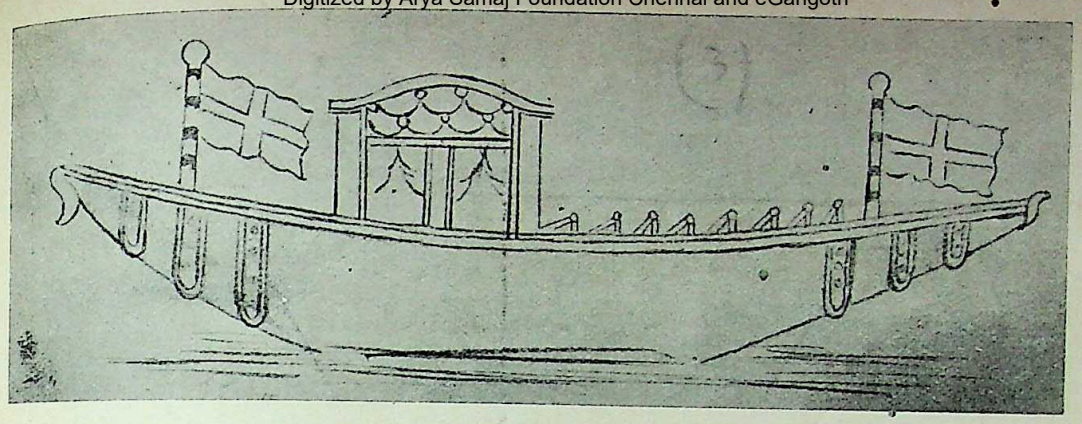
* MS. Bodleian, 598 in J. A. S. [illegible] June 19[illegible]

† Taylor's *Topography and Statistics of D* p. 66.

‡ *Fathiyyah-i-ibriyyah*, translated by Blochm the J. A. S. B., 1872, Part I, No. 1, pp. 64—

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"A Budgaroo."

Khan, Zemindar, who was stationed there with the relics of the Nowarrah—a few broken and rotten boats—and bore the high title of cruising admiral (Sardar-i-Sairal)," and "the few boats that still belongd to the Nowarrah were thus lost and its name alone remained in Bengal." In 1664, Shaista Khan became Viceroy, resolved to suppress piracy at any cost and devoted all his energy to the rebuilding of the flotilla and the creation of a new one. The contemporary Persian manuscript of the Bodlein Library gives some interesting details regarding the means adopted by Shaista Khan to revive the Nowarrah. "As timber and shipwrights were required for repairing and fitting out the ships, to every *mauza* of the province that had timber and carpenters, bailiffs were sent with warrants to take them to Dacca." The principal centres of Ship-building at that time appeared to be Hugli, Baleswar, Murang, Chilmari, Jessore and Karibari," where "as many boats were ordered to be built and sent to Dacca as possible." At head quarters, too, Shaista Khan did not for a moment "forget to mature plans for assembling the crew, providing their rations and needments, and collecting the materials for ship-building and shipwrights. Hakim Muhammad Hussain, Mansabdar, an old, able, learned, trustworthy, and virtuous servant of the Nawab, was appointed head of the ship-building department.....To all posts of this department expert officers were appointed. Kishore Das, a well-informed and experienced clerk was appointed to have charge of the parganahs of the Nowarrah, and the stipend of the jagirs assigned to the naval officers and men." As a result of this activity and the ceaseless exertions of the Nawab, we find the magnificent output of as many as 300 ships built in a very short time and equipped with the necessary materials.

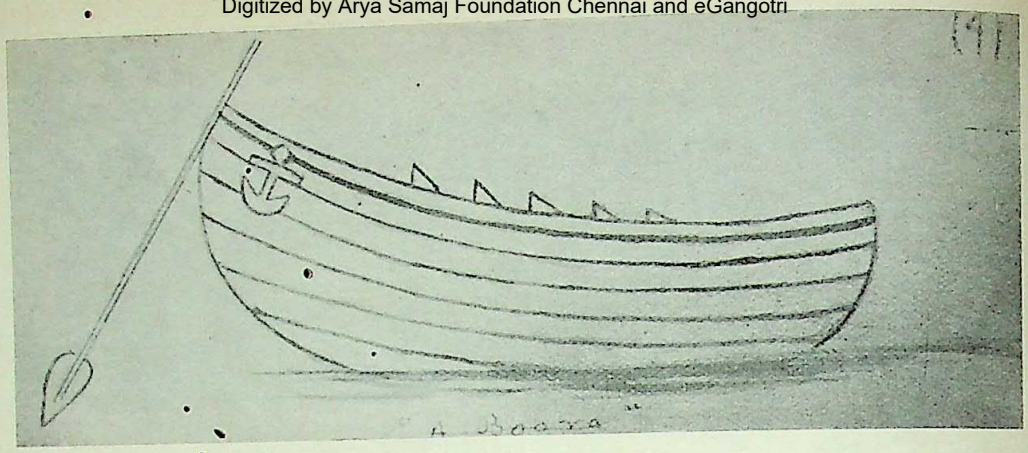
To secure leases for the war against the Feringis of Chatgaon, the Nawab posted an officer with 200 ships at Sangramgar where the Ganges and the Brahmaputra unite and another at Dhapa with 100 ships to help the former when required. Then the island of Sandeep was conquered by defeating Dilawwar, a runaway ship-captain of Jahangir's time. At this time, a section of the Feringis under their leader, Captain Moor, deserted to the Mogul side. The Imperial fleet was placed under Ibn Hussain. It consisted of 288 ships, as described below :—

Ghurabs	21	Jalba	96
Salb	3	Bachari	2
Kusa	157	Parenda	6
		(Not specified) ...	3
		Total ...	288

Ibn Hussain advanced with the Nowarrah by the sea in co-operation with the army advancing by land, the Nawab himself arranging to supply the expeditionary force constantly with provisions. The first naval battle was fought on a stormy sea. The Arracanese were put to flight and 10 Ghurabs captured. The two fleets, with larger ships, again faced each other and spent the night in distant cannonade. In the morning, the Imperial fleet advanced towards the enemy with Salbs in the first line, then the Ghurabs and last the Jalbas and Kosahs side by side. The Arracanese

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"A PURGOO."

retreated into the Carnafuli river. The Moguls closed its mouth and then attacked and captured the Arracanese navy consisting of 135 ships, *viz.*,

Khalu	2	Kosa ...	12		
Ghurab	9	Jalba ...	67	(68?)	
Jangi	22	Balam ...	22		

Besides Bengal there were other parts of India in the time of Aurangzib in which there was a marked development of Indian shipping and maritime commerce. Thomas Bowrey,* an English traveller to India during A.D. 1669—1679, has left a very valuable account of countries round the Bay of Bengal, in which are given descriptions and representations of ships and boats, which are "among the best of the kind for this period." The great trading and shipping centre of the time on the Coromendal Coast was Metchlepatam (Masulipatam) of which the inhabitants "are great merchant adventurers and transport vast stocks in the goods aforesaid, both in their own ships as also upon fraught in English ships or vessels." Among the miscellaneous papers at the end of the Diary of Strenysham Master there is, pp. 337—339, an "Account of the trade of Metchlepatam" by Christopher Hotton dated 9th Jan., 1676-77. He says: "Arriving first in the year 1657, at which time I found this place in a very flourishing condition, 20 sail of ships of burden *belonging to the native inhabitants* here constantly employed on voyages to Arracan, Pegu, Tenassery, Queda, Malacca,.....Moca, Persia and the Maldive islands."

The King of Golconda also had a mercantile marine. He had several ships "that trade yearly to Arrakan, Tenassaree and Ceylon to purchase elephants for him and his nobility. They bring in some of his ships from 14 to 26 of these vast creatures. They must of necessity be of very considerable burthens and built exceeding strong." Bowrey also saw a ship belonging to the King of Golconda built for the trade to Mocha in the Red Sea, "which could not be, in his judgment, less than 1,000 tons in burden."*

Narsapore, 45 miles north of Masulipatam, was also one of the important shipping centres. It "aboundeth well in timber and conveniences for the building and repairing ships," (p. 99). Morris, in his *Godavari District,* says, "the place was well-known more than two centuries ago for its docks for the building and repair of large vessels." In a "Generall" from Balasor, dated 16 December, 1670, the Factors at the Bay wrote to the court (Factory Records, Misc. No. 3) that they had ordered a ship to be built at "Massapore" in place of the "Madrass Pinnace"; they added, "We should ourselves have built another but that neither timber nor workmen are so good as at Massapore."†

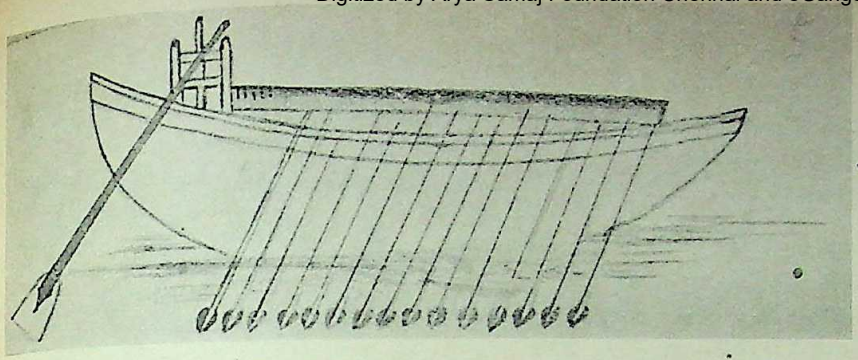
Madapollum was another shipping centre where "many English merchants and others have their ships and vessels yearly built. Here is the best and well-grown timber i

* *A Geographical Account of countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669—1675, by Thomas Bowrey*, ed. by Lt.-Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., C. I. E. Series II., Vol. XII. Hakluyt Society.

* Ibid., pp. 72 ff.
† Ibid.

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"A Boora."

sufficient plenty,—the best iron upon the coast—any sort of ironwork is here ingeniously performed by the natives as spikes, bolts, anchors and the like. Very expert master-builders there are several here ; they build very well—and launch with as much discretion as I have seen in any part of the world. They have an excellent way, of making shrouds, stays or any other riggle for ships.*"

Bowrey refers to a sort of "Shipmoney" imposed by Nawab Shaista Khan of Bengal on the mercantile community to build up the naval defence or power of the country. Thus, not satisfied that all both rich and poor should bow to him but wishing the ships upon the water should do the like, the Nawab would every year send down to the merchants in Hugly, Jessore, Pipli and Balasore for a ship or two in each respective place of 400, 500, or 600 tons, to be very well-built and fitted, even as if they were to voyage to sea, as also 10, 20 or 30 galleys for to attend them, the Moor's governors having strict orders to see them finished with all speed, and gunned and well-manned, and sent up the Ganges as high as Dacca."†

Of the Nawabs mercantile marine Bowrey says that it consists of about "20 sail of ships of considerable burden that annually trade to sea from Dacca, Belasore and Pipli, some to Ceylon, some to Tenessarim. Those fetch elephants and the rest, 6 or 7, yearly go to the Twelve Thousand Islands, called the Maldives, to fetch cowries and cayre (coir) and most commonly do make profitable voyages."‡

* *Ibid.*, pp. 100—5.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 179-80.
‡ *Ibid.*

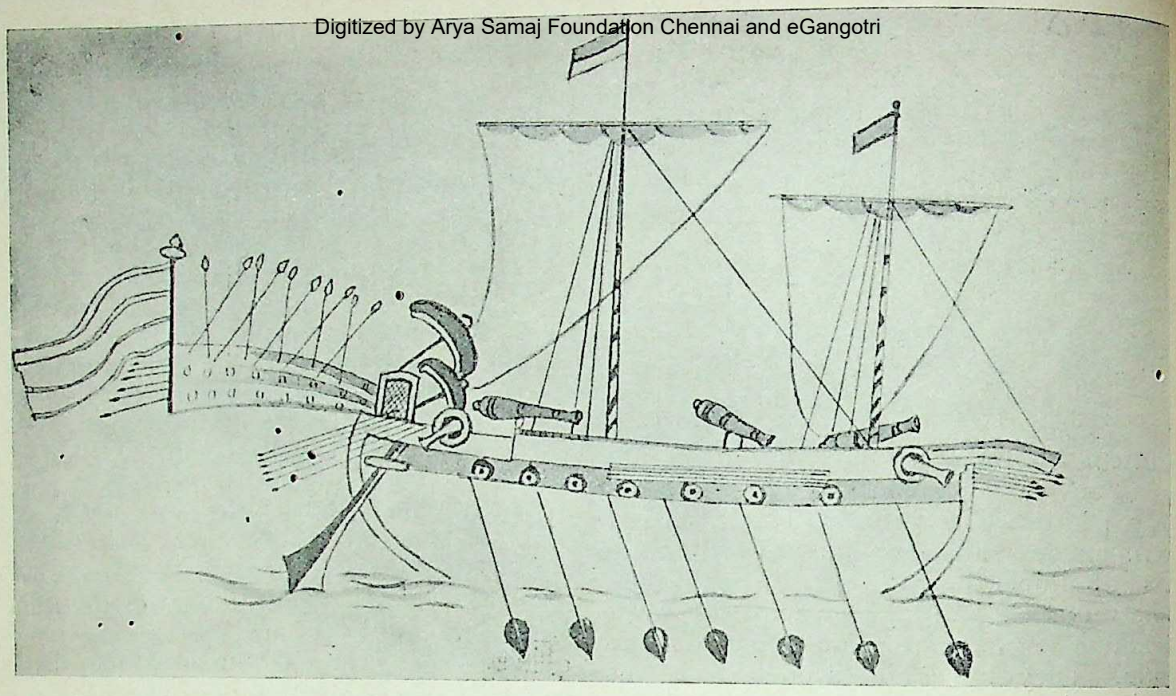
Lastly, Bowrey gives an account of the various kinds of ships and boats that were then built. The *Mussoola* boats used in lading and unlading ships or vessels, "are built very slight, having no timbers in them save 'thafts' to hold their sides together. Their planks are very broad and thin, sowed together with coir ; they are flat-bottomed" and most proper for the Coromandel coast, for, "all along the shore, the sea runneth high and breaketh, to which they do buckle and also to the ground where they strike.*" There is another kind of boats called the *Cattamaran* made of four, five or six large pieces of buoyant timber 'upon which they can lade three or four tons of weight'. In Bengal Bowrey noticed 'great flat-bottomed vessels of an exceeding strength which are called *Patellas* and built very strong. Each of them will bring down 4,000, 5,000, or 6,000 Bengal maunds.' Bowrey also mentions several sorts of boats that were in use on the rivers. The *Oloako* boats are rowed some with four, some with six oars and ply for a fare. A *Budgaroo* or a pleasure boat was used by the upper classes. A *Bajra* was a kind of large boat fairly clean, the centre of which formed a little room. The *Purgoos* which were seen for the most part between Hugli, Piplo and Balesore were used to lade and unlade ships with. 'They will live a long time in the sea, being brought to anchor by the stern, as their usual way is.'—*Booras* were 'very floaty, light boats rowing with twenty or thirty oars. These carry saltpetre and other goods from Hugly downwards and some trade to Dacca with salt ; they also serve for tow-boats for the ships bound up or down the river.' Lastly, there were the 'men-of-war prows' which were used in the Malaya Archipelago.†

Dr. Fryer, who visited India about the year 1674, has also left some interesting details about Indian ships and boats. He describes the *Mussoola* as "a boat wherein

* *Ibid*, p. 43.
† *Ibid.*

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"Men of Warre Prows."

ten men paddle, the two aftermost of whom are the steersmen, using their paddles instead of a rudder: the boat is not strengthened with knee-timber, as ours are; the bended planks are sowed together with rope-yarn of the coire, and caulked with dammar (a sort of rosin taken out of the sea) so artificially that it yields to every ambitious surf.*" He describes *cattamarans*† as formed of "logs lashed to that advantage that they waft all their goods only having a sail in their midst, and paddles to guide them." Dr. Fryer was landed at Masulipatam by one of the country-boats which he describes as being "as large as one of our ware-barges and almost of that mould, sailing with one sail like them, but paddling with paddles instead of spreads, and carry a great burden with little trouble; outliving either ship or English skiff over the bar.‡

On the west coast also there were important shipping centres in Aurangzib's time. According to Dr. Fryer (1672) Aurangzib had at Surat 4 great ships always in pay to carry pilgrims to Mecca on free cost. These vessels were "huge, unshapen things." He also noticed at Surat some Indian ships or merchant-men carrying 30 or 40 pieces of cannon, and "three or four men-of-war as big as third rate ships," as also "frigates fit to row or sail, made with prows instead of beaks, more useful in rivers and creeks than in the main." The captain of a ship was called *Nacquedah* (Pers. *nakhuda*, ship-master) and the boatswain *Tindal*. Some of the larger Indian ships at Surat, of which the names are also known, fell a prey to pirates that infested the whole of the western coast and became a terrible scourge to the Indian trade in the time of the Emperor Aurangzib, just as their brethren on the west coast, the Mugh and Feringhi pirates, were

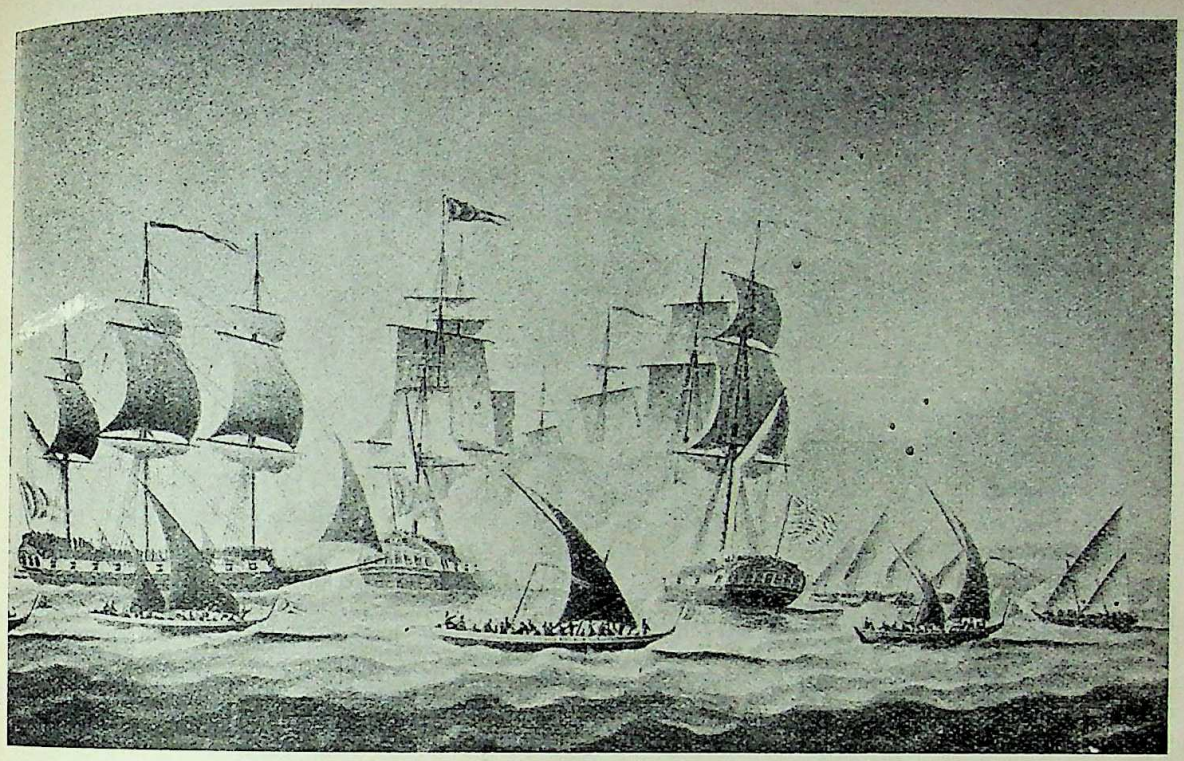
* *Early Records of British India* by J. T. Wheeler, p. 54. Major H. Bevan in his *Thirty years in India* (1808-1838), p. 14, Vol. I, speaks of the Masula boat as "admirably contrived to resist the impetus of the surf in the roadstead of Madras. It is built of planks of wood sowed together with *sun*, a species of twine and caulked with coarse grass, not a particle of iron being used in the entire construction. Both ends are sharp, narrow and tapering to a point so as easily to penetrate the surf." Bevan also remarks, "the build of the boats all along the coast of India varies according to the localities for which they are destined, and each is peculiarly adapted to the nature of the coast on which it is used."

† Cattamarans, according to Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 652 ff., are "rafts formed of three or four logs of wood lashed together, used on the South Indian coast."

‡ Hakluyt's Fryer's *East India and Persia*, pp. 74,79.

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Mahratta Grabs and Gallivats attacking an English Ship.
(From a Picture in the Possession of Sir Ernest Robinson ; reproduced in "The Pirates of Malabar," by Colonel John Biddulph.)

harrying deltaic Bengal. Thus in August, 1691, a ship belonging to Abdul Guffoor, who was the wealthiest and most influential merchant in Surat, was captured by pirates at the mouth of the Surat river with nine lakhs in hard cash on board. Soon afterwards, another ship, named *Futtah Mahmood*, with a valuable cargo, also belonging to Abdul Guffoor, was similarly seized by an Englishman called Every who was the most notorious pirate of the time. A few days after the capture of the *Futtah Mahmood*, Every took off Sanjan, north of Bombay, a ship belonging to the Emperor Aurangzib himself, called the *Gunj Suwaie* ('exceeding treasure'). According to Khafi Khan, the historian, the *Gunj Suwaie* was the largest ship belonging to the port of Surat. She carried eight guns and four hundred match locks and was deemed so strong that she disdained the help of a convoy. She was annually sent to Mecca, carrying Indian goods to Mocha and Jedda. She was returning to Surat with the result of the season's trading, amounting to fifty-two lakhs of rupees in silver and gold, with Ibrahim Khan as her captain, and when she had come within eight or nine days of Surat she was attacked and seized by the English pirate "sailing in a ship of much smaller size and nothing a third or fourth of the armament." Another capture of Every was the *Rampura*, a Cambay ship with a cargo valued at Rs. 1,70,000. Sivaji also, as we shall presently see, used to intercept these Mogul ships, plying between Surat and Mecca, by means of the fleet which he fitted out at his ports built on the coasts.*

During the same period a great impetus to Indian shipping and maritime enterprise was given by the famous Mahratta leader, Shivaji, who liberally patronised the shipbuilding industry. The growth of the Mahratta power was accompanied by the formation of a formidable fleet. Several docks were built, such as those in the harbours of Vijayadoorga, Kolaba, Sindhuvarga, Ratnagiri, Anjanvela, and the like where men-of-war were constructed. In 1698, Conajee Angria succeeded to the command of the Mahratta navy with the title of

* *Early Records of British India* by J. T. Wheeler ; *The Pirates of Malabar* by Col. J. Biddulph.

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Darya-Saranga. The career of Angria was one long series of naval exploits and achievements rare in the annals of Indian maritime activity, but unfortunately "dismissed in a few words by our Indian historians." Under him the Mahratta naval power reached its high-water mark. Bombay had to wage a long half-century of amateur warfare to subdue the Angrian power. It would be tedious to relate all the details of this long-continued conflict but we may mention some of the more important events. In the name of the Satara chief Angria was master of the whole coast from Bombay to Vingorla and, with a fleet of armed vessels carrying thirty and forty guns apiece, he soon became a menace to the European trade of the west coast. In 1707 his ships attacked the *Bombay* frigate which was blown up after a brief engagement. In 1710 he seized and fortified Kanhery and his ships fought the *Godalphin* for two days. In 1712 he captured the Governor of Bombay's armed yacht and fought two East Indiamen bound for Bombay. In 1716 he made prize of four private ships from Mahim, an East Indiaman named *Success* and a Bengal ship named *Otter*. Then followed successively expeditions against Gherriah, Kanhery and Colaba which all proved abortive and ineffectual against the power of the Angrian fleet. In 1729 Conajee Angria died and was succeeded at Severndoorg by Sambuji Angria who carried on his predatory policy for nearly thirty years. In 1730 the Angrian squadron of 4 grabs and 15 gallivats destroyed the *Bombay* and *Bengal* galleys off Colaba. In 1732, 5 grabs and 3 gallivats attacked the East Indiaman, *Ockham*. In 1735 a valuable East Indiaman named the *Derby* with a great cargo of naval stores fell into Sambhuji's hands. In 1738 a Dutch squadron of 7 ships-of-war and 7 sloops was repulsed from Gherriah. In 1740, some 15 sail of Angria's fleet gave battle to four ships returning from China. The same year Sambhuji attacked Colaba with his army and forty or fifty gallivats but was opposed by the English. In 1743 Sambhuji died leaving his predatory policy to be continued by his successor Toolajee. His greatest success was achieved in 1749 when Toolajee's fleet of 5 grabs and a swarm of gallivats surrounded and cannonaded the *Restoration*, the most efficient ship of the Bombay marine. "Toolajee had now become very powerful. From Cutch to Cochin his vessels swept the coast in greater numbers than Conajee had ever shown. The superior sailing powers of the Mahratta vessels enabled them to keep out of range of the big guns, while they snatched prizes within sight of the men-of-war." In 1754 the Dutch suffered a severe loss at Toolajee's hands, losing a vessel loaded with ammunition and two large ships. The next year the English and the Peshwa formed an alliance against him and jointly attacked Severndoorg which was reduced after forty-eight hour's fighting. Then followed the well-planned expedition against Gherriah resulting in the burning of the Angrian fleet consisting of "3 three-masted ships carrying 20 guns each, 9 two-masted, carrying from 12 to 16 guns, 13 gallivats, carrying from 6 to 10 guns, 30 others unclassed, 2 on the stocks, one of them pierced for 40 guns." The fall of Gherriah meant the extinction of Mahratta naval power, which had been a terror for a whole half century.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WHERE WOMEN VOTE

II: FEMINISM IN FINLAND

BY SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

THE Finnish woman, like her Norwegin sister, was not compelled to club man into permitting her to come into her own heritage. On the contrary, when Czar Nicholas tempted the Finns to withdraw from participation in the strike of 1905 which temporarily paralysed the Russian Empire, by giving them a constitutio-

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guaranteeing internal autonomy, the Finnish fair sex was automatically enfranchised; for the vote was given to all Finns over twenty-four years of age, irrespective of sex and property rights, so long as they were not criminals or paupers, and, if tax-payers, not defaulters for over two years. A few months later, in March, 1907, women literally walked into the *Landdag*—the Finnish Parliament—claiming about one-tenth of the 200 seats.

The grant of adult suffrage actually gave the women of Finland the advantage of greater numerical strength over the men, since 666,071 females against 606,071 males possess the right to cast the ballot. From this no mishap, however, has occurred to the country; nor have the men lost any of their former prestige or suffered much reverse. The fair voters, though proportionately larger in numbers than the male citizens, have not sought to form a woman's party; nor have they tried to out-manœuvre men by sheer force of numbers and subject the land to petticoat administration. The largest number of women ever elected to sit in the *Landdag* was twenty-five, and in the Parliament last elected it is only fifteen. These women are split up in a number of factions, belonging to one or the other of the old political parties, like the "Young Finns", "Old Finns", "Swedish", "Social-Democrat", "Constitutionalist", etc. They come from all strata of society, high, low, rich and poor. Amongst the women who have been sent to the Legislature has been a Baroness, a clergyman's wife, a cook, several dressmakers, peasant's wives, factory operatives and teachers. The twelve married women members who have children leave them at home to be cared for by nurses during their absence, just as they would do if they were attending a social function instead of the parliament of their land. As a rule the women members concern themselves with laws that have for their aim the social and civic betterment of the race, leaving high politics for men. Naturally, to-day no Finn is afraid of his country being over-run by ambitious members of the fair sex, although the average man of the land has a wholesome regard for the lady-legislators and believes in universal adult suffrage.

Finland never has made any fuss about giving woman the vote or electing her to the *Landdag*. The nation looks upon the thing as a mere matter of course, and treats it as such without making any comment one way or the other. Even when the first batch of women members entered the parliament no unusual excitement or commotion was experienced in the Diet chamber, the men members taking the affair naturally and simply. The fair M. P.'s do not occupy any special seats, but are distributed throughout the Assembly hall, sitting here and there, alongside the men. Except for a few Socialists who don flaming red dresses to distinguish themselves as protesting against the present state of society, the female parliamentarians wear plain, inconspicuous garments and their presence is not particularly obtrusive. The two sexes work without friction and receive equal pay for their legislative labour. The session lasts three months, generally commencing on February first, and each member receives about Rs. 900 as pay, forfeiting their honorarium and paying a fine of Rs. 9 per day for absence without first obtaining leave. In three instances, both the husband and the wife are serving the State, sitting side by side, both having been elected to the Legislature. So coolly do the men take the presence of their women associates that recently, when one of the ladies met with a laughable accident, the men guffawed and giggled and enjoyed the joke seated in their appointed places, instead of gallantly running to her assistance. She was attending the sittings of a legal committee, and, bored by the proceedings, she bestrode her chair and rocked to and fro with her feet clear of the floor. Suddenly she overbalanced and fell backward, her brown boots kicking frantically over the top of the chair, with which she battled for some moments as she lay on the floor. In this attitude of the Finn, which, on the one hand, does not set women on a pedestal, and, on the other, does not treat her as the inferior of the male, is to be found the fundamental explanation of the fact that the Finnish woman was given her citizenship rights without having had to badger or fight the men in order to get them.

The absolute and *de facto* equality that exists between the sexes in the little Russian

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The women members of the Finnish Parliament.
Dr. Thekla Hultin, wearing a white blouse, stands in the centre of the back row of figures.

Grand Duchy—a state of affairs with few parallels in history—is to be attributed to a series of circumstances, reaching out to the beginning of Finnish annals.

Finland, set between Sweden and Russia, has virtually constituted a political football to be ruthlessly kicked about by the Swede and Muscovite, each nation aspiring to win it for itself. Sweden really is responsible for the civilizing and Christianizing of the little buffer land; and for some centuries the country actually formed a province of Sweden, sending its elected representatives to the parliament at Stockholm. All through the Middle Ages Russia was after Finland, finally succeeding in its object when, early in the Nineteenth Century, Emperor Alexander I succeded in bullying Sweden into ceding the province to the Slav. During the long chain of years in which this struggle to absorb Finland waxed hot between the rival Swedes and Russians, the Finns knew no peace, life and property were insecure, and the country was sadly devastated.

Chaotic as were these decades, however, they provided an inestimable opportunity for the Finnish men and women to understand and appreciate each other. While the males were at the front taking a hand in the fray, fighting for their freedom, even though it be a dependent sort of independence, the females stayed at home in the towns and villages, managed the industries, plied the trades, looked after the farms and crops and conducted whatever there was in the way of governmental and social institutions, at the same time urging their husbands and brothers to unflinchingly die for the cause of the country's freedom. They collected funds for patriotic purposes, carried on mouth-to-mouth agitation, and undaunted by threats of reactionary Russian officials, distributed leaflets. Those years of suffering and hardship sharpened woman's wits, gave her the experience in shouldering actual reponsibility, and raised her in the estimation of man, making the sexes in Finland equal comrades.

From the beginning of the Nineteenth Century well-nigh to its end, Finland enjoyed comparative rest, and Russia virtually allowed it to manage its own affairs. During this era of peace, extending practically from 1809 to 1898, the Finnish men and women worked shoulder to shoulder for the political solidarity, and social and material uplift of the nation, just as in the decades of disturbance and war the men and females had laboured in double hard

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to keep the country from going to rack and ruin.

These years were given to quiet, educational propaganda, so that to-day Finland ranks alongside the most advanced countries of the world in the matter of the literacy of its masses. The State provides grammar, high and technical schools with a generous hand. There is no parish without its primary school, no province without a high school. In Helsingfors, the capital of the Grand Duchy, there is a government university, a higher technical institute and academies for advanced courses in art, music, agriculture, commerce, forestry and navigation. The country maintains eight schools for training teachers. These State institutions are supplemented by private academies.

In the government schools and colleges, from the kindergarten to the university, education is practically free. Both boys and girls are compelled to spend a certain number of years in the primary school. Co-education is the unvarying rule in all State institutions. Fully half of the teachers are females, the majority of them being employed in the lower schools; but even the University of Helsingfors is not without its quota of women professors. In the higher schools and colleges, young women equally share the opportunities of the men. For several years the portals of the University have been open to the fair sex, and women have graduated from the various academic and professional departments with flying colours.

The woman of Finland is not content with employment as teacher in school or college, but today is successfully competing with man in nearly every department of life. Females are largely employed in post and other departmental offices. Many of them work as book-keepers and tellers and even as cashiers in banks, the women workers in all branches receiving equal pay with men.

The impetus of this close business association has gone to deepen the influence of the years of hardship and trial and make men and women equal comrades. And to-day the wisdom of this step is self-evident; for the autonomy of Finland is once again in serious jeopardy, and the patriotic, educated woman of the country is bravely bearing her share of the burden and courageously carrying on the propaganda to maintain the political freedom of her land. Ominous clouds commenced to hover over Finland at the close of the last century, when the autocrat of all the Russias began to trample under foot the Finnish Constitution and flouted the *Landdag*. A Finnish youth shot dead General Bobrikoff, the Governor General, who had inaugurated a lawless regimé which mercilessly repressed the Grand Duchy. This happened in 1904. Within a year matters came to a crisis and Finland took an active share in the general strike of 1905, which convulsed the Russian Empire, to end which the Czar was obliged to receive the deputation sent from Helsingfors. In consideration of Finland's agreeing to withdraw from the strike, he gave the Grand Duchy its constitution, which, as already has been remarked, enfranchised woman as a full-fledged citizen. However, in the light of what has transpired during the last few months, this concession must be looked upon as a truce rather than a permanent peace; for once again the Russian bear is showing its grim teeth and sharp claws and is making demands which virtually mean the suspension of Finland's autonomy.

Just what Finland's final destiny is to be, whether or not it will absolutely lose its political entity and permit itself to be swallowed up by the land-hungry Czar, only a prophet can say. But there is no doubt whatever that, alongside the men, the women of Finland are bravely fighting for their freedom. During the crisis many patriotic women have appeared in mourning and they are counselling the men not to agree to have their country exploited by Russia, under any conditions.

During the few years in which women have been voting and making laws in Finland, much good work has been accomplished to justify the innovation. One of the first laws passed through their instrumentality raised the marriageable age of girls from fifteen to eighteen. Female members of parliament have also achieved notable success in carrying through laws that will provide additional protection to wage-earners, factory-operatives, and especially to children; and more and better

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provision for the domestic education of girls and the technical training of both sexes. Owing to their agitation, two women have been appointed to police the streets of Helsingfors, whose special duty it is to keep a sharp look-out for female culprits. The influence of the lady members has been thrown in the direction of improving the lot of the domestic servant, in fact, of women engaged in all industries.

In the *Landdag* there is one woman member, Madame Miina Sillanpaa, who herself is an ex-cook, and who has done wonderful work for the uplift of her class of people. She has organized the domestic servants, and for their encouragement and guidance she edits a newspaper called "The Woman Worker". In the *Landdag* Madame Sillanpaa has loyally stood by her constituency and unflinchingly and consistently pushed their interests, often succeeding in her endeavours.

A very different type of woman than the one-time cook is Dr. Thekla Hultin, another member of the *Landdag*, and a woman possessed of high intellectuality. She holds the distinction of being the first Finnish woman to take the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, which she gained from the University of Heslingfors in 1907. She was lately one of the editors of "Paivalekte"—Day Leaf—and more recently edited the "Insunmaan Yussuvs"—Friend of the Fatherland—a paper which was found by Russia to be too liberal to be permitted to circulate and which was therefore ordered to suspend publication. Yet Dr. Hultin is far from an agressive woman, being gentle and subdued in manner. Besides being a member of parliament, she is Second Actuary of the Central Statistical Bureau of Finland; and so well is she esteemed by the department that, while the *Landdag* is in session during its usual term of three months, Dr. Hultin's work is performed by a substitute. She belongs to the "Young Finn" party and in the last session of parliament was elected to a seat on the Grand Committee of the Diet and also sat on the Law Committee, the latter being entrusted with the arduous task of revising all petitions submitted by the *Landdag* to the Russian Emperor. Thus Dr. Hultin does not belong to the section of women politicians who content themselves with promoting social legislation. In fact, not long ago, she proved instrumental in successfully pushing a piece of railroad construction. In addition to taking an active lead in political life, she has written many important books which have considerable influence on the women of her land.

THE NITRE INDUSTRY IN ANCIENT INDIA

(Concluded.)

THE last and a very conclusive argument in favour of the question under discussion, whether the nitre industry was known to ancient India, may be adduced from the standpoints of the knowledge gained from a thorough and minute observation and investigation into the various methods of nitre-manufacture of the present day. Archæologists would lay bare to us from their discovery of a piece of stone, coin or inscription of the olden times, the fact of their bearing a foreign or native stamp, the age in which such things were stuck or constructed, the era in which they prevailed and similar grounds or data for working out the history of a nation's civilisation. The laws that regulate the principles of Archæology, etc., cannot remain inoperative in the case of the Industrial science. As in Archæology so in industry one can after the closest scrutiny decipher the main truths in respect of its bearing as a feature of foreign origin or of a purely indigenous one. India with all her industries presents a spectacle as manifold

The processes of nitre manufacture shews freedom from any stamp of foreign origin or foreign interference. They are perfectly Hindu in their aspects. This fact alone places our Nitre industry in the remotest antiquity.

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in its nature, as brilliant and clear in its aspects. Look into the methods of nitre manufacture, examine them minutely, *item per item*, the impression that will be created in you as a result of your investigation, will no doubt place our nitre industry in the forefront of our *purely swadeshi industries*. Plainness and simplicity are the characteristics of everything Indian. It is this plain simplicity that made the Indian art with all its sublimity soar high up in the atmosphere of Aryan civilisation, which the modern scholars are so eagerly devoting themselves to master, for a truer and vivid knowledge of the past. Behold the methods of the village *nuniahs* in their industrial pursuits of making nitre out of the scrapings of white incrustations—they will unfold to you the truth that their methods are as simple as plain, almost verging on what according to the modern scientific ideas which we have received from the west, may seem crude and rough ones; they will unfold to you the fact that there is not a tinge of that so-called refineness which characterises the modern science with all her adjuncts of splendour, grandeur and elaborateness; they will unfold to you, if you are at all conversant with the old scriptures of the Hindus, the adoptation of that old and the very ancient method of filtration—a true scientific principle sprung from the days when the hymns of *Rigveda* enchanted the people of the earth several thousand years before the Christian era; and lastly they will unfold to you in their every phase those true Hindu characteristics—call them by whatever name you like, crude, simple, plain, economical, boorish or even unscientific. Yet such features play the important role in the field of Indian industry of laying open to the world the truth whether it is truly Indian or not, whether it bears the impression of the interference of foreign hands or not. It is no mystery hidden in the darkness of the mythical past, but pure, plain, absolute realities which float on the surface of these practical and scientific methods of the Hindu workers in the cause of the development of the Indian Industries. Look into the implements of these village *nuniahs*, you will get an insight into what is called crude, plain, simple, but at the same time useful and efficient ones, which they have inherited from their forefathers and which even in these bright days of modern science, they care not to change or improve upon. It is against their nature to borrow the methods of others, quite satisfied, as they are, with those that have come to them from the remotest past. The lixiviatoin, boiling, the examination of the concentration of the liquor, the crystallisation, the test of the quality of nitre, the separating, drying and stocking of the alimentary product in common salt, the weathering of the earth for nitre plantation, the utilisation of the minute quantity of the factory earth,—all appertaining to the nitre industry of India present features bearing anything but foreign stamp either *European* or *Mohomedan*. It is perfectly Hindu in all its aspects and the facts relating to this point of view are truly borne out by the observation of any investigator, irrespective of creed or nationality. If a European claims the introduction of the methods of nitre manufacture after the advent of his countrymen on the Indian continent, he proceeds on very erroneous grounds, such claims having no foundation whereupon they may be safely based. For a countryman of his at a time when Englishmen commanded the sole monopoly of the nitre industry spoke quite contrary to that view. Further had Europeans to do anything with the manufacture of nitre, it is certain that we should find some traces of their work now. But the nitre industry in India, even as it is carried on at the present day, fails to bring out anything of European interference. If any European challenges an adverse argument to this, we may unhesitatingly and boldly enough, say that he will be truly disappointed. Some say that the manufacture of nitre was introduced into India by the Hon'ble the East India Company. The Company did not undertake the manufacture of the article themselves but collected it in a centre, whence they exported it to Europe and other places. It is the monopoly of the trade that the Company directed their attention to and not the manufacture of the article itself. Had the Company undertaken the manufacture themselves there would have been visible some such proofs of it in the processes hereinbefore related.

Another point in support of our argument

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may be raised from the fact of the value of nitre as a medicine, which is found mentioned in nearly every work on "*Ayurveda*" or the healing art of the ancient Hindus. Many scholars, both European and Indian, are in support of this view, and it finds a perfect corroboration in the use of alkalies as वज्रचार, यवचार, सर्জ्जिकाचार, सुवर्चिका, etc., more or less identified with *nitre*, in the indigenous mode of treatment carried on even at the present day throughout the length and breadth of the Indian continent. The use of nitre in urinary diseases seemed to be prevalent in India from long ago and every peasant even now is conversant with this great remedial value of the substance.

If we trace the rise and growth of modern industrial chemistry, we find that even the oldest of the European chemical industries with all its processes of manufacture as operated upon, in those past days when science itself was in an undeveloped state, cannot bear comparison with the simpler and cruder methods adopted by the Hindoos in the production of nitre even at the present day—a time when the scientific world has ascended its zenith of prosperity and splendour. Plain simplicity, as we have more than once observed before, reigns supreme in the present methods of nitre manufacture of the Indians even at a period when our science has been enriched to such a degree, as to present ample chance of attracting them easily to the superior processes it prescribes—a stern *conservatism* this indeed, interesting as well as curious to the contemplation of a keen scientific mind of the modern world. On the other hand in the methods of an European industry a spectacle, at once prominent and very clear, is apparent in their ever-changing and ever-advancing nature always assimilating what is new and successful and gradually developing themselves with the advance of time and civilisation into the more refined scientific state, at any cost whatever, leading the industry itself to a bright prosperous situation—a true example of *liberalism*. A faithful comparison between the East and the West, just described, prepares the mind of the unprejudiced scientific investigator for a judgment of things on a better and more sound footing and accordingly after the closest observations, the pronouncement of his verdict is in favour of the nitre industry being perfectly free from any tinge of Europeanism in it. The same arguments may be applicapable also to the case of entertaining views regarding the Mahomedan influence on nitre industry. The nitre manufacture in India shows as much freedom from the touch of European hands as from the Mahomedan also. Of the several millions of Musalmans in India we do not see any of them engaged in this industry as is observed in dyeing and bleaching and other industrial pursuits. From this and other proofs in regard to the social aspects of the nitre industry, every one is inclined to believe that never in India had this industry been undertaken or handled by any Mahomedan enterprise. To sum up, therefore, we may put forth clearly our views regarding the nitre industry as being purely a Hindu concern originating exclusively in Hindu enterprise, conducted in Hindu ways—simultaneously simple, inexpensive, economical, and efficient, and bearing a Hindu stamp throughout its methods, which have come down to us from our forefathers in ancient times through an uninterrupted heritage.

Nitre in ancient India—from the earliest times before the Buddhist Era.

The history of nitre in India may now be traceable to the remotest past when the soil of *Bharatbarsa* presented all the scientific conditions for the efflorescence of nitre. The primitive people of India by their wonted aptitude for industrial pursuits discovered the existence of common salt in these nitre incrustations. So the salt industry came on first, that of nitre following immediately after, or almost simultaneously. From what could be gathered from the ancient Sanskrit literature the industry seems to have thriven well in the hands of the ancient Hindus, inasmuch as it helped to a considerable extent in the manufacture of powder for firearms and fireworks, of manure, glass and medicines, as also in carrying on the export trade with other countries.

Nitre in the Buddhist era.

In the Buddhist period it also played a prominent part in the manufacture of glass and artificial gems as we find in the Buddhist chronicles.

In the later periods the existence of

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the industry is supported from the fact of *fireworks* being mentioned in Bhatti Kavyam that of *magic wick* and *magic powder* in Dasakumaracharita.

Nitre in the Christian era up to the 10th Century A. D.

The history of nitre industry here enters upon a period of obscurity, though the international trade between India on the one hand and China, Arabia, Persia and other countries on the other, bear evidences in support of the continuity of the nitre industry in India in these periods. Next comes in the Mahomedan rule in India and during this period there was every reason of the nitre industry being tolerably in good position, as the Mahomedan courts gave some evidences of their demand for the production of fireworks, etc. Here the mere beliefs, conjectures and probabilities under good grounds in regard to the existence in India of the nitre industry become transformed into a positive fact when modern history fixes the date when gun-powder was first used in Indian warfare.

Nitre from the 11th century to the time of the Moguls.

Nitre under the Moguls before the middle of the 17th century A.D.

The history of the nitre industry next emerges out of the hazy atmosphere of the past into the bright clear light of the modern times when the advent of the East India Company to India and their subsequent connection with the nitre trade enlighten us fully, through their records, about the state of that industry in those days. An investigation into the affairs of the East India Company of this period undoubtedly brings to light the fact that the nitre industry under them rose to its acme of prosperity. The concensus of opinion of all who read the records and statistics of the nitre trade during these periods, is in favour of the idea broached in the above lines. This view derives support from the fact that the export trade of nitre was carried even to the far West in Europe and to the far East and America, thus proving that the demand was very great at that time. It was in this period that owing exclusively to the nitre industry, the political importance of India was considerably enhanced. It was a time when the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Russia, China, America, Arabia,—nearly the whole world, looked impatiently towards India for their nitre and she alone was fully able to cope with such an enormous demand. Consequently the industry flourished to a great extent. The village *nuniahs*, however, were not the offspring of this large demand, as some may be led to suppose, quite erroneously though, but they formed the main nucleus that contributed very largely to the success of this export trade at that time of great political importance which India passed through. The refineries also worked vigorously—all *Swadeshi* concerns absolutely independent of foreign touch on them. The Hon'ble the East India Company used to purchase all the nitre locally by contract and regular advances to the *refinery-wallas*, stock it in centres called factories, whence they exported the article to the distant foreign lands. In this way the Company held a monopoly of the nitre trade in India for nearly two centuries—from the middle of the 17th century till the middle of the 19th century A.D.

Nitre under the East India Company from the middle of the 17th Century to the middle of the 19th Century A.D.

The histories of Europe and America bear testimony to the greatest internal complications during this period of the world's history and accordingly the demand for nitre was very great indeed and India had to meet it fully—she being alone in the field of that industry.

Soon these halcyon days of the nitre industry became darkened and a crisis came. During the Crimean War of 1854-55 the invention of a process of manufacturing nitre from Chilli-saltpetre or sodium nitrate in Germany by M. Wollner of Cologne, marked an epoch in the history of the nitre industry in India. A reverse of fortune slowly and gradually crept on it casting a gloom over its future prospects. This was not felt at first for two reasons, firstly, owing to the slow progress of the nitre manufacture from sodium nitrate of Chili and secondly, owing to the internal complications in which the sad lot of India was cast in the memorable Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. The internal demand being great the pinch of a rival enterprise in Germany and other places was not felt at all in India.

Nitre from 1854 to 1858.

After the Mutiny, India passed directly into the hands of the Island Queen. The export trade of nitre, which

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had been shewing, sometimes previously, prospects anything but hopeful, came nearly to a constant point, neither increasing largely nor decreasing to a great extent. The export trade changed hands also. Instead of remaining a Government monopoly it passed into the hands of ordinary merchants, both native and European. But the manufacture of nitre went on as usual by the expert *nuniahs and refinery-wallas*. Their simple and economical processes of manufacturing alone kept it up in the field. The foreigners could not close their doors against it as its comparative cheapness became an element of strength wherewith it was able to fight out its course in the field of commercial activity. In this struggle our nitre industry was successful and this success is continued out up to the present day. But for the interference of Chili-saltpetre, the nitre industry of India would have secured a most prominent position in the world's commercial history. But as fate would have it though not occupying a very high place among the world's industries, which was once prognosticated in its behalf a little more than still its position has not become very undesirable indeed even in the present state of its statistics. Here India won her position and maintained her prestige through sheer simplicity and economy, those two rare features which has made her so prominent since the olden times.

Nitre during the days from 1858 to the present date.

The nitre industry of India coming from the womb of the remotest antiquity, as it had been, and nurtured with all the care that its Hindu-parents with all their simplest and plainest means could afford to bestow upon it, passed through many ups and downs and is now in a condition not very different from what it experienced nearly 150 years ago. Its future is anything but hopeless in the event of its working on new lines which modern science suggests. It forms now one of the oldest and very successful industries of our land—*a purely swadeshi industry of Hindu origin.*

The future of nitre industry is anything but hopeless.

MANINDRANATH BANERJEE,
Lecturer in Chemistry.
THE BENGAL NATIONAL COLLEGE.
25th May, 1910.

MEN I HAVE SEEN

IV.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF RAMKRISHNA PARAMHANSA.

MY personal acquaintance with Ramkrishna Paramhansa happened in the following manner. In the year 1875, I was employed as Head Master in the South Suburban School of Bhowanipore, in the southern suburbs of Calcutta. While working there, I formed friendship with a teacher of the London Missionary Society's Institution, who had married at Dakkhineswar, a village in the northern suburbs, the famous seat of Ramkrishna Paramhansa. After his visits to Dakkhineswar my friend would come and relate to me the strange sayings and doings of a Hindu mendicant attached to the temple of the goddess Kali at that place. Some of these sayings seemed so remarkable to me, that one day I accompanied my friend to see him. He was not known to fame then, which came to him afterwards, when the late Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen began to visit him and to publish the accounts of his visits in his paper.

I have not kept any notes of our meetings, consequently shall not be able to record things in chronological order, but shall narrate events as they linger in my memory without any special reference to time.

I do not remember the things he said during our first interview, but I vividly recollect that he received me very warmly, perhaps owing to the fact of my name having been mentioned to him by my friend previously. He said to me again

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and again, in his well-known open-hearted, simple and childlike manner, "I am so delighted to see you, will you come to me now and then?" The little of his personal history that I could gather from persons living there showed that he was an unlettered poor Brahmin, formerly employed as a *Pujari* or ministering priest in the Kali temple, who subsequently, by his extraordinary penances and austerities, had attained to a state of perfection the like of which was seldom seen.

After repeated visits our friendship became closer and he began to unbosom his experiences to me. The long and short of the story is this—When acting as a priest in the temple, he came in personal contact with many Hindu *Sadhus*, saints, sages and mendicants who, on their way to and from Puri or Jagannath, would visit that temple and would sometimes stay there for stated periods. The personal contact with these men brought on a revolution in Ramkrishna's life. His hunger and thirst for spiritual truth, which was naturally great, was further strengthened. As a result, he devoted himself to the religious exercises which many of them taught, and began to practise austerities that were very severe. I recollect some of them as related by the saint. The idea that struck him most, and had an abiding influence on his mind, was to avoid as poison "*Kamini kanchan*" or woman and wealth, as the most effective way of ensuring spiritual detachment; and the means that he adopted for that purpose were also very peculiar. With a quantity of dust in one hand, for instance, and some pieces of coin in the other, he would sit by the side of the river, flowing near by, and then would compose himself into a state of meditation, trying to realize the equal nothingness of both of them, the quantity of dust, and the pieces of coin. Then he would go on repeating "dust is money, money is dust, dust is money, money is dust", and so on, till the realization of that truth was complete, when he would throw 'both money and dust' into the stream.

Similarly, his efforts to rise above the attractions of woman were also very peculiar. I need not recount all of them, which the saint related to me. Suffice it to say that ultimately his abhorrence of the touch of woman became so great that he would not permit, in after years, any woman to approach him within some feet of distance. To one approaching too near he would often bow and say,—"Mother! mother! stay there, please come not nearer." To my question, what were his apprehensions about the nearer approach of woman, he made the reply, that the shock would be too great for him, he would be simlpy overpowered and would faint away. I do not remember having ever seen any woman approaching him too near, with the result of his falling into fits, but I was personally present on occasions, when pieces of coin were placed in his hand by an enquiring visitor, as an experiment, and the saint fell into his usual fits, and did not come back to consciousness, until the pieces of coin were removed from the hand.

Some more words about these woman-shunning exercises are needed. As a consequence of them, at the time I first saw him, Ramkrishna was living practically separated from his wife, who was living in her village home. One day finding me complaining to some friends assembled there, about the virtual widowhood of his wife, he drew me to himself and whispered in my ears: "Why do you complain? It is no longer possible, it is all dead and gone." One day finding myself expostulating about this part of his teaching, and also declaring that our programme of work in the Brahmo Samaj includes women, that ours is a social and domestic religion, and that we want to give education and social liberty to women, the saint got very much excited, as it was his fashion, when anything against his settled conviction was asserted in his presence, a trait we liked so much in him, and exclaimed, "Go thou fool, go and perish in the pit that your women will dig for you." Then he looked with glaring eyes at me and said—"Suppose the case of a gardener who is planting a young plant in his garden. What does he do? Does he not surround that young plant with a fence, to protect it from being eaten up by goats and cattle? And then when the young plant has grown up into a tree and it can no longer be injured by cattle, does he not remove the fence and let the tree grow freely?" I replied—"Yes, that is the

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custom with gardeners." Then he remarked —"Do that with regard to your spiritual life; shun women in the beginning of that life, be strong, be full-grown, then you may seek them." To which I replied —"I don't agree with you in thinking that women's work is like that of cattle, only to destroy our spiritual life; they are our associates and helpers in all our spiritual struggles and social progress,"—a view with which he could not agree and he marked his dissent by shaking his head. Then referring to the closing evening he jocularly remarked;—"It is time for you to depart; take care, don't be late, otherwise *your woman* would not admit you into her room". There was a hearty laughter of all present over these remarks.

Besides the woman-shunning exercises, the other modes of exercise, adopted by him were also characteristic. Many of them appeared to us to be quite fanciful and involving needless waste of time and energy. There were certainly better ways for serving the ends he had in view. But we must judge a man by his sincerity and his hunger and thirst for religion. He had earnestly resolved to practise all that the mendicants visiting that temple had dictated. One sage told him, for instance, that the best way of acquiring perfect obedience to the Divine will, was to cultivate the spirit of Hanuman, the famous monkey-servant of Rama, as delineated in the Ramayana. In order to cultivate that spirit, Ramkrishna, shut himself up in a room for a number of days, meditating on the virtues of Hanuman. He caused an artificial tail to be made, which he put on, to look like a monkey, and then jumped about in the room calling upon God.—"Lord, Lord, I am thy devoted servant."

Another sage told him to practise humility, to believe himself to be equal to the meanest sweeper, for instance. Ramkrishna at once resolved to do the duty of a sweeper. By stealth he would enter the *paikhana* or privy of a neighbour from below, and would take away the pots to the river to wash them and place them again in their places. This thing went on for some time, till at last it was discovered, and remonstrances were forthcoming, and he had to give up the practice.

Added to all these there were hard regulations about diet and sleep. He fasted for days and denied himself rest during nights. One can easily imagine that these severe austerities told upon his constitution, which seems to have been naturally frail. The first result was that his health completely broke down and he became a permanent invalid. He got something like a cancer in his throat, of which, I think, he finally died. The other was—he got a strange nervous disorder, under which, whenever there was any strong emotion or excitement, he would faint away, losing his consciousness, for the time being, and his whole countenance assuming a radiant glow, as a mark of the emotion working within. This kind of malady seems to be peculiar to religious persons. It is said of Chaitanya, the far-famed prophet of Bengal, that under strong emotion he would faint away, and his figure would assume such an etherial glow at the time that men would be struck with wonder and many would kiss his whole frame. It is also said of Mahomet that under deep religious emotion he would fall into a sort of trance, and that many of his utterances given out soon after such a state of trance, have been treasured up in the Koran. Cases have also been known of many saints of Christendom, both men and women, who would faint away under strong religious emotion. To us, Hindus of Bengal, both in the Brahmo Samaj and in the Vaishnava community, it is a fact of repeated experience that men and women faint away during rapturous singing of *sankirtan*. What the latter get occasionally, men like Ramkrishna, Chaitanya, and Mahomet got habitually. That he had got the fits from the abovementioned austerities he personally told me one day. Upon my expressing regret for these fits one day as tending to further weaken his health he said—"Yes, my friend, that will kill me. I have got it by trying to literally carry out the injunctions of the *sadhus* who visited this temple".

Then his severe austerities led to another result. It brought about mental derangement for some time. This fact is, perhaps, not generally known. But it is a fact: at least he himself told us so on one occasion. Let me describe that occasion. I was

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seated with him, when a number of rich men from Calcutta arrived. The saint left us in the midst of the conversation and went out of the room for some minutes. In the meantime Hriday, his nephew and care-taker, began to extol his uncle before these rich men, by narrating some of his great performances. Referring to the abovementioned period of mental derangement, he said, "So great was his love of God, that he became insensible to all outward circumstances of life, for some time, and apparently dead to all external events." Just at that moment the saint was entering the room. He had caught Hriday's last words. Upon his reappearance, he took Hriday to task, for trying to magnify his uncle before others. The saint's words I vividly remember. He said—"What a mean-spirited fellow you must be to extol me thus before these rich men. You have seen their costly apparel and their golden watches and chains, and your object is to extract from them as much money as you can for your uncle. What do I care if these men do not think highly of me?" Then turning to the rich men he said,—"No, my friends, what he has told you about me is not true, it was not love of God that made me absorbed and indifferent to external life; I became positively insane for some time. The sadhus who frequented this temple, told me to practise many things. I tried to follow them and the consequence was my austerities drove me to insanity." That voice of protest raised Ramkrishna many degrees in my estimation. In fact the impression left in my mind, by intercourse with him, was, that I had seldom come across any other man, in whom the hunger and thirst for spiritual life was so great and who had gone through so many privations and sufferings for the practice of religion. Secondly, I was convinced that he was no longer a *sadhak* or a devotee under exercise, but was a *siddha purusha* or one who had attained direct vision of spiritual truth. The truth of which he had direct spiritual vision, and which had become a fountain of noble impulses in his soul, was Divine Motherhood. He loved to speak of God as his Mother, the thought of Divine Motherhood would rouse all his emotions, and he would faint away from excess of excitement when singing of the Mother's love. Yet this conception of motherhood stretched far beyond any idol or image, into a sense of the Infinite. When he spoke or sang about the Mother, his thoughts far out-stripped the limits of the four-handed goddess Kali. One of his favorite songs was—"Oh mother, dance, once commingling thy smiles and thy flute" —*i.e.* commingling Kali and Krishna. He would often say, only fools make distinction between Kali and Krishna, they are the manifestations of the same Power.

Speaking of the spirituality and catholicity of his conception, one incident comes to my mind. A Christian preacher of Bhowanipore, who was my personal friend, once accompanied me on my visit to Ramkrishna. When I introduced my friend to him, I said—"To-day I bring a Christian preacher to you, who having heard of you from me, was very eager to see you", whereupon the saint bowed his head to the ground and said, "I bow again and again, at the feet of Jesus." Then took place the following conversation :—

My Christian friend—How is it Sir, that you bow at the feet of Christ? What do you think of him?

Ramkrishna—Why, I look upon him as an incarnation of God.

My friend—Incarnation of God! Will you kindly explain what you mean by it?

Ramkrishna—An incarnation like our Rama or Krishna. Don't you know there is a passage in the Bhagavat where it is said that the incarnations of Vishnu or the Supreme Being are innumerable?

My friend—Please explain further; I do not understand it quite.

Ramkrishna—Just take the case of the ocean. It is a wide and almost infinite expanse of water. But owing to special causes, in special parts of this wide sea, the water becomes congealed into ice. When reduced to ice it can be easily manipulated and applied to special uses. An incarnation is something like that. Like that infinite expanse of water, there is the Infinite Power, immanent in matter and mind, but for some special purposes, in special regions, a portion of that Infinite Power, as it were, assumes a tangible shape in history, that is what you call a great man; but he is properly speaking a local

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manifestation of the all-pervading Divine Power; in other words, an incarnation of God. The greatness of great men is essentially the manifestation of Divine Energy.

My friend—I understand your position, though we do not quite agree with it. (Then turning to me)—"I should like to know what my Brahmo friends would say to this."

Ramkrishna,—Don't talk of those fools, (meaning members of the Brahmo Samaj), they have no eyes to see such things.

Myself—(addressing Ramkrishna) Who told you, Sir, that we do not believe that the greatness of the great teachers of humanity was a Divine communication, and in that sense they were incarnations of a Divine Idea?

Ramkrishna—Do you really believe it to be so? I did not know that.

Afterwards there was a conversation during which the saint illustrated, in his well-known homely way, many spiritual truths which quite struck my Christian friend as something very noteworthy.

After this I kept up visiting the saint whenever I got leisure. Many were the meetings and many the utterances. I do not remember all of them, and the following are only some of those that still linger in my memory.

On one occasion, I was present in his room along with a few others, who during the saint's temporary absence from the room, began to discuss the reasonableness or otherwise of certain Divine attributes. I was getting tired of the discussion when the saint returned. Whilst entering the room he had caught some words of that discussion and had also observed the heated nature of it. He at once put a stop to the discussion, by saying, "Stop, stop, what is the good of discussing the reasonableness or otherwise of Divine attributes? These things are got by other ways, by prayerfully waiting and thinking. For instance, you say God is good, can you convince me of His goodness by reasoning? Take for instance that mournful incident, the encroachment of the sea on the land, that lately took place at Dakhin Sabazpore, the great innundation during a storm. We hear thousands of men, women and children were carried away and drowned by that flood. How can you prove to me that a good God, a beneficent Deity, ordered all that? You will perhaps answer by pointing out the attendant good that flood did; how it carried away filth, how it fertilized the soil and so on. But my question is this, could not a good God do all that without carrying off hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children?" At this point one of the audience interrupted him by saying, Are we then to believe that God was cruel!

Ramkrishna—"Thou fool, who tells you to do that? Join your hands in reverential humility and say—'Oh God we are too weak and too incompetent to know thy nature and thy doings. Do thou enlighten our understanding.'"

Then he illustrated the truth by the following parable:—"Take the case of two men travelling by a certain road, who take temporary shelter in a mango-grove. It was the season for mangoes. One of them sits with pencil and paper in hand and begins a calculation. He counts the number of mango-trees in the garden, the number of branches in each tree and the average number of mangoes on each branch. Then he tries to imagine how many cart-loads of mangoes that garden will supply, and then again taking each cart-load to be worth so many rupees when taken to market, how much money that garden will fetch.

"When one man was employed like this, in counting up the probable income from the garden, the other was engaged in plucking ripe mangoes and eating them. Which of them do you consider to be the wiser of the two?"

"The second one was certainly the wiser," said the visitor, "for it is certainly wiser to eat the fruits than counting up on paper the probable income from the garden." Then the saint smiled and remarked:—"It is likewise wiser to pray to God and to cultivate communion with Him, than to argue about the reasonableness or otherwise of His attributes. Pray and open your hearts to Him and the light will come to you."

On another occasion, when I was seated with him a number of men arrived, one of whom amongst other questions asked "Whether it was necessary for a man, for the purpose of spiritual improvement, to place himself under the guidance of some *guru* or spiritual preceptor?"

Ramkrishna replied—"Certainly, it is

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advantage and a great good fortune for a man if he can find a worthy director of his spiritual life; such a one would materially help him. Not that he cannot attain to true spiritual progress by his self-exertions, but such a company would certainly facilitate it." Then turning to the river flowing near by he pointed to a passing steamer, and asked his questioner: "When do you think that steamer will reach Chinsurah?" The man said—"By five or six in the evening". The saint said, "You mark a boat attached by a rope to the stern of the steamer. With the help of the steamer, that boat also will arrive at Chinsurah, by that time. But suppose that boat is detached from the steamer and has to ply unaided, when do you think it would reach that place?" The questioner replied,—"Most likely not before next morning". The saint concluded;—"Exactly like that, a man may go on unaided in his spiritual life, through his weaknesses and blunders, it only takes time; whereas if he can get the advantages of the companionship and help of an advanced spirit he can accomplish the journey of ten or twelve hours in four."

On another occasion one of the visitors asked—"Of *Jnan* or knowledge of God, and *bhakti* or ardent love of God, which is better?" Ramkrishna took advantage of the gender of the words according to Sanskrit grammar, calling *jnan* to be a male and *bhakti* a female. But in this, through his ignorance of Sanskrit grammar he committed a mistake, for *jnan* in Sanskrit is in the neuter gender. However, his application of the Sanskrit grammar in this instance was very striking and peculiar. After describing one to be masculine and the other feminine, and then referring to the Indian custom of shutting up women in the inner apartments, he said—"*Jnan* or knowledge being a male is obliged to stand and wait at the outer court of the Divine Mother's house, whereas *bhakti* being female goes direct to the inner apartments, to the very presence of the Mother."

On another occasion one of the visitors asked,—"Living in the world as we do, surrounded by our daily cares and daily duties, what are we to do, to concentrate our attention on Divine things?" To which the saint replied—"Have you ever seen women making *cheerah*? (a kind of boiled and threshed paddy). There is the threshing-machine called *Dhenki*, with its big pestle going up and coming down, in measured movement. A woman generally takes her seat near the small pit made in the ground, where the grain to be threshed is put, and where the pestle rises and falls and, as the pestle rises and falls, she gathers up the threshed corn and removes it to be spread in the sun. She has to be very careful about her hand gathering the threshed corn from the pit, for the least carelessness on her part, would make that pestle come down upon her hand and crush her fingers. Now suppose the case of such a woman, thus employed. Also suppose that woman is at the same time employed in other ways. She has a baby on her lap to whom she is giving suck, with her left hand she is spreading the threshed corn to the sun, and at the same time is speaking to a neighbour about the price of some *cheera* she had taken sometime ago. Where do you think that woman's attention is primarily directed? Certainly to her hand in the pit, lest that hand be crushed by the down-coming pestle. Similarly in this world be ye occupied with many concerns, and be ye attentive to many duties, but primarily attend to your spiritual interests, take care that these are not crushed."

On another occasion the conversation turned upon the usefulness or otherwise of counting beads or repeating the names of gods or goddesses. The saint replied:—"The mere repetition of a name in itself is nothing, unless it is attended by a corresponding spiritual emotion. Take the case of a parrot for instance. Its master has taught it the names of his own deities. Accordingly the parrot is going on repeating in season and out of season, the names of *Radha* and *Krishna. Radha Krishna Radha Krishna* the parrot repeats morning and evening, and seems to be quite in love with them. But mark, one day the wily cat pounces upon him from behind and tries to kill him. What do you hear then? You perhaps observe that *Radha Krishna* has vanished from its throat, and in its place has come in the frightened and agonised bird's natural cry,—*Kan Kan Kan*. So your bead-counting man, when tempted and tried perhaps

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forgets the name he repeats, or your professed lover of God forgets his God's name, and falls into his natural mood of unbelief and want of resignation. A faith that cannot stand the trials of life is no faith at all."

Enough: let me now proceed to relate some incidents expressive of the saint's personal affection for me. On one occasion he had been sending repeated messages to me asking me to come and see him; but I was being detained by Brahmo Samaj work, till at last he turned up at my house one day, perhaps on his way to keep some other engagement. Then took place the following conversation.

Ramkrishna—How is it you have not seen me for so long a time even after repeated requests, and your repeated promises to do so?

Myself.—The work of the Brahmo Samaj detains me. I am just now very busy.

Ramkrishna—Perish your Brahmo Samaj! if it denies you liberty to see your friends.

Then looking at my face he smiled and said—"When I was coming to you the fellows (meaning his new disciples) said—'why should you go to a Brahmo, he is not worthy of a visit.' Do you know what I told them?"

Myself—What did you tell them?

Ramkrishna—I told them, now look here, one who has publicly registered her name goes to all, whoever seeks her (meaning thereby the custom then prevalent for all public women registering their names before commencing their profession); I am at the service of all.

On another occasion he had been invited to be present at a Brahmo festival held in a garden house at Dum Dum. I arrived a little late. Upon my arrival I found him standing and singing in the midst of a crowd of people. As soon as he saw me he clasped me to his bosom, declaring, "Oh my bosom is now soothed." After that his proceedings went on with unusual fervour and enthusiasm.

On a third occasion as I was approaching the temple of Dakkhineswar after a long time, I found the saint in his simple and childlike fashion trying to drive away a number of crows from the adjoining trees, with a bow and arrow in his hands. To find him in that condition was a surprise to me. "What is that? turned an archer?" I exclaimed, whereupon he seemed to be equally surprised to find me coming after a long time and threw away the bow and arrow and ran to my bosom. So great was his delight that he fainted away from excess of emotion. Slowly I took him inside his room, laid him on his bed and waited till he came to consciousness. When able to speak again, he broached to me the proposal of accompanying him to the Zoological Gardens, whither some of his disciples had proposed to take him to see the lions. The manner in which he expressed his joy at the thought of seeing the lions, was charming in its simplicity. He repeatedly asked me, did I not like to see the lions, the celebrated riding beasts of goddess Durga?—I smiled and said, "I have seen the lions several times." To which he replied—"Is it not a pleasure to accompany me to see them once more?" I said, "Yes, it is a great pleasure, no doubt, but, unfortunately, I have another engagement to attend to. I shall, however, accompany you down to the Sukeas Street crossing in Calcutta, and then shall send for Naren (subsequently known as Vivekananda, who was then employed as a teacher in the Metropolitan Institution) from his school and he will take you to the Zoological Gardens."

At last it was so arranged, and a carriage was brought by a young disciple, who, as far as I remember, became our fellow-passenger in the carriage. But while in the carriage, Ramkrishna insisted upon sitting on my left-hand side on the seat. I could not at first understand his meaning. But as the carriage started he covered his head with his *chudder* or covering sheet, in the fashion of young married women of Bengal. I asked for the reason of his so doing. He said, "Don't you see I am a woman for the time being. I am travelling with my lover." Saying this he threw his arm around my waist and began to make a sort of dancing movement, seated as he was, as a mark of his great pleasure. At this point there came on his fit or trance, and then I witnessed a scene that I shall never forget. His whole countenance was aglow with a strange spiritual light, and before he became fully unconscious, he

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began to pray with incoherent words, in the following fashion—"Oh Mother, my beloved Mother, do not make me unconscious. Oh Mother! I am going to see the lions in the Zoological Gardens. Oh Mother, I may have a fall from the carriage. Do, do let me be all right till the journey is finished." At this point he became thoroughly unconscious, leaning on my arm for some minutes. After consciousness had returned he once more began conversation in his usual childlike and simple manner, till we reached the Sukeas Street crossing and Naren was sent for. He came at once, as far as I remember, and took my place in the carriage and took his master to the Gardens. It should be mentioned here that the Metropolitan Institution was at that time situated in Sukeas Street.

During the last few years of the saint's life, my visits became less frequent than they were before. Two causes contributed to produce that result. First, latterly, through his childlike simplicity he was drawn away by some of his new disciples, into encouraging by his visits and friendship, many objectionable characters such as the actors of the Indian theatres. I did not like to be associated with such men.

Secondly, during his last days, some of his new disciples began to preach him as God Almighty. I was afraid my meeting with such men would give rise to unpleasant discussions. So I kept away. At last when the news of his fast declining health was brought to me one day, I left all work and went to Dakkhineswar. I found him very low. That was before his final removal to a more commodious house on the river-side for treatment. Ramkrishna took me to task for neglecting him. I pleaded guilty to the charge and made a clean breast of it by letting him know the exact causes. I smiled and said,—"As there are many editions of a book, so there have been many editions of God Almighty and your disciples are about to make you a new one." He too smiled and said—"Just fancy, God Almighty dying of a cancer in the throat. What great fools these fellows must be!"

That was my last interview with him, after which he was removed from Dakkhineswar, was placed under the treatment of the most distinguished physicians of the town, and was devotedly nursed by his disciples; but nothing could stay the progress of his disease and he passed away, leaving behind him a memory that is now spiritually feeding hundreds of earnest souls. My acquaintance with him, though short, was fruitful by strengthening many a spiritual thought in me. I owe him a debt of gratitude for the sincere affection he bore towards me. He was certainly one of the remarkable personalities I have come across in life.

SIVANATH SASTRI.

THE NORTHERN TIRTHA—A PILGRIM'S DIARY

III.

Place.	Distance.	Remarks on accomodation.
Gouri Kund	8 miles	
Fatta Chatty	10 miles	
Akhi Math	7 miles	Dharmsalas. A large village.
Potibassa	8 miles	
Bunea Kund	2 miles	
Chota Chobda	10½ miles	Dharmsalas.
[Pilgrimage to Thoom Nath here]		
Jungal Chatty	4 miles	Chappays.
Mongol Chatty	4 miles	Chappays.
Gopeswar	5 miles	Dharmsalas.
Lall Sanghao or Chamoli	15 miles	Dharmsalas and dâk bungalow.
Pipalkoti	9 miles	Dharmsalas and dâk bungalow.
Garur Ganga	4 miles	
Golupkoti	9 miles	Dharmsalas and dâk bungalow.
Kumar Chatty	3 miles	
Canoti Chatty	4 miles	
Joshi Math	9 miles	Dâk bungalows, Dharmsalas.
Vishnu Prayag	2 miles	
Pandrakeras	12 miles	Dharmsalas, dâk bungalow of Shashdhara.
Hanuman Chatty	4 miles	
Badri Naraiyan	8 miles	Panda's guest houses and dâk bungalow.

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WE stopped again, on our return journey, at Gouri Kund and Fatta Chatty. Then we took the road of deep descent into the valley below, and climbing, as cheerfully as we might up the opposite slope, found ourselves at AKHI MATH. From Fatta Chatty to Akhi Math was about seven miles. It was very impressive to see from a distance a small square terrace below the monastery, and on it some ten or twelve small shrine-like monuments grouped together, near a great bo-tree. These temple-like erections reminded the eye of the shrines at Nalla, and seemed a striking confirmation of the idea that Akhi Math had only been the last of a series of sites chosen for the winter-monastery of the monks in charge of Kedar Nath. These, however, though so like them, were not shrines, but samadhis of long dead and gone mahunts, or, as they are called in the Himalayas, Raouls. They were obviously later in style than the shrines on the other side of the valley, though they differed much amongst themselves in form. On the same terrace was the old and very beautiful bathing-tank of the monastery. About it and in its little niches were lovely fragments of old carvings. And the view from under the shade of the bo-trees was a superb vision of a semicircle of snows, with a receding vista of interlacing green and purple vales leading up to them. This long ascending avenue makes the snows look as vast here in the forenoon, as at Kedar Nath in the evening. Such a view would be impossible on the other side of the valley, and would almost explain why Sankaracharya should have placed his math here. A little higher on the hill, in the midst of a village huddled together in terraces, stands the monastery itself. We cannot help thinking that the whole place must be like a fragment of Lhassa.

The math is a large square building, with an immense and most imposing door, over which is a painted modern cornice, in black and red, of elephants. Within, there is a bazaar and what is almost a whole village, with a large temple in the centre. This temple, however, is still not so sacrosanct as the small ancient chapel, contained in the verandah-like puja-dalan at the side. Here is the reason asserted for the site of the math, in an old altar, to the Mother, said to have been established by Akha the daughter of Ban Asur. This Ban Asur is a person of whom we constantly hear in this neighbourhood. Who was he? There is a village called by his name, and Gopal Panda assures us that he has left there some remains of fortification. One thinks of the proud Assurs of Assyria—Asur Bani-Pal, and Asur-Nuzir-Pal,—as one has seen them in the British Museum, and wonders if traces of some remote invasion by men of the same race are here remembered. Mandhata Rajah is also quoted but somewhat vaguely, in connection with the age of the holy site. The carvings in the verandah are mainly Ganeshes, griffins (almost like our unicorns) and dwarapals. There are a couple of pieces of carving belonging to Vaishnavism, built into the wall on right and left of a door on the far side of the courtyard. These are very fine indeed. They are much later than the others, but then there is an idea—that Krishna and the Gopis—behind them, which is enough to account for their artistic superiority.

Akhi Math was originally granted to the order, subject to military service to the old kings of Garhwal, of the same line as the present family, and very fine reading are the copies of deed which have been made from time to time. The present Raoul is said to be the one hundred and twenty-fifth in the succession. Allowing ten years to each reign, which could hardly be too much, this gives us twelve hundred and fifty years of existence, taking us back to something like the middle of the seventh century, for the beginning of the dynasty. It cannot be held impossible that Akhi Math has been the seat of the order throughout this period. The site is evidently prehistoric. The temple in the middle of the courtyard is built on ancient foundations, and its lowest tiers are still old, though the upper parts are much restored. Again, the cornice of elephants over the door, though not very old, since it is made of wood, would seem to be old in pattern, and even to form a link with Buddhism. Buddha, the spiritual hero, was always symbolised by the elephant, and the fact that this particular cornice reappears above the doors of other ancient Himalayan monasteries also, seems significant in the highest degree of a continuous link in tradition with the

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remote past. The one thing that is half-modern—being only late mediæval—at Akhi Math, is the little group of samadhis. These are in some cases rude in structure, but even when elaborate, they are surmounted only by half an amaloki, or by a spiral bud or other purely arbitrary finial ornament. It is only fair to add that the neighbouring tank is fine, and probably older in style than they. This being so, we may perhaps accept Akhi Math as really an ancient establishment, and regard the group of samadhis as due to some outbreak of an erratic fashion, many centuries later.

The little terrace is occupied now by a modern hospital, and the doctor and his patients enjoy the repose and shade that were first designed to begin and end the day of pious meditation. The mind can still see the old time monks pacing up and down them telling their beads or seated, lost in thought at dawn.

This part of our journey will always be memorable to us, for the fact that our gentle panda here fell in with a sadhu, in whom was the very bone and meat of all Vedanta. Lost in their argument, the two old men trudged along, with heads close together, pursuing some vigorous train of thought. The Sadhu was of a somewhat austere cast, and excitement was not upon him. His voice grew louder and louder, rising to a perfect shout, and with each increment of intensity we could see our panda's smile broadening and his head nodding still more rapidly. Suddenly the conclusion of the whole matter was arrived at. They sprang, with a simultaneous impulse, to opposite sides of the road, and there stood nodding and sawing the air at each other, while the latter Sadhu, with the emphasis of repetition, continued to vociferate the point of their mutual delight. This quaint spectacle compensated us for much that we might otherwise have felt as sad oblivion, on the part of our own companion and guide!

From Akhi Math it is eight miles to Potibasa; then two miles to Bunea Kund; and still half a mile further to Chota Chobda, another village resting-place. Of all the Chatties I have ever seen, Chota Chobda is the most beautifully placed. The whole series of these places is at the summit of the pass, looking out on a great range of snows which includes Kedar Nath and Badri Narayan as sister-peaks, and also Gangotri and Jamnotri. But Potibasa and Bunea Kund, though high, are in pockets of the pass. Only Chota Chobda is frankly on the open hillside. Here we pass the last of the carpenters' sheds where we might buy wooden bowls, one of the small specialities of the pilgrimage. Under foot, we have short close turf, absolutely starred in all directions with anemones, blue and white, like English daisies. It is cold and bracing and while we were there, indeed, we had a severe snowstorm. We quitted the height reluctantly enough next morning, and proceeded on the long descent through thick forests, that brought us to Jungul Chatty, four miles off, and finally to Mongol Chatty eight miles from Chobda, at the very bottom of the hill. It is at Chobda that the pilgrims leave for Thoom Nath, such of them as desire to do this extra climb. The beauty of Thoom Nath is that all the snows can be seen from there, even better than from Chobda. Nor is the journey, it is said, so hard as one would suppose. The Maharajah of Gwalior has made it easy, by cutting paths and mending roads. The Thoom Nath pilgrims return to the main road again at a dismal place called Bhingoda Chatty where one actually sees the staircase in the mountain by which they have descended.

We were doing double marches in these days, owing to the illness of one of our party, that we might reach a place called Lall Sanghao or Chamoli, where we should be on the Thibetan Road, and enjoy the resources of a dak bungalow. Thus even on reaching Mongol Chatty, we were still some eight miles away from our destination.

It was at the end of the pass, when still about a mile and a half from Chamoli that we came to Gopeswar, a place which is almost a town in size, and forms a pilgrimage on its own account. There is a large temple here to the Mother, but Gopeswar is really Siva, as the Lord of the Cows. The story told of its foundation is the familiar one of the cow that was followed to the jungle and found to be pouring her milk over a natural Siva in

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the rock. Taking this as the altar, says the story, the temple was built over it: In plain fact, we have here a court like that of Bhetthu Chatty, on which open the quarters of the Mahunt or Raoul by means of a door, surmounted by the familiar frieze of elephants in red and black. The quadrangle gives access to the temple proper, with all the shrines and memorials that have grown up round it. The place is of unexampled wealth in Sivas of pre-Sankaracharyan type,—cube, octagon, and thimble-shaped top—and even contains two at least of the older four-headed form, with one later specimen, covered with what I take to be the feet of the Lord, but said by the country people to be a crore of heads. There was a small chaitya-shaped shrine containing one of the four-headed Sivas, under a tree. This was the shrine of Anasuya Devi, the goddess who unveiled herself before the child who was Brahma-Vishnu-Siva, to give alms. There is history in this little story, could we observingly distil it out! The old Raoul says with pride that this temple has been here 'since the days of Rama.' One of the most remarkable things about the place is a trisul of victory made of ancient swords, with an inscription. Lower down on the hillside, as we came along, we had seen another temple, with small shrines near it. We were not able to go and explore, but it would not be surprising to find that this was a Vaishnava centre of the mediaeval period. Gopeswar is the cathedral city of a small independent diocese. Two miles further we came down into the gorge of the Alakananda, and found ourselves in the Canyon-like scenery of the Thibetan Road.

From this point on, the hills about us were almost naked, except of scanty pines, and only played upon by green and purple lights and shadows. Nine miles from Chamoli by an easy march through desolate scenery, is Pipalkoti. Here there is a charmingly situated amloki-crowned temple in a gorge and in the town itself, an old market-square. In a rude little shrine near the dak bungalow, surmounted by a pre-Sankaracharyan Siva, are some bits of old carving, with old Narayanas and Devis. The view is marvellous. Golden, green, rice terraces fall away from our feet, then suddenly comes a gap, where the slope dips into the ravine below us; and then steep sombre cliffs and crags rise abruptly beyond, and the whole valley is closed in, in front of us, by this curving line of sharp purple peaks. These lines of steeps and scarps are wild and grand like the scenery of the north coast of Ireland or the west of Scotland, and one can hardly believe that the white sea-gulls are not nesting there, above the scanty pines. We are at a height of four and a half thousand feet.

About nine miles further is Golupkoti, passing Garur-Ganga half way. To worship at Garur-Ganga is supposed to be sovereign against snake-bite for the following year. Here we suddenly come upon the sight of the snows again. There is a handsome temple at Golupkoti, to Lakshmi-Narayana. The landscape grows more and more austere and fine. We go through narrow gorges with cliffs of purple shadows and green blushes. It is on this up-journey that we see best the beauty of colour, though the down-journey, bringing us to exposed places when they are in shadow, is in many respects easier to make.

Two or three miles beyond Golupkoti is Kumar Chatty, in a pocket of the mountain. Canoti Chatty is much better placed. It is about ten miles in all, to Joshi Math, the winter-quarters of the Badri-Narayan Raoul and his staff. The main temple is now Vaishnava though it is easy to see that the whole place has once been Saivite. The bazaar is quaint and interesting. Beside the temple there is a roofed spring, and opposite, the entrance to the monastery. A second square, on the other side of the math, contains an old Siva-temple with its bull before it. The main temple of Joshi Math is significant. It is built on a strong terrace of masonry, which supports a series of seven shrines as buttresses. The dedications of these shrines are supremely interesting. One of them, which is chaitya-shaped in form, in full working order, and evidently important, is to the Nine forms of the Mother—rather incongruous, were it not for the explanations of history, in a professedly Vaishnavite temple! There is also one which contains, as a member of our party tells me, an extraordinarily beautiful Parbatty and Mahadeva. There is also

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a shrine to Ganesha ! ! ! We constantly find in these mountain-temples, that even when making changes and restorations fragments of old-building have been used for ornament. In this way, here we find the lintel of the main temple carved with doors of vihara-cells, surmounted by three horse-shoe patterns evidently representative of ornate chaityas.

The next day, passing Vishnu-Prayag at the bottom of the Joshi Math valley, we came after six miles march, to Pandrakeswar. Vishnu-Prayag is a tiny temple perched on a rock above a boiling confluence. The Alakananda and the Vishnu-Ganga meet here in a whirlpool, and the great rapids of the Alakananda, just above, throw up a perpetual vapour, which is really fine spray. The Gohonna flood entered the valleys we know, somewhat above this point, so Pandrakeswar is the only village on our line of march that escaped it. And this has not been well for Pandrakeswar! The population too is Bhutiya, which cannot be said to improve the cleanliness of the place. Here there are two temples, standing side by side. Both have succumbed to mediæval Vaishnavism, so it is now impossible to say what were their original dedications. though it is evident enough that the site was saivite. One of the temples is slightly peculiar in form. The tower is a cylinder on a cube, with flying gargoyles at the corners. The other is of the usual form, and less old. The place is famous for five copper-plate grants, of which four remain. They were deciphered by Rajendra Lala Mitra, and refer to obscure grants of land. They are most beautiful in appearance, especially one, which bears a bull as its seal.

The next day brings us, with a twelve miles march, to Badri Narayana itself. About six miles away there is a chatty called Hanuman Chatty, guarding the pass. The road is beautiful, but also a little difficult, though not to be compared in this respect with that to Kedar Nath. Badri Narayana itself is said to have been established by Sankharacharya, who placed it where it is, because of the neighbourhood of the hot springs in the tank close by. In this it differs from Kedar Nath, which holds by the tradition that it was already established, and Sankharachary a only made it famous, a distinction which in all probability is perfectly true. The architecture of the temple is painfully modern, having undergone repair, without regard to history, and the gateways and walls are late Mogul in style. But owing to this very modernness, the worship is better organised, the pandas may not enter the temple with their clients, and the whole space is reserved for devotion pure and simple. In the course of ages, vested rights have grown up at the Saivite centre, and the conduct of the pandas within the temple is irritating in the extreme. As befits a shrine of the Mohammedan period, this Vaishnava temple is even more exclusive than Kedar Nath. But one of the most beautiful things I have ever seen was the walk round it of the pilgrims, telling their beads, in the early morning. They seemed to be lost in a dream of peace and prayer. It is significant of the mediæval form of Vaishnavism to which it belongs—the same as that of Tulsidas Ramayana—that Ghonta-Karna is the Kotwal of this shrine. Ghonta-Karna, the Man who would not hear the name of Vishnu, belongs to the time of Hari-Hara, and is a purely theological myth of the first order. An older Vaishnavism would have had integral images of Garur and Hanuman. There is a Garur out in the courtyard, but he has evidently been an after-thought. The real guardian is Ghonta-Karna, Kotwal of synthesis.

The turf and flowers of Badri are if possible still more beautiful than what we have already seen. Not so varied nor yet so alpine, for the height is not so great as Kedar Nath. But the turf is short and thick and close, and falls away in terraces with rounded edges, which are strewn with grey boulders of a wonderful weather-tint. Oh the grey of the stones of Badri Narayan! Never have I seen anything else like this, and here and there they were purple, with long fragrant trails of wild thyme. There were pink and white briar-roses close to us, and our garlands of welcome were made of many-tinted violet primulas. Four miles from Badri there is a fine waterfall called Boshidhara, which all who are young enough ought to see. For us, however, being old, Badri itself, with its glaciers and snows, its velvet terraces and its silver moonlight, was enough. Our only regret was the shortness of our three days' stay.

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

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THE VALUE OF MANURES IN AGRICULTURE

By R. Palit, late Editor, "The Indian Economist."

WITH the growth of Agricultural Associations in different parts of the country, there is a general desire on the part of our agriculturists to go in for all sorts of new-fangled ideas and experiments. There appears to be a vague sort of impression in many quarters that everything which succeeds in the United States of America or Canada or Japan is bound to succeed here also, notwithstanding notable differences of climate, soil, vegetation, etc. As soon as the remarkable American experiments with nitrogen-fixing bacteria were announced, there was a great impulse to try the bacteria in this country. Cultures were got down and tried in various parts of the country, but the results were most disappointing, it having been soon discovered that the cultures have to be prepared to suit different kinds of crops. Moreover, the captive bacteria are of use for inoculating only where the soil is poor in nitrates. When the soil is rich, the crop is not appreciably increased by the use of the inoculating bacteria. Thus, indiscriminate application of exotic methods of agricultural improvement is not calculated to increase the fertility of the Indian soil or improve the condition of our agriculturists.

Of course, the more there is of nitrogen in our soil, the more fertile and productive the soil will be, and our agriculturists should devote their attention to finding out the best means by which to enrich the soil with nitrogenous manurial agents. We have in this country at our disposal several fertilizing substances rich in nitrogen, and our agriculturists ought to see to it that these agents are usefully employed in the country, instead of being exported abroad to enrich foreign soils. Take only the case of the ground-nut cake. Ground-nut cultivation is carried on in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies on a fairly considerable scale, and large quantities of ground-nut cake are made after the oil has been expressed from the legume. This cake is very rich in nitrogen and consequently makes a good fertilizer. But we find that more of the cake is exported to Ceylon and Java and other countries than is used in our own country, and it is in matters of this sort, more than in promiscuous experiments with substances of which we know little, that our landholders and cultivators should interest themselves. It has been computed that for every acre of the surface of the globe the atmosphere contains 70 million lbs. of nitrogen in a free state. If we could capture all this nitrogen for our soil, our crops would yield a hundred fold more than now. While it may not be possible to capture all this vast quantity, a very appreciable proportion could be drawn into the soil by deep tillage, or by ploughing into the soil leguminous plants which have the inherent quality of absorbing nitrogen from the air. Simple experiments in these directions could well be undertaken by ryots all over the country, and what is of the highest importance is that there should be as much dissemination as possible of the results obtained in various provinces and districts, so that the farmers of one locality may profit by the experience of those elsewhere.

In Southern India, for instance, I have been assured by intelligent and practical cultivators that paddy lands are substantially enriched by merely planting a few horse radish or *Moringa* trees in the corners of the field. Here is a simple manurial experiment which could be tried at a little cost. Let one paddy plot be manured in the usual way, and let another have the benefit of a few *Moringa* trees put down at the corners, so that the yield of the respective plots may be tested.

It may be generally stated that the Indian ryot knows a good deal about manuring, but at the same time it must be honestly admitted that he is by no means economical or well-advised in the use and disposal of

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some of his best indigenous manurial agents. In many parts of the country, the droppings of cattle are scarcely used as manure, being converted instead into fuel cakes, in the belief that the saving under the head of firewood more than makes up for the loss of manure to the land. It is to be feared that this is a costly mistake. A pair of well-fed cattle would not yield more than about 2,800 dung cakes in a whole year. In most rural areas, the price of this quantity of cakes would not exceed Rs. 5/. Were all these droppings used as manure instead, it will be very easily seen that the return from the land would be far more substantial than the supposed saving effected by converting the droppings into fuel.

Again, saltpetre or nitrate of potash has been proved, by experiments in this country, to appreciably increase the yield of paddy lands, as regards both grain and straw. Saltpetre is very readily assimilable to plants. It is obtainable in many parts of India, but of late years there has been a tendency to export more than is locally used, and by allowing this, our ryots are adding to the causes which contribute to the growing impoverishment of the Indian soil. In the application of saltpetre, just as in regard to other fertilising agents, discrimination is necessary. For instance, in wet lands which have been richly manured with cattle dung or suitable green leaf manure, the application of saltpetre would be harmful rather than beneficial. Where there is much organic matter in the soil,—matter which needs plenty of oxygen for its decomposition, saltpetre and other nitrates are apt to be deprived of oxygen and thus de-nitrified, owing to the greediness, so to speak, of the organic matter which had been introduced into the soil. Again, there are descriptions of saltpetre which may not contain much of an admixture of common salt. In such cases, it would be necessary to add a certain proportion of common salt to the saltpetre. Of course, it would not be practicable here to give in detail what would be suitable for different parts of the country but the practical cultivator, possessed of ordinary intelligence should not find it so very difficult a matter to study his own local requirements and conditions.

Wood-ashes are a benefit to almost any soil in more ways than one. Besides containing plant food, they also contain ingredients which indirectly benefit the crops, and further, they are known to bring the soil into better mechanical condition. Sandy soil is made more compact, while heavy clay land seems to be loosened, and it has also been noticed that during a dry spell there is more moisture where the ashes have been applied. Wood-ashes, therefore, have great value, and the ryot ought to bear in mind that if he simply throws his wood-ashes out on the ground in heaps, they are liable to be worse than wasted.

Indeed, one lesson which requires to be first impressed upon the mind of the ryot in this country is that he should exercise all possible care in the collection and preservation of manure for use whenever and wherever it is required. Manures should never be stored in such a manner that, when the rains come, they carry a vast amount of liquid into streams, leaving, instead of good rotted manure, a mass of dry washed out straw. The proper way is to keep all manure under sheds. Again, one of the greatest losses that occurs in manure is the escape of ammonia, as it passes off in the form of gas. To avoid this loss of ammonia, there should be added to the daily manure heap some substance containing potash and also common salt.

Coming to the question of bone manure, our Agricultural Associations, whose primary object is the guiding and teaching of the practical cultivator, cannot do better than preach the gospel of bone-manuring. Of course, our agriculturists are by no means altogether ignoran of the great importance and value of this particular description of fertilisers, but is it not an incontestable and lamentable fact that, during recent years, bones are being exported wholesale from this country, or sent to the crushing mills and chemical manure factories maintained mostly by enterprising foreigners, and that, after being crushed and converted with other substances into rich manurial agents, they are sent almost exclusively to the European states and plantations, while the lands of our own ryots suffer as much as those of the European planters are benefited? German gardeners long ago used bone-

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manure even in their hot houses, and when the German example came to be imitated in England, and the barren clays and sandy heaths of the United Kingdom came to be fertilised with bones from Germany, there came into vogue a very significant saying that one ton of German bone-dust saved the importation into England of ten tons of German grain. Why is bone-manure of such great importance and value? Simply because the principal element in the action of bones is phosphate of lime, which is indispensable to the growth of nearly all plants, and is, at the same time, scarce in many soils and is speedily exhausted. Phosphate of lime is a constant ingredient in most plants, including beans, rice and wheat. Bones are most useful on porous soils, because their phosphate is slow of liberation and can only be set free by the action of the air; hence it is more freely evolved in soils in which aeration is free, full and rapid. It remains perfectly fixed and stubborn in soils where it is locked up from atmospheric influences. Furthermore, bones have an extraordinary capacity of absorbing and retaining moisture, and on arid soils this is of great consequence, especially upon crops which grow during the heat. Bone-manure is not only found to benefit the particular crop to which it is applied, but its influence extends through the whole course of crops and is noticeable for years. In an American agricultural publication, reference was made sometime ago to a field, one part of which was manured with farm-yard manure and the other with bones, and the latter part was visibly superior fifteen years later. The slow manner in which bones free the phosphate and the time it takes for them to entirely decompose account for the length of time bones may benefit the land. The quantity of bone-dust required to the acre may generally be placed at about twenty bushels. Where root crops are to be fertilised, the best way of applying bone-dust is to drill it in with the seed. On flower plants also the effect of bone dust is very rapid and remarkable.

Writing on the question of manures, it is necessary to point out that as much mischief can be done by applying manures of the wrong kind as by applying none at all. As a general rule, it may be stated that fruit trees do not require barn yard manures or their equivalent. What they need is a supply of inorganic food. A mixture of lime and salt so mixed as to leave no free salt is excellent for fruit trees and should be applied as a top-dressing.

Reference has already been made to the value of cattle-droppings as manure. It may be useful to add that the manure from young growing animals is not so valuable as that from mature ones, the food being the same. Full grown animals, not gaining in weight, throw off in the dung and urine practically all the fertilising constituents taken into the body. In milch cows and growing animals, from one-half to three-fourths of the fertilising constituents of the food passes into the manure. In fattening or working animals, it is from 90 to 95 per cent.

Whatever may be the sort of cultivation he is engaged upon, a golden rule which the ryot should bear in mind is that weeds should not be permitted to come in contact with the roots of cultivated plants. The growing weeds rob the soil of both available fertility and moisture. There is not usually more of either fertility or moisture in the soil than is needed by the crop, and the weeds are hardier than cultivated plants as may be seen any day, whichever portion of the country we reside in. Weeds, in a word, are the worst of robbers, since they steal food from the hungry crops. No one can expect a heavy crop of grain and of weeds on the same land at the same time. The roots of the weeds contend with the roots of useful plants in the struggle for existence, and too often the alien plant succeeds in dwarfing, if not actually overcoming the other. Therefore, thorough cultivation, or clearing the field or farm of noxious weeds, cannot be too much insisted upon. The intensive cultivation of land in Japan, where one may travel for miles and not see a weed growing in the midst of planted crop, is an example of how all the energy of the land is directed towards the single object of making the most of the desired crop. This is one of the best methods of improved or intensive cultivation, and although our agriculturists may not be ignorant of the fact, it is highly necessary that they should everywhere carry their knowledge into practice.

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SUFISM OR MOHAMMADAN MYSTICISM

WHAT is Sufism. Is it a religion or a system of philosophy? In my opinion it is a religion or Faith, mingled with philosophy. It is the religion of the heart, a faith common to all mankind, which embodies in itself the essential truths contained in all religions. It is an attempt of the human mind to know itself,—to realise its ideal—to solve the problem of existence. It has this superiority over philosophy that it has two strings to its bow, it follows two guides—reason and instinct.

A Sufi follows reason as far as the latter can carry him, and then he flies towards his goal with the wings of Faith and Love. Hence, Sufism cannot be explained in so many words, it must be felt to be known.

Sufis seem to have divined, long ago, the existence of the two phases of the mind, now termed the subliminal and the supra-liminal minds. They knew the wonderful and unlimited powers of that mysterious part of the mind which underlies the substratum of consciousness. They had invented sure practical methods of freeing their minds from the confinement of discursive thought or self-consciousness, thereby developing their instinctive faculty, or intuitive genius, to a wonderful extent. Every true Sufi was a man of genius, who penetrated to the nature of things, not through speculative thought alone, but by inward purification.

They had come to know, long before the advent of Berkeley, that the existence of the phenomenal world depends upon its knowledge, that the so-called objective world owes its being to the mind which perceives it. But they did not stop at the end of "the Principles of Human knowledge," they went much further.

They say that the supra-liminal mind, which they term the limited Ego, is incapable of acquiring true knowledge, for, the physical senses, which limit it, are unable to perceive the reality or substance of any thing. The senses are false glasses which show us mere phenomena—realities concealed under the mask of time and place. We must cultivate the spiritual senses by subduing and stifling the physical ones, in other words, we should conquer our passions and appetites, reform our natures, and develope the emotion of love, which will finally carry us to the heart of things.

To take up the thread of our discourse, nothing can be truely said to exist except mind. And mind is essentially one, whose substance or Ego is love. Now, love desires an object (beauty) which is love's own 'self'. So, Love loves itself! But beauty desires self-display, it wishes to have a mirror in which it may contemplate itself. So the Ego willed and its mirror or symbol (human soul or the real Ego) came into existence. The Ego differentiated itself from its mirror, and numberless duplicates of the mirror, individual Egos, came into being. The last mentioned mirrors, though so far removed from their original, yet faithfully represented the Beauty, in other words the lover was, as yet, with the beloved.

But the playful beauty has some other objects in view, she breaths upon the mirrors and an ominous dark cloud rises on their surfaces, gradually it condenses and has formed a thick coating on the glasses. They loose their transparency, and lo and behold! the "Beauty's" reflection has retreated and grown obscure, and given place to the reflection of the symbol itself; the human mind is limited by the consciousness of 'self'.

This reflection of 'self' in itself has changed the very quality of the glass. Where there was only one 'being' reflected in it, now there are myriads. In other words the Divine ideas, which are called the symbols or manifestations of His attributes, and are the unchangeable substances or realities of things, put on the dress

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of phenomena, and appear in ever-changing form. Thus our matter and motion come into existence.

In this state of self-consciousness or vanity, unrealities assume the form of realities, while the reality is but dimly perceived. The more an Ego or mind is engrossed in itself, and seduced by the senses, the more it loses its spirituality or purity, and the farther it is removed from comprehending the truth.

This retrograding motion ends in complete separation from the Truth. The angel once fallen, holds consultation with its satellites, the senses, who unanimously raise him to the supreme position, absolute sovereignty of the lower regions, the world of the senses.

Thus, human reason or the limited 'self,' being considered all-sufficient, was made the sole guide to the knowledge of Truth, and the result was confusion, perplexity and scepticism: a shameful failure.

But doubt and unbelief is not the only outcome of self-consciousness. Whenever and wherever the senses gain the upper hand, they not only carry a man in a contrary direction to the one pointed out by reason, but also in opposition to the one dictated by the spiritual part of the mind, called moral nature or conscience. So, human-nature, self-consciousness or original sin divides us virtually from God, while the predominance of self-consciousness over conscience separates us actually from Him. This state of sinfulness, spiritual obscurity, or separation from the Truth, is the veritable Hell, the real Evil. It is a fatal malady of the soul whose only remedy is 'repentance' *i.e.* 'returning to the Truth.'

The account of the Genesis, as given in the Quran and the old Testament, is thus interpreted by the Sufis;—

There was in the beginning one Being, self-existing, Infinite, indivisible, eternal, undefined, unnamed and unknown. It was a simple Ego without any self-consciousness, knowledge or attributes. Hence nothing can be said to be self-existent or eternal except God Himself.

This Ego becoming self-conscious, knowledge or destiny came into being.

Divine knowledge or the manifestation of His 'Names' or attributes, brought the 'Fixed-Types' or souls of natural objects into being. These souls or substances of things never change, though their outward coverings or phenomena, which alone are perceived by the senses, are undergoing incessant change.

These symbols of Divine knowledge or souls of natural objects, though once created, are eternal and imperishable. They were all pure and good in themselves, in their essence, though some of them became relatively evil afterwards.* For it was considered necessary by Divine wisdom that relative evil should be created as a shading or contrast to 'good' so that the latter may come into full prominence. For in order to manifest His attributes of justice and mercy, for instance, it was advisable to create vindictiveness and suffering.

This world of 'souls' or 'attributes' was the garden of Eden which was pronounced to be 'good' by its maker. Then, the Supreme Being becoming conscious of His Ego *with* attributes, that universal consciousness was epitomised and manifested in Human Ego or Adam. The latter became a symbol of 'Being' and 'Non-being': Divine Ego and non-Ego (attributes) combined; the former being real and the latter (man-Ego) a delusion.

Again, according to the same process, a reflexive copy or 'negative' was taken of the (male) soul, and Eve or the mother of mankind came into existence. The latter represented nature as the former did its Master; consequently love sprang up between the two, which is the reflection of the love that exists between nature and its author.

These two pure and innocent spirits, who had seen only the bright side of the picture as yet, and were, yet ignorant of the negative existence, in other words, who were up to this time, strangers to self-consciousness, were tempted by their nature to eat of the tree of knowledge, the result of which was self-consciousness and consequent responsibility, with all the evils attending thereto.

This self-consciousness produces the delusion of the phenomenal world which

* By 'relative evil' I mean that according to the Sufi doctrines, Evil has no objective or independent existence. It is merely the absence of 'good', what darkness is the absence of light. Satan, who is man's own 'nature' or 'Ego', is simply the absence or forgetfulness of the real Ego, God (good.)

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appears ever-changing, including the man himself. For, self-consciousness is nothing but the limitation of the mind which causes the illusion of Time and Space.

Hence the Sufi's work is doubly difficult. He has not only to practise virtue and avoid vice or sin, but to exterminate the latter from its very root. Human nature or sensuality, being an insurmountable barrier in the path of acquiring the knowledge of truth, he finds it necessary to vanquish, subdue or purify his nature thoroughly, before he can hope to gain his object. The other method is to begin with love, which gradually replaces the unreal self with the real one, and thus driving out concupiscence and vindictive passion, clears the way for the revelation of Truth: the ideal of goodness, beauty and purity.

This emancipation from the bonds of sensuality or nature, and consequent realisation of one's true Ego, which is termed 'unitarianism' or 'reducing to one,' is the most cherished object and coveted goal of Sufis, who believe in the possibility of its attainment.

M. Ismail Ali.

HIGH PRICES

"There is no Indian problem, be it of population, or education, or labour, or substance, which it is not in the power of statesmanship to solve."—Lord Curzon.

I.

THE subject which has been exercising the minds of all and affecting *directly* the masses as well as the educated classes, is the question of the High Prices of food-stuffs or dearness of food. The state of high prices has been prevailing in the Presidency of Madras at least for more than ten years and everybody has been speaking about it and feeling it silently without knowing clearly its causes. It was in the Congress of 1908, held at Madras, that the subject was seriously taken up and a Resolution passed requesting the Government to enquire into the question of high prices which vitally touched every human being of India. What the poor are suffering from and have been silently enduring can not be adequately described. There are people who have seen the great famine of 1866 and who say that even in those days such high prices never ruled in the market. Although there is no official declaration of famine in the country, yet it is an admitted fact that the old normal and scarcity rates have been considerably exceeded: and even these do not coincide from decade to decade.

"In the words of the 'Trade Review', this serious rise 'is not entirely attributable to seasonal adversity, though no complete solution of this interesting economic problem has yet been propounded'" (The London *Times*, 'On the Empire and India'.)

Though the question was publicly raised in December, 1908, yet a long time has elapsed since then. It is only recently that the Government of India have settled the details of the enquiry into high prices and appointed an officer to undertake the statistical enquiry. The original proposal to appoint a committee has evidently been abandoned as more costly. How long a time the enquiry will take and after how many months the results will be published cannot be definitely stated. And how long thereafter adequate measures will be introduced is simply a question of further time.

While the question is still undecided people are discussing about the causes in the press and outside of it. What the causes are at work actually nobody can at present say with any definiteness and certainty. Each believes them to be something outside of himself. Let us now proceed to examine some of the causes that result in high prices of food-stuffs and other things connected therewith.

II.

Some of the causes appear to be these:—

(*a*) *Export duty.*—The absence of adequate or no export duty makes the products be exported to foreign countries in abundance

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in a raw state. Of late, some liquor is being extracted from rice and it is considered much cheaper than malt. So the foreign buyers largely export rice and are exporting rice from Burma and other parts. The consequence of it is the producers sell away the paddy before it is harvested. In 1897 when there was famine in this Presidency, much of the Burma rice found its way into Madras and enabled many a poor family to live from hand to mouth.

"In spite of this export duty (4d. per cwt.) on an article which is by no means a monopoly, the demand continues to increase, and the export of rice from Burma has risen by steady and heavy increments from 195,000 tons in 1903-04 to 979,000 tons in 1907-08." (The London *Times*, 'India and Empire'.)

(*b*) *Slow reduction of prices.*—Merchants generally are very slow to reduce the prices of grains, etc., at prosperous times when once they are raised on account of shortage or famine. There is scarcely any warning given to the public. The prices rise as suddenly as an eruption, but they do not go down as quickly even in better times. Inch by inch, if at all, they are lowered till the former normal rates are touched after the lapse of a considerable time. The reason is obvious, because it is more profitable to the merchant. But what can the consumers do against the whims and caprices of the dealers except submit?

(*c*) *The Currency Policy.*—Much has been written already on this part of the subject by abler hands and I do not propose to say more than what is necessary from the people's point of view. The profits arising from the coining of rupees and nickel coins are utilised in some other directions, yet it cannot be denied that the currency policy is affecting the prices of all things.

"There was a net profit from the mint of 66,58,760 Rupees in the accounts for the period of 1907-08 and the budget estimate for 1909-10 is now Rs. 22,16,000. A fall of £148000 has taken place in mint revenue owing to the cessation of rupee coinage from new silver and the loss of seignorage thereon as well as to a large decrease in the coinage of bronze." (From the Financial Statement).

The value of the rupee is becoming day by day much depreciated.

"As it (the Government) bought the silver at a price very much below the value attached to it when issued from the mint, each rupee when coined showed a large profit. At first the whole profit was used to strengthen the gold reserve. But recently half the [illegible] allocated to railway construction." (The *Statist*, 29th May 1909).

For what a rupee purchased some twenty years ago, double the amount or more has to be spent now. The goods are there but the purchasing power of the rupee is going down. A quarter of an anna in my younger days had as much, if not more purchasing power, as an anna now. Again, if the rupee is broken into two and exchanged for the current coin of the realm, what in fact you get is about 9 or 10 annas worth. What become of the seven or six annas? But for the fact that the rupee bears the effigy of the King-Emperor, it is not a rupee's worth: in fact there is not 16 anna worth of silver in it. Necessarily the difference is reflected in the raising of the prices of all things. Either the Government should put in more silver in the rupee to make it really worth a rupee, or devise some other means by which its purchasing power can be inflated. Otherwise, though you give a rupee in exchange for commodities you get nine or ten annas worth of goods only and if you want to get a rupee's actual worth of goods you have to pay a rupee and a half or sometimes more. In other words, the profits realised by the Government by the coining of the rupees are actually a deduction from the purchasing power of the rupee and hence it tells upon the public at large and the poorest even who get a few annas a day as wages. It affects all alike just like salt. Though people may get monthly a certain number of rupees, yet they find it hard to make both ends meet in consequence of this fluctuation.

Again, there is no stability of relative value between the gold and the silver, or there is no gold standard. In 1899 a sovereign was made by statute to be equivalent to Rs. 15/-. Now, it is not easy to obtain one for Rs. 15/-. To obtain stability and permanence in this matter the Government should introduce a gold currency in India and coin their own sovereigns and half- and quarter-sovereigns. Much of the prosperity and success of England depends upon the stability of its currency, whereas other countries, and the United States in particular, where silver currency is prevalent, suffer much from the fluctuations

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between the two metals. Again, the obligations of India are, in the main, in gold, which means a larger number of rupees and a greater burden upon the Indian taxpayer. Taking the exchange to be stable at $1\frac{1}{3}$ shilling per rupee silver, it will be an interesting problem in arithmetic to work out how many millions or crores of rupees has the fluctuation in the rates between silver and gold, to account for during the last quarter of a century (1885—1899). I know as a matter of fact in the years 1889-1890, a pound sterling was equivalent to about twenty rupees, or a shilling was practically worth a rupee. The sum total of the fluctuations for the period, taking the obligations of Government and the exchange compensation allowance only into consideration, would be so enormous in silver currency, that it would be enough in itself to reduce the National debt of India very appreciably. Now so much waste of silver money is a direct result of India not having a gold standard. It is so to say an additional imposition upon the Indian taxpayer or producer.

(*d*) *Increase of Population*:—It is an undisputed fact* that the population of India is increasing at the rate of about $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in a decade and more mouths are coming into existence for whom it is getting difficult to find out food. People are also overcrowding the few available means of livelihood. And this is clearly perceptible in the overcrowding of towns, large or small, which are attracting all sorts and conditions of people, while also at the places of production population is increasing. For instance, in Madras, every year there is an ever-increasing stream of population. As this subject trenches upon the question of emigration, I shall treat of it under a separate head below.

In consequence of the above, it becomes clear that when trade is depressed, or when work runs low, many are left to shift for themselves as best as they can. Even on the days they work, in ordinary times, they get a minimum of wages, which are found quite inadequate to keep them in any decency. Overcrowding has also the further tendency to lower the wages and to underselling resulting in slow starvation.

Now, in all these, one aspect of the question should never be forgotten. The Hindu joint family system has its advantages and disadvantages. At times of stress like the present through which we are passing now, the bread-winner or winners have to support several persons and give education, whatever it is, to the children. In such cases it is no wonder that the family as a whole has to stint and live within the narrowest limits. Beyond the necessaries of life a man of some position and standing has to meet so many demands that it is becoming, for one reason or another, extremely difficult to find the wherewithal to meet all claims. It is no wonder that he is sometimes on the verge of bankruptcy.

"The British Raj has stopped all intestine wars, has made life and property secure, and therefore has brought about an extraordinary increase of population.* It has done much to develop the resources of the country. It has done a little to enable the public to avail themselves of what it has done. But when everything is said, and when we have tired ourselves out in lauding our own achievements in India, the fact remains that the Indian people are miserably poor." (The *Statist*, 29th May 1909).

(*e*) *The standard of living*.—It will be admitted on all hands without much argument that there has been a general rise in the standard of living all round. It has advanced much during the last fifty years in the City of Madras and other larger towns, which is reflected inside the country. We have advanced in almost everything—in the variety of dress, in the variety and complexity of our tastes, in the necessaries of life and even in luxuries. Dewan Bahadur Srinivassa Raghava Iyengar writing in 1892 in his "Forty years' Progress", says, pages 66—8,—

"The rise in the standard of living is sometimes very erroneously attributed to the diffusion of habits of extravagance.....The slow rise in the standard of living, such as has been observable of late years, cannot be the result of formation of habits of extravagance.....Though the standard of living among the higher and middle classes in this country has risen, it is as yet nothing like what it is in European countries, and it ought to rise much higher if India is to attain to the same rank as European nations in industrial development."

It is all very good to condemn the

* This is not true. See our note on the subject in this number.—Ed., M. R.

* This is not at all true. See our note on this subject in this number.—Ed., M. R.

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modern tendencies and require us all to go to the simple life of our ancestors when they used the coarsest of cloths and of food. But various considerations in slow degrees have tended to this state of things—such as contact with the west or western methods, ideas and tastes and the easy access to many of the luxuries. For instance, some years ago to get soda and ice was an extravagant luxury for ordinary people. Now it is a common thing to be seen in every petty bazaar all round Madras and even inland. Now it is no doubt easy to cry "back to the woods," but it is difficult to follow.

Hence the whole argument comes to this. In the majority of cases we have advanced all round. What at one time were considered to be luxuries have become necessaries almost now. In other words, our standard of living has increased greatly without much material improvement in other respects.

III.

All the above causes or most of them together with others affect other commodities as well. In other words, all these combine to make living now-a-days a difficult art. I cannot do better here than quote from a telegram published in the *Madras Times* of the 18th June, 1909, from its Calcutta correspondent—

"The permanent clerical staff of the Original Side of the High Court have, through the Registrar, Original Side, submitted a memorial to Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Chief Justice of Bengal, asking his lordship to take such steps as would alleviate the despicable and wretched condition of 'your unfortunate memorialists.' The memorial went on to state that the salaries on the Original Side of the court were fixed according to the standard of living at the time of the establishment of the High Court. The cost of living in Calcutta and its suburbs had since then gone up by over a hundred per cent. and was daily going up, and this coupled with the high rents for houses had driven most of them, and specially those with families to support, into debt and poverty."

The above remarks equally apply to any part of India.

Thus then we are now passing through a most critical period of our existence when our demands are great but our income small. The same remark equally applies to the official as well as to the non-official whether in trade or other walk of life. Existence itself, in short, is becoming difficult in India. It is easy to cry oneself hoarse "back to the woods", but it has become impossible to go backwards. The result appears to be that the administration of the country and the conditions under which we live have to be overhauled to suit the varying conditions of the day.

IV.

Adulteration.

This subject has not received much consideration at the hands of the authorities, whether of the Municipalities or of the Government. No adequate steps are taken to bring to book those persons who trade in duplicity and chicanery. For instance, we are now having the worst kind of ghee which is oil in other words, and anybody using it to any extent cannot but feel unhealthy very soon. Even the oil is not pure. Gram, pulse and other kinds of grain are also adulterated in the sense that every measure of it contains a certain percentage of sand or other thing. In fact, if a man buys, say, 8 measures of a particular thing, he gets on examination and winnowing seven measures or thereabouts; and taken with the undue depreciation of the rupee, I need hardly say what he actually gets for his rupee's worth. The arm of the law, as it stands, is strong enough to set this right, but in the City no serious attempts have yet been made to reach the offender. The Corporation of Madras can be expected to move in the matter and a proposition to that effect was, in fact, brought forward recently, but unfortunately it was not carried. Not only are we having highly-priced things now, but also such as are not fit for human consumption. The money so spent becomes wasted practically, or a heavy doctor's bill is incurred; and it is not an easy matter to get rupees for the asking in these days. If only some systematic efforts be made in this direction, it will be a boon to the people and will go far towards improving the general health of the population.

V.

Emigration.

The argument developed in the previous pages has so far vindicated the necessity for emigration.* India has no place or colonies to which people can easily resort and live

* See our "notes" in this number.—Ed., M. R.

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under practically the same conditions as here in peace, amity and concord there doing their routine of business daily. Much of the prosperity of Britain depends upon her population being able to go and settle elsewhere. The British Isles—tight as they are—with a population something like that of the Madras Presidency, find it difficult to accommodate all those that are born there. Supposing for a moment, the people had to live together from generation to generation in the same place like the Hindus, the country would be suffering from an excessive population, or artificial checks would have to be resorted to as in France. Thus the necessity for colonies arose at a very early date in the history of England for the overflow population. And since then a regular stream of emigration has been kept up from the mother country to the several colonies all round the globe. With the enterprise, pluck and genius of the British nation they soon founded colonies easily all over the world. Apart from this, Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen find easy access to any part of the world where they are respected and treated with courtesy. Thus in both ways, a Britisher who finds it hard to live at home goes wherever he likes, makes a name and returns home if necessary.

With regard to India nothing of the kind can be said: and with the Hindu joint family system practically making all to live together at or about the same place, and with the system of early marriages an increase of population* is inevitable. In the Western nations a generation is computed at thirty years but in India, so far as I have seen, a century means *four* generations. That shows clearly the rapidity with which people here increase and multiply.

"In countries in which people have very few wants and can live cheaply, the population increases up to the limits of bare subsistence, and when a failure of seasons or other causes diminish in the least degree their resources, they are deprived of food and die off in large numbers." (Page 168 of 'Forty years' Progress').

The question is how to find an outlet for this excessive population. Emigration can solve the difficulty to a very great extent.

Now, after the establishment of the British colonies, some Indians are being taken there from India to develop the country more as indentured coolies than as free citizens. Indians are to be found therefore in almost every British colony, but they are only coolies and work-men and are mere wage-earners not settlers. Many of these return to India and give very glowing accounts of those countries which induce many a straggler to resort to those places, but only as coolies. So, in the ordinary parlance, an Indian however intelligent and industrious and enterprising he may be, is only treated as on a par with a navvy. The appellation is anything but pleasant to a self-respecting man.

Let us look now nearer home—South Africa. The columns of newspapers have been full of the struggles between the few Indian settlers and the colonists and even educated men like Mr. Ghandi receive no better treatment at the hands of the colonists than an ordinary cooly. Where is the encouragement shown to the Indian emigrating in large numbers?

VI.

In this connection it must be admitted with gratitude that our late Governor Lord Ampthill is doing much in the Press and in Parliament to get the barest justice possible to Indians who are the king's equal subjects like the colonists. What does he say about India when speaking of an Indian flag:—

"—Surely this is strange seeing that but for India there would be no Empire. It is the position of India which gives to the King of England the title of Emperor: without India the Empire could not have been established and without India the Empire would fall to pieces. India represents one-fifth of the entire human race: India is our best customer: it is for the sake of India that we occupy Egypt: it was in India's interest that we first hoisted the Union Jack in South Africa..." (The *Madras Times*, 9th June, 1909).

While then the retention of India is so vital, what treatment do we, as a nation or nations, receive from those colonists? Have they anything to say against us?

Let us now turn to what the *London Times* says on the 24th May, 1909, in its Empire issue about "India and the Empire."

"It is greatly to be regretted that the Indians who have found their way to the self-governing colonies

* See our "notes" in this number.—Ed., M.R.

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are not drawn from the better and finer races of the Indian Continent, and from the point of view of the Empire, it is urgently necessary that the Colonies should be acquainted with the real facts of India and the Indians. During the Boer war, when the fortunes of the Empire were at a low ebb, the loyalty and sympathy of India were not out-done by any of the Colonies. India was denuded of her garrison, and the country remained tranquil. The Indian Chiefs offered their troops, their money, and their personal services. These could not be accepted, but horses and Indian followers were sent to South Africa, where the latter acquitted themselves well and bravely. India now waking as some think, from the slumber of ages, wants ideals, and the ideal which would satisfy the oriental imagination and appeal to the self-respect of the Chiefs and the manly races of the great dependency, would be the consciousness that India was helping the Empire, and fighting for the King-Emperor." (The *Madras Times*, 17th June 1909).

The Indian wants no special or better treatment, but an equal one with the rest of the Colonists. That is now being denied to him. Why? The *Madras Times*, not at all a pro-Indian paper, in its issue of the 26th May 1909, puts in a nut-shell the whole situation in these words:—

"Nevertheless such considerations are no excuse for the harshness, not to say duplicity, with which Indians have been treated by the Boer Colonies: and it is an admitted fact that it is their virtues and not their vices which have made the Indians unwelcome in a country where the whiteman wants to engage in petty trades and industries. The opposition to the Indians has its root in trade rivalries, and the question of colour has been only introduced by an after-thought as a ready means of cementing White opposition to a coloured race."

So then, the whole opposition resolves itself into a question of colour and nothing more. And because those that go to South Africa are thrifty in their habits, enterprising within their means and virtuous otherwise, the white settlers want to get rid of them by hook or by crook. The Indian was needed to develop the country and after that was done they do not want him any more.

The struggle has been going on for several years and has assumed a very acute form. It has not yet seen any final solution.

VII.

Some years ago, I do not know how many exactly, a remarkable paper was read in England by Sir Lepel Griffin as a solution of the difficulty. Much discussion arose on the subject, but his suggestion was not seriously considered. It is now almost practically shelved. His idea was to set apart a large tract of country in South Africa as a colony of India to which the overflow population of India could easily go and live under practically the same conditions as they did in India. The whole country was, as far as possible, to be governed, manned and developed by the Indians. It was to be ruled something like an Indian State or Province where the Indians could settle and prosper.

If his proposal had been seriously taken up the present keen conflict that exists between the Indians and the South Africanders would, to a great extent, have been obviated. That would have enabled the "better and finer races of the Indian Empire" to go and settle together with the educated classes to direct the administration of affairs there. Such a tract of country, I doubt not, would flourish immensely and would increase in material prosperity and contentment of the people. It would be on a equal footing with any other self-governing Colony in South Africa and with the Hindu with his habits of thrift and other qualities and characterisitcs such a country would improve in wealth and become peopled very soon. Thus an outlet also would be available for many of the educated, who, as a class, have come in for a good deal of abuse at the hands of any and every man. Under such conditions the Indian would readily emigrate and here too there would be standing room and sufficient food for the rest. The tract of country, whatever it is, must be sufficiently large and as far as possible similar in climate to that of India. Such a piece of land could be had in Africa and with the supervision of the British, manned by Indians, it is bound to rise into importance in the course of a generation. Thus, all the darkest recesses of the 'unknown' Continent can be peopled.

British statesmen would have to resort to some such means sooner or later with the view of avoiding the conflict with the other Colonists and secondly of finding an outlet for the excess of population. Otherwise, serious complications would arise notwithstanding all the efforts and resources of the Government of India, and the people who are now poor would become poorer still so much so that at the merest touch of famine or drought millions and millions would die off.

P. CHINNASWAMI CHETTI.

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THE MODERN PERIOD OF MUNDARI HISTORY

II.

As to the general character of the Jagirdars of those days, Mr. Cuthbertson, then Collector of Zilla Ramgarh, submitted in the year 1826 a report to Government in which he observed,—

"The Jagirdars (with few exceptions) have always been considered a turbulent description of people..... .....The half-deserted villages, which one frequently meets with evince the oppressive conduct of these people as land-holders".

The number of these *jagirdars* amounted in 1856 to about six hundred, "who hold each from a portion of a village to 150 villages" as we learn from a Memorandum by the Principal Assistant Captain Davies. It is no wonder, therefore, that in the year 1820 the ferment of unrest that had been so long seething all over the country, again burst forth in open revolt. The leaders of this revolt were two Mundas named Rugdeo or Roodan (Rudu, according to Colonel Dalton) and Konta (Kantoo according to Colonel Dalton). The Mundas still preserve the memory of the admirable skill in archery that Rugdeo possessed. His arrows, it is said, were each two cubits and a half in length, and he could ply these arrows while leaping backwards at a vehement stride.

The immediate cause of the insurrection was however rather curious. In the year 1819, there was a great drought in the Pargana of Tamar, and the Mundas with their universal belief in witch-craft assembled to discover who the witch was that caused the calamity. The 'arrow-shooting test' pointed to one Treebhooban Manjhi as the miscreant. The Manjhi, however, managed to escape, but one of his sons was murdered, and his house and village burnt. Once the vials of the Munda's pent-up wrath against the *Sads* was tapped, it burst out with destructive fury. A crusade against the alien *ticcadars* was proclaimed. The insurrection spread from town to village, and from village to hamlet. And at length, military operations on an extensive scale had to be undertaken to put down the revolt. It took Major Roughsedge with the Ramghur Battalion several months to quell the insurrection and restore tranquillity. Roodan and Konta were at length arrested and ended their lives in prison.

But this seeming tranquillity was nothing more than a temporary lull. The horrors of the insurrection of 1820 were still green in the memory of the authorities, when towards the close of the year 1831, another outbreak vastly more formidable in its magnitude, convulsed the entire length and breadth of the country. This was, in the words of Colonel Dalton, but the "bursting of a fire that had long been smouldering". The principal leaders of this revolt hailed from Porahat in the adjoining District of Singbhum, and were named Topa Suyu, Binrai, Kanda Pator, and Kate Sardar. Sing Rai Manki, Doonda Munda and others of Sonepur Pargana with hordes of followers joined the insurgents. Between three to four thousand Mundas and Hos assembled at the Sadom Gootoo Pahar. Among other leaders may be mentioned Samad Manki, Rara Munda, Mathura Munda and Ganga Manki. The immediate cause of the revolt in Sonepur was the grants made by the Maharaja's brother of a number of villages in Pargana Sonepur over the heads of the Mankis and the Mundas, to certain Mohamedans, Sikhs, and Hindus. Twelve such villages belonging to Sing Rai Manki and Mohan Manki, proprietors of Silgaon and eleven other villages, had been granted to some Sikhs, and, as Colonel Dalton says, "not only was the Manki dispossessed but two of his sisters were seduced or ravished by those hated foreigners".* Village Chalom and eleven other

* In the recorded deposition of Byjonath Manki before the then Magistrate of Sherghatty, in the presence of Mr. Commissioner Lambert, we read that the daughters of Sing Rai Manki were kept in concubinage by the Sikhs.

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villages belonging to Byjonath Manki were given to one Hossein Khan and the Manki was not only reduced to destitution but on a false pretext taken to the Daroga of Gobindpur and sent in irons to Sherghatty.

At a large gathering of the Mundas convened at village Lankah in Pargana Tamar, it was unanimously decided that the injuries inflicted and the indignities heaped up on the Mundas were past all bearing and that they had no alternative but to "burn, plunder, murder and eat" their oppressors.

On the 20th December, 1831, a group of villages of the Sanrigaon Patti that had been farmed out to two Sikhs named Hari Sing and Dayal Sing, were robbed, burnt and devastated. On the 25th December, 1831, a number of villages leased out to Kali Khan and Saifullah Khan were plundered and burnt, and a servant of the Thikadar was burnt alive. A plundering incursion was made on the 2nd January, 1832, into village Kamrang which had been farmed out to one Muhamed Ali Naik. The next day another village, Gingira in Pargana Sonepur, which had been granted to one Jafar Ali Khan was reduced to ashes and ten inmates of his house, including a Munda woman he had seduced, were burnt to death. The Porahat Mundas had a special grievance of their own against this infamous Jafar Ali Khan. This Jafar Ali Turuk (as he is called by the Mundas), it is said, used to buy iron in large quantities from the Murhu Bazar for exportation. And the Munda women from Porahat side who came to sell most of this iron complained on their return home, to their leaders or *sardars*, that the Turuk used forcibly to take away all their iron and indignantly throw into their baskets only two pice for each seer of iron taken, although the women would protest that the iron was worth considerably more. The spirit of insurrection spread like wild-fire from one end of the country to the other. The Uraons joined the Mundas and the Hos in their attempts at destroying the *Sads* or Hindus and the "Dikus" or foreign landlords. "In every Paragana", says Colonel Dalton, "the villages in which *Sads* (Hindus) resided were destroyed and all *Dikus* (foreigners) who fell into the hands of the insurgents were murdered. The Zemindars of Rahe, Bundu, Tamar, and Barwa, though neither Sads nor Dikus, narrowly escaped with their lives, when those places were all sacked and destroyed". When the Nazir of the Sherghatty Court came up and proclaimed that if the Kols would desist from their campaign of rapine and bloodshed, they would get back all their lands, the insurgents indignantly replied that they would obey none but the Maharaja alone and would not leave a single foreigner alive in Nagpur. And for a time the insurgents had all their own way. The Nazir's indiscretion in arresting Byjonath Manki, one of the most influential men amongst the Mundas, and sending him in chains to Head Quarters, appears to have aggravated the situation. In an Official Report from the then Acting Magistrate, Mr. R. Kean, made in January, 1832, we read, "The insurgents are stated variously to amount to from 1,000 to 1,200 men, but they will in all probability have increased by the time your force will have reached them; they are possessed of no arms, but bows, and arrows and axes, in the use of which they are exceedingly expert, and they further possess the advantage of fastnesses of the hills to which they retire, and to dislodge them is a task of great difficulty." The apprehensions of Mr. Kean were soon realized and the number of insurgents went on swelling with a fearful rapidity. On the 14th of February, 1832, Captain Impey, who arrived with five companies of Sepoys, attacked the insurgents at village Sillagaon and killed Bhagat Sing, one of the Munda leaders. Seven sons of Bhagat Sing and 150 followers of his are said to have been killed in the action. A number of Munda villages were burnt down by the troops. But the Larkas and the Mundas remained as undaunted as before.

The Mundas triumphantly narrate how a captain who had come from Calcutta with British soldiers and encamped at village Selda in Pargana Sonepur proved a sorry match for the resourceful Larka Hos. The Larkas, it is said, would remain in hiding in jungly recesses during the day and would come out at nightfall and shoot at the British soldiers from behind when the latter would return to their encampment.

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after a day's futile search. Another tale has it that in this way, it is said, all the British soldiers were killed one after another, till at length the Captain had to go back with the severed heads of his soldiers. The Mundas still commemorate in their songs the victories of the Larkas in their struggles with the British troops.

The following is an instance of such songs.

(Jadur)

Telengako jamanjana
Pithouria parganare,
Larakako hundingjan
Goa Balangare.
Mare Hoko tupuingjan
Jikilata pirire.
Mare Hoko mapajan
Ichahurang Dombaghatre.

Telengako haratingjan.
Jikilata pirire,
Larakako darijan,
Ichahurang Dombaghatre.

(Translation).

Within Pithouria bounds,
The soldiers mustered strong.
Balanga Goa saw
The fighting Larkas throng.
At Jikilata then
The Larkas' arrows flew.
At Dombaghat Ich' rung,
Their foes the Hos shot through.
Ah! then, on Jik'lata field
The soldiers vanquish'd lay.
At Dombghat Ich'rung
The Larkas won the day.

It was not till March 1832, nor without some loss of lives on the part of the British, that Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Wilkinson, with the collective help of all available forces, succeeded in bringing back order. Many are the stories that the Mundas still relate about Alkisun Saheb, the name by which they remember Captain Wilkinson. The Captain is said to have encamped at Tamar and there cultivated the acquaintance and friendship of the Mundas, and learnt their language. The chiefs of Tamar and Bundu—who, the Mundas maintain, were originally of Munda extraction,—the Mankis of Tarai, of Sargaonpatti, Gorapatti, Chalompatti and Kulipiripatti, were all summoned by the Captain and they as well as the Nagbansi Maharaja who went to the Captain's camp to pay his respects were all enjoined to keep out the Larka Hos from the Maharaja's dominions. The Rautias of Sundari, Khunti, Thorpa, Bamni and other places who attended Alkisun Saheb's *durbar* were honoured with the title of Baraiks and directed to help the Nagbansi Raja and the Kompat Mundas to keep out the Larkas from the realm. From Tamar, the Captain, it is said, went to Selda and thence to Porahat where he managed to make friends with the four Larka Sardars—Suyu, Binrai, Pator and Kate. Sonu Khanda Pator became a great friend of the British Government, and it was through him that Dasai Manki, one of the rebels of Kochangpir in Kolhan, was captured in 1836. Of some of the more unyielding sardars it is said, that while they were enjoying themselves at a dinner party a number of British soldiers suddenly came up and arrested them and took them in chains to Calcutta. And thus the Larkas were finally subdued. The memory of the capture of the Sardars is preserved in the following short song one occasionally hears in the southern parts of the Ranchi District :—

Hohore Binji Rai saredar,
Hore berime kandai.
Hore hakimke hajure
Hore berime kandai.

(Translation).

Alas! for thee, O Binji Rai,
Alas thou weepest in chains!
Alas! in presence of Hakim high,
Alas! thou weepest in chains.

Thus ended this insurrection or rather 'Jacquerie', as a writer in the *Calcutta Review* for July 1869* calls it. As the same writer remarks, "it scarcely deserves the name of an insurrection when a body of men, goaded by the apparent want of redress, rose not against Government but against the Zemindars, seeking the wild justice of revenge." That this was so is abundantly borne out by more than one authoritative contemporary account. Thus, we read in a Report, dated 'Camp Chota Nagpore, 1832', by Major Sutherland, Private Secretary to the Vice President in Council, that the land-tax which had been increased three-fold in a few years was one ground of dissatisfaction, the insurgents insisting on an assessment of not more than eight annas on each plough. We are also told that seven taxes were extremely obnoxious, in consequence of which the insurgents, it is said, used to inflict seven cuts on such of their oppressors as they could lay

* P. 143.

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their hands on, one cut for exchange, namely, —"batta" or "exchange"-compensation for changing copper into silver,—an excise-tax on spirits, a proposed tax on opium which Government proposed to cultivate,—village "Salamis"—forced labor on the roads, fines for supposed or real crimes,—and postal taxes on villages (dak masohara).

Major Sutherland continues:—

"The hatred of the 'Kols' seems to have been excited by the conduct of the Hindu and Mohamedan inhabitants of their country, whom they call 'Sud' or foreigners, in a degree hardly inferior to that which they felt towards our Police and Tax-gatherers. The Mohamadens were mostly the farmers or Thikadars of the villages which had been resumed by the Raja or his chiefs, or which were mortgaged to others; the original possessors rented land which was formerly their own from this farmer, &c., and the 'Routeas and Kols' bore that sort of hatred to him which the Irishman bears to the interloper who gets possession of his hut and crop. The Hindus were mostly traders and money-lenders. Long stories are told of the enormous profits made by the former and of the usurious interest levied by the latter (money-lender), with the impossibility of the simple Kol ever getting out of the clutches of either, backed as they were by our Police and Adalat. The vengeance which he sought and inflicted on all is but too apparent at such towns as Choreah, Chutia, Burkagur and others of that description, where the foreigners principally resided. The sight most humiliating to our Government that I have ever witnessed, was such of the inhabitants of these places as had returned, standing with their children in the midst of this scene of desolation, with occasionally an old man or woman whose infirmities had prevented their accompanying the rest in their flight, and who, by the savages who had risen to desolate their houses and ravage their fields, had been tortured or burnt to the verge of death,—all calling in one loud voice for redress of the grievances they had suffered, and in reproaches on our Government for having left them unprotected. They were told not in scorn, that their Raja should have protected them, and they replied significantly enough, we had a "Raja",—(meaning, the ancient Munda Rajah)."

Again, Mr. Blunt who was at the time (1832) a Member of the Governor-General's Council, and had been previously (1805) located in the District, in his very able Minutes on the causes of the insurrection of 1832, says:—

"I am decidedly of opinion, that the insurrection originated in the dispossession of the Mankis and Mundas of Sonepur, Tamar, Sillee, Bundu, and the adjacent Perganahs from their hereditary lands, countenanced, if not instigated by some influential person or persons in the District. To restore and permanently secure tranquillity the same measures must, I think, be adopted for reinstating the hereditary proprietors who have been dispossessed from their lands in Chotanagpur....

"I am clearly of opinion that the system of Civil Administration, which may be well calculated to protect the rights, and to promote the happiness of the people in our Regulation Provinces, cannot with like advantage or safety, be extended to the Jungle Estates; and that, for many years to come, the extension of our laws and of the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts of Justice into such tracts will be both premature and injurious, both to the peace of the country and to the welfare of the people; and I think a serious error was committed in introducing our Regulations into Chotonagpur, or in attempting to create a revenue from taxes to be levied from subjects so uncivilised and so poor. It is worthy of remark that the insurrection which occured in Polamow in 1817-18 was produced by the illegal or fraudulent dispossession of the hereditary proprietors of some of the jagir lands in that Pergunnahs Sonepur, Tamar, Silee Baranda and Boondoo, in which quarter the insurrection in Chotonagpur commenced most of the hereditary proprietors, possessed of their lands, which have been transferred in farm to foreigners [theekadars and mahajuns) whose expulsion and destruction appears to have been a primary object of the insurgents. It further appears that the most grievous oppression and exactions have long been practised by the native officers of Government, especially the Police Darogas, which alone, amidst a people so poor, might well account for any general feeling of discontent."

Mr. Blunt thus concludes his very interesting and instructive minutes:—

"To secure the future peace of the disturbed Pergunnahs, the first measure necessary appears to me to be the restoration of the Mankis and Mundas to their hereditary possessions; and then subjecting the police establishments to the most vigilant control."

The quelling of this insurrection ushered in a new epoch in the administration of the country. The ordinary Regulations that had hitherto been in force in the district were withdrawn from it. And by a new legislative enactment, Regulation XIII of 1833, the parts of the country known as Chotanagpur Proper, Palamau, Kuruckdeha, Ramgarh, and Koonda, were separated from the old district of Ramgarh, and together with the Jungle Mehals and the dependent tributary Mehals, were formed into a 'Non-Regulation' Province and called the South-western Frontier Agency. By S. 3 of the New Regulation, the new Agency was withdrawn from the operation of the general Regulations. The system of Zemindary Police was introduced.

Captain Wilkinson was appointed the first Agent to the Governor-General. By way of conciliating the Mundas and Mankis of the Panch Pergunnas and Manki Patti, he granted them confirmatory

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pattas, confirming their titles and fixing the rent for ever. Hazareebagh, Manbhum, and later on, Singbhum, formed subordinate districts of the Agency, and were each administered by a Principal Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General. The Agent had his head-quarters originally at Lohardaga. Civil justice was administered by Munsiffs and by a Principal Sudder Amin stationed at Golah. Later on, in the year 1840, the administrative head-quarters were transferred from Lohardaga to Kishanpur, then an insignificant village which covered that part of the present town of Ranchi, on which the old Jail buildings stood, and which is now occupied by the Executive Engineer's office-building. In a letter, dated the 25th December, 1845, the Governor-General's Agent thus describes the duties of his own office and that of the Deputy Commisioner :—

"The Agent and Commisioner has the superintendence of every department, is Superintendent of Police and performs all political and revenue duties, and some Civil in the three Regulation Districts Police cases, such as dismissal and fine, excepted). All the Civil cases, excepting those involving succession in large Zemindaries, and those between the Estates are with the Agent. Formerly appeals from the decisions of Principal Sudder Ameens in Civil suits were heard by the Principal Assistants, now they are heard by the Deputy Commisioner."

These changes in the adminstration, though an improvement on the system that preceded it,* do not, however appear to have done much to ameliorate the condition of the aborigines of the country. As one account says,

"From this time the fight between the two races, the Hindus and the aborigines in Chutta Nagpur took another form, that of calling in the aid of the Police and the Court of laws, an arena on which the Hindus soon became the masters of the field; for the Police were chiefly men of Behar, the same Province the Zemindars had originally come from and in the Courts their own language Hindi was spoken, besides their having more intellectual power and pecuniary means than the Kols. The latter almost accustomed already to the position of a downtrodden and half-enslaved race received a severe shock from the mighty grip of English Militia and lay prostrate at the feet of their Zemindars and Thikadars."

As Colonel Dalton says :—

"It often happened that the unfortunate Kol, who with difficulty made his way to the far off station, found the tables turned on him when he got there. A posse of witnesses in the pay of the opposite party were already on the spot, prepared to prove 'that he had not only no rights to the land, but was a turbulent rebel besides."

A writer in the Calcutta Review of July 1869, thus graphically describes the situation :—

"When the oppressor wants a horse, the Kol must pay; when he desires a palki, the Kols have to pay, and afterwards to bear him therein. They must pay for his musicians, for his milchcows, for his *pan*. Does some one die in his house? he taxes them; is a child born? again a tax; is there a marriage or pooja? a tax.* Is the Thikadar found guilty at Cutchary and sentenced to be punished? the Kol must pay the fine. Or does a death occur in the house of the Kol? The poor man must pay fine. Is a child born? Is a son or daughter married? the poor Kol is still taxed. And this plundering, punishing, robbing system goes on till the Kols run away. These unjust people not only take away everything in the house, but even force the Kols to borrow, that they may obtain what they want, reminding one of Sidney Smith's account of the poor man taxed from birth to his coffin. Again, whenever the Thikadar has to go to Cutchary or to the King, to a marriage, on a pilgrimage, however distant the place, the Kols must accompany him and render service without payment."

It was probably for want of adequate information that this state of things was suffered to continue. And in 1853-1854, we find Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ricketts, as a Member of the Board of Revenue, making an inspecting tour through Chotanagpur. In the Report submitted by him to Government, Mr. Ricketts observes :

"Though there was no complaint preferred to me, there seems reason to apprehend that the people of the District, the Coles, suffer much injustice at the hands of the foreign middlemen introduced by the Rajah, their Zamindar. Dr. Davidson, who was a person of much intelligence, and studied the condition of the Province with much attention writing in 1839, says: "In point of fact, there was no regular Police or Administration of Justice till the present Agency was established in 1834, that they (the Kols) are frequently imposed on by their land-holders is not for want of comprehension, but that they have been so long completely left to their mercies, and so entirely deprived of any protection from them, that it is

* Hitherto the officer in command of Ramgarh Battalion acted also as the Governor-General's Agent for the South Western Frontier Province. Thus Major E. Roughsedge, who was appointed in 1817, was succeeded in 1822 by Lieutenant Colonel W. R. Gilbert and he in his turn was succeeded by Major W. G. Mackenzie in 1828. Major Mackenzie was succeeded in 1830 by Captain Wilkinson.

* In the course of time many of these taxes came to be permanent and hence the many curious items of inequitable cesses misnamed Rakumats that we now meet with in the Jamabandies of many villages.

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difficult for them to make up their minds to resist.' Major Hanyngton now tells me that:—'In Chotanagpur the Bhooi has lands which exist in every village, have been exposed to the rapacity of the middlemen, aliens who are hated by the people, and who, to obtain these lands, spare no species of force or fraud. Against these our Courts do not afford any facile remedy, and the day may not be distant when the people, goaded beyond endurance, may take the law into their own hands. To protect these under-tenures is, therefore, not only as a duty important, but it is also essential to the permanent tranquillity of the country. For this end, it would be necessary to ascertain what the tenures chiefly are, and how far they should be recognised: this being done, and the result made known by authority, the Courts would do the rest: the inquiries would demand some time and care and caution but it is practicable, and in the end would require any labour that might be bestowed on it.'—This evidence from a very intelligent officer, who has been many years in the Province, appears to me to be deserving of much attention. I have shown in another place, that alien Omlahs monopolize the public offices; that though Dr. Davidson declares that 'the Kols are an intelligent people, as much, if not more so, than the labouring class of any part of India which I have visited,' they have been with very few exceptions, regarded by the authorities as unfit to run with a message or carry a spear. With alien farmers, alien Omlah, and alien Subordinates in all Departments over them, doubtless the Kols must have much to endure".

In proposing a Pergannah-wari Investigation and Record of Rights for the protection of the Kols, Mr. Ricketts observes :—

"Immediate settlement under Regulation VII of 1822, the Zamindars remaining in possession, might be of some avail, but it cannot be concealed that it must be a hopeless contest between a middle-man of any degree and a Zamindar in charge of the Police. However carefully his rights may have been ascertained and recorded, if the Zamindar Darogah is resolved he shall go, he must go; his ruin may be effected in a hundred ways, and if he resist, will be effected, though the officer in charge of the District be his friend."

As a Result of the Report of Mr. Ricketts a further change in the form of Administration was introduced in the year 1854. By Act XX of that year, the Agency was abolished and Chotanagpur passed under the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal as a "Non-Regulation Province." And ever since then the country has been administered as a Division of Bengal under a Commissioner.*

The first Commissioner was Mr. W. J. Allen and his successors have been :—

Colonel	E. T. Dalton, appointed in	1857
,,	W. L. Robinson, ,,	,, 1875
,,	V. T. Taylor, ,,	,, 1877
,,	A. C. Mangles, ,,	,, 1878
,,	J. F. K. Hewilt, ,,	,, 1878
Mr. (afterwards Sir)	John Edgar ,,	,, 1882
,,	J. F. K. Hewilt, ,,	,, 1882
Mr. (afterwards Sir)	C. Stevens ,,	,, 1888
Mr.	W. H. Grimley ,,	,, 1889
Mr.	C. R. Marindin ,,	,, 1896
Mr.	A. Forbes ,,	,, 1896
Mr.	F. A. Slacke ,,	,, 1902
Mr.	E. A. Gait ,,	,, 1906
Mr.	L. P. Spirres ,,	,, 1907
Mr.	Mc. Intosh ,,	,, 1908

SARAT CHANDRA RAY.

* The term "Non-Regulation" should not however be understood to mean that the ordinary laws are not in force in the country which was now for the first time designated the "Chutianagpur Division". Except in the Kolhan pargana in the District of Singbhum, most of the General Legislative enactments in force in other Divisions are in force in this newly constituted one, but there have in addition to these been enacted some special laws for the protection of particular classes or far particular purposes. Thus, there is a special enactment for the relations between land-lord and tenant, and one for the protection of encumbered Zeminders. There is also a special law for the rural police. Another important difference between the 'Regulation' and the 'Non-Regulation' districts is the difference in the designation of the District Officer. Whereas the District Officer in an ordinary (or 'Regulation') district is called the 'Magistrate and Collector' the District officer of a Non-Regulation district is styled the Deputy Commissioner. And the Deputy Commissioner is vested with some powers which the district officer in the Regulation districts do not possess. The Commissioner of this Division has besides his ordinary duties (as in other Divisions), the superintendence and Judicial and Executive control over the Tributary States (the 'Political States') in the Division.

MALARIA AND ITS REMEDY

BY A VOTARY OF SCIENCE

THE newspapers have been perpetually bringing into prominent notice the misery caused by malaria in Bengal. But, alas, no remedy is forthcoming.

I am a layman; but having suffered long from malaria and seen villages almost depopulated by it, I have watched with interest the course it takes and been waiting

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for years for some effective means of combating it.

Medical men say that it is caused by a parasite, and that it is propagated by a species of mosquito. The people, the actual patients, say that, parasite or not parasite, malaria thrives best in places where the soil is water-logged, that it travels along railway lines, that quinine like many other bitters is merely a temporary palliative, and that an application of kerosene oil to stagnant water with a view to kill the larvæ of the disease-carrying mosquito has more of a theoretical than a practical interest.

It is possible to reconcile the opinions of medical men with those of the people. I cannot adduce evidence to satisfy the medical men; but I believe that however ignorant the people may be in tracing the cause, the results of their experience have a value. The causes assigned by them may be remote; but in the absence of accurate knowledge, such remote causes, if formulated, may lead to a better knowledge of their action.

It is fruitless to ask whence the malaria parasite first made its appearance in Bengal. Possibly it has its permanent home in the low valleys of forest-clad hills in India, and changed its character when it found itself under somewhat different conditions. In the low-lying portions of hilly districts, such as Keonjhar in Orissa, malaria of a peculiar type has been in existence since time immemorial, while the neighbouring open slopes and high lands have remained free.

If I remember aright, in Bengal, Burdwan was the first town that was attacked some forty-two years ago. Whatever the place was, the parasite must have come from elsewhere, and a town once regarded as a sanatorium fell an easy prey to the new pest. Did the sanitary conditions change all at once, or did the parasite struggle for years to find a firm hold? I do not know the history; but this much is certain that the malaria parasite found the conditions fit for its growth.

What are the conditions favourable for malaria? Two facts have been observed and universally acknowledged to be true by the residents of malaria-stricken tracts in Bengal. One is that places where the land is dry are comparatively free from malaria, and the other is that even low-lying villages are comparatively free in those years when the rain-fall is seasonable and not heavy in September and October. Indeed early and copious rain-fall does not do much harm to health. It is the late heavy rains that bring malaria in their train; for they keep the soil wet at the commencement of the cold weather, and somehow or other the disease breeds in the water-logged condition of the soil.

This condition of the soil, the want of movement of water which may stand above ground or saturates it below, is brought about by various causes. There may not be any water above the surface. The movement of the sub-soil water may be absent or sluggish and this may be the sole cause. It depends upon the slope and nature of the strata below. A heavy clayey soil with very little slope is the worst in this respect; while a sandy soil with proper drainage is perhaps the best. It is, however, not the nature of the top soil but that of the sub-soil on which the malaria breeding condition seems to depend, and it is the general level of saturation in any locality that determines its suitability for habitation or the reverse.

The water-logged condition is then connected with a higher level of saturation, and, as suggested above, is due to the presence of impediments to the flow of sub-soil water, as well as to that of the water standing above the general ground level. The silting up of old river beds is a fruitful source of this condition. Nature's waterways being blocked, the rain-water accumulates and raises the level of saturation. Canals for irrigation, especially high level canals with *bunds* on either side, do the same. Embankment of rivers preventing discharge of water into them causes the same mischief. High roads and railways with an insufficient number of water-ways across retard the easy flow of water.

Once the cause is understood it is easy to multiply instances. People have been saying that the silting up of old river beds in parts of Nuddea and Jessore has caused malaria there. The northern and the higher parts of Faridpur are not malarious, while the southern and the lower parts are so.

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The latter adjoin the district of Backerganj, and we heard of the prevalence of malarious epidemic in the portions of the District two or three years ago. The portions of the district of Hooghly and Burdwan along which the E. I. Railway runs were perhaps the first to yield to the attack of malaria. The town of Midnapur was free from malaria, when the district of Burdwan and Hooghly were being decimated. People say that the Midnapur canals are connected with the advent of malaria to the town. The sub-divisions of Arambag in Hooghly and Ghatal in Midnapur furnish a peculiar instance. From Burdwan the malaria epidemic made its way to the south, and so deadly was it that in the course of ten years it reduced the population in the sub-division of Arambag (then known as Jehanabad) to about one-third. This happened some thirty to forty years ago, and up to the present Arambag (literally, the garden of rest and enjoyment) has continued to be notorious for its malaria. Ghatal is no better. Here is a case where no railways have been constructed, and no rivers have been perceptibly silted up. Arambag is situated on the Dwarkeswar and is protected by *bunds*. Similarly, Ghatal is situated on the Silabati and protected by *bunds*. The two sub-divisions are for the most part traversed by the rivers with their *bunds*. The Kana-nadi of Khana-Kul is a silted up river. The town of Burdwan has on one side a huge *bund* of the Damodar, and the E. I. Railway line on the other. These *bunds* have been raising the beds of the rivers and, what is worse, preventing the natural discharge of rain-water of the tracts. Far away, the United Provinces and the Panjab afford examples of another kind. The Panjab—the highest land in Northern India, the driest and the hottest region except Rajputana, has become in certain parts a seat of malaria. If the explanation given in the case of the town of Midnapur be correct, we imagine that a similar cause, namely the irrigation canals, may be assigned for the havoc wrought in the Panjab.

Unfortunately in all these speculations we have no scientific data to go upon. Nobody has cared to investigate the connection of malaria with the humidity of the soil. We do not even know whether there has been any change in the mean humidity of the air within the last fifty years. A change in this respect would indicate a change in the humidity of the soil. For, supposing the rainfall to be normal, there is no other reason for a change in the humidity of the soil than impeded discharge of rain water. People of Nuddea and Jessore say that there has been such a change. For they could with impunity lie upon mud floors before, but cannot do so now. That is to say, the level of saturation was formerly lower than it is now.

Doctors and sanitary experts have been telling us to clear up jungles in villages. Of course malaria does not live like tigers in jungles. What good is then expected from the clearing? The reason is that such a measure would afford increased facility for the wind to dry up the land. Orchards have trees planted in rows, while jungles are bushes interfering with air circulation and evaporation. It may be, the Anopheles mosquitoes—the carriers of malaria—find a temporary home in the low bushes from where they visit after sunset human beings in the neighbourhood in order to prey upon them. Whatever the explanation may be, free air circulation is a necessary sanitary condition for all places.

The Anopheles are, however, mere carriers of the malaria parasite, and not its progenitors. How do they spread the disease far and wide? It is now known to malaria experts that mosquitoes do not travel long distances. If I remember aright, their journeys are confined to a radius of half a mile. If so, how did they bring the disease to Bengal? How did they carry it to the Panjab? Did they carry it by successive relays? Or did they travel in railway trains? We know mosquitoes like vermin are not rare occupants of railway carriages. And given the conditions favourable for their life and multiplication they may form colonies in distant new lands. Once the place is found suitable for the breeding of the malaria parasite, it is doomed. Both the towns of Midnapur and Bankura are situated on laterite soil, and both have railways. But while Bankura is still almost free from malaria, Midnapur having a canal is not. The town of Puri must have been visited by malaria patients from Bengal. Yet it remained free from malaria

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up till the railway line to it was opened. Within the last three or four years the town has been more and more subject to malaria. The question may be asked: Why the parts of Orissa which have canals, high level canals, have escaped malaria? It may be the railway line (opened about ten years ago) has not yet had sufficient time to produce its effect, or there may be something peculiar to the soil which does not favour malaria. The latter explanation seems to be correct. Plague, which is believed to be connected with the soil, has not found the land of Orissa suitable for its home. The east coast of the Madras Presidency, where there are canals and railway lines, are free both from plague and malaria. The sandy soil of the tracts may have something to do with the absence of the diseases. Western Bengal, which has a clayey soil, has been more subject to malaria than Eastern Bengal.

Malaria experts tell us to kill the carriers of malaria by sprinkling kerosene on the breeding water. Mosquitoes breed in ponds and other stagnant water, and the larvœ pass their life there. Kerosene oil kills the larvæ. The remedy seems so simple that one living in towns wonders why it is not universally applied. The suggestion of such a remedy, like that of cutting away jungles, however, raises a smile in the faces of simple villagers. They say that they cannot do without paddy, and paddy is a water-loving plant. They cannot drain their paddy fields dry, which may have a dressing of manure too; for they must raise the crop. Neither can they flood with kerosene extensive fields with an immense number of small plots. Paddy fields surround homesteads, which in the crop season look like so many islands in a vast sheet of water. Again, is it possible to make a distinction between jungles and vegetation due to crops? Is it possible to turn villages into towns? I doubt whether any one with a practical knowledge of the rural areas in Bengal ever seriously suggested the application of kerosene or the denudation of land of its vegetation. I do not under-estimate the value of the discovery, which is likely to be of great service in towns; but something more practicable than the application of kerosene, or the breeding of fishes which may devour mosquito larvæ, or the clearing away of jungles which are the diurnal homes of mosquitoes, is wanted for villages.

I need not say anything about the use of quinine in malaria. Recently a doctor in the Panjab with a practical head has calculated the quantity that would be required to dose the entire population of the country. Even if the world's supply of quinine were increased to meet the enormous demand, would it do good to the physique of the people? Koch once drew the attention of medical men to the abuse of quinine among the white population of Africa. Apart from the evil effects on our system of a continued use of quinine, it has been, though only the other day, admitted by medical gentlemen that its use as a prophylactic is doubtful.

Having rapidly surveyed the malaria question from the point of view of medical men and the suffering people, I beg to suggest that it is not conferences of medical men that are needed at this stage. The whole question of the life-history of the disease in India has to be investigated. We need the services of patient workers at the problem, workers who take delight in research, and not of those who are busy professional physicians. Without meaning offence it may be safely stated that the etiology of a disease cannot be handled by a medical man unless he has devoted a long time to it and has the ability and opportunity to study it in its various phases. It is just like many other questions that affect us. Because he is senior in rank, or because he has an extensive practice in a town, it does not follow that a man is competent to advice the people on a matter so serious and complicated as malaria. Climatology is a science as yet practically unknown in India; yet we read of marked improvements effected in the sanitary condition of other countries by well-devised systems of drainage and in some cases by plantation. Take the city of Calcutta, the metropolis of India, where medical men of all grades are plentiful. We find that certain parts of the city are dotted red in maps issued by the Municipality, shewing the parts subject to malaria. Has any attempt been made to trace the cause? Has the local climatology been studied? The first question therefore that should engage the attention of medical

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experts is whether the malarial parasite is a true parasite living only in the blood of human beings, or if it can lead a sort of dormant life in humid soil. This is not an easy question to solve, and Kochs and Metchnikoffs are not plentiful anywhere. Yet before an attempt requiring lavish expenditure of money is made to attack an enemy, a wise man desires to be fully acquainted with its life history. We do not yet know how it is that people get the disease as if all on a sudden where there were no malaria patients before. Is the parasite taken from the patients who have recovered? Does it pass a resting stage in the bodies of the mosquitoes and come into activity when the conditions become favourable? What becomes of the parasite in summer when the patients as a rule recover from their previous attacks? Such questions as these have to be answered if one has to proceed to eradicate the disease. It is no use blaming the mosquitoes, which are not a new creation, and organising a campaign against them, when the parasite may comfortably live elsewhere. Seek out the enemy first, learn its secrets if you can, and then suggest the best way to kill it. We have separate departments of meteorology and geology, of sanitation and engineering. Each department is working along its prescribed route, more or less independent of the others. Yet questions like these require their combined knowledge for investigation by larger minds kept free from routine and office work. I do not in the least mean to insinuate that the gentlemen advising us to clear up ponds choked with weeds or destroy jungles from the neighbourhood of habitations, or to use quinine freely in cases of malaria attacks, are not competent observers of the conditions of the disease. Nor do I suggest that irrigation canals and railway lines and the hundred other means of improving the economic condition of the country are to be stopped lest malaria comes in. A modern man claiming to be called civilised must learn to control nature so that he may be benefited by its laws. To control nature one has to go with it and not against it. People clamour for embankments of rivers, little thinking that they are after all a mixed blessing, rather a curse under a temporary disguise, if not constructed with a full knowledge of the sanitary conditions involved.

About fifty years, two generations, have passed away since the appearance of malaria in Bengal. Suppose it is allowed to take its course unimpeded as at present. Will it spend itself in another generation or two? Will Bengal reassume its former health and the people, who are obliged to seek towns through dread of malaria in villages, find once more, to the benefit of the race, village life better than town life? Larger causes, of which we have no idea, may yet be working to this end, and the present cycle, one among an infinite number the world has already seen, may come to an end even if nothing be done to accelerate it. Malaria has lost its former severity, and it is seldom that it breaks out in an epidemic form in its old homes. The present generation seems to have inherited immunity from the disease from malaria-stricken parents and also from inoculation in early life. The disease is, however, still there, and makes itself felt by attacking a new comer. There are fewer births and more deaths than before, and the public have been shaken from torpor by the blunt figures of census statistics. A renowned doctor in Calcutta declared some time ago that fifty per cent. of malaria patients have incipient phthisis, and we daily see how pneumonia in malarious districts proves fatal in almost all cases. We are orientals, patience is our motto; and we would have rested content with our fate, had not a civilised Government with scientific bureaus taken charge of the country. The sanitation of a province is not a thing to be improved by isolated and individual efforts. It is a question of life and death, and it behoves our Government and the observant and thoughtful public to settle it before it is too late. Fifty years have surely been a long time to come to an understanding of the problem, and it is little comfort to be told to wait and to wait for the next cycle.

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ABOUT PICTURES

I.

THE literary man has this advantage over the painter, that all those to whom he appeals, themselves use words, spoken or written, to express their feelings: while of educated men, comparatively few are accustomed to express their feelings in a language of form and colour. Hence the existence of the art-critic. In so far as he merely provides the public with opinions which they may safely regard as 'correct', and so destroys that public's already small capacity for independent thought, his function is exceedingly pernicious. But there is another kind of art interpretation, in which the critic, by translating the language of the painter, to the extent of what is possible, into that of the writer, assists others to acquire by degrees the same direct understanding of the painter's language that he himself possesses. This last sort of art-criticism, exemplified, to give a single instance, by the writings of Ruskin, demands of the critic that he should be himself an artist in his own art of writing: it is not necessary that he should be a painter—we have presupposed that he understands the work of painter-artists. Few painters are themselves able to write well about their own art: that is the work for the servants of artists, the true art-critics who interpret. Even these interpreters find few to hear them; for here, as in every kind of education, the qualification of the *chela* is not less essential than the qualification of the *guru*.

It is with this conception of art-criticism as a high calling that I write these notes 'About Pictures.' I have been so frequently called upon to interpret or explain a picture or to indicate its good or bad points that it may be worthwhile to use some of the experience gained thus, and gained in constant thinking about pictures, in the discussion of some common difficulties.

In the first place it must be realised that each art, whether of painting, music, sculpture, dance or poetry cannot be perfectly translated or explained in the language of any other art. Those only fully understand, to whom the artist can appeal directly in his own language. The understanding of that language is largely a matter of natural gifts, which may be present or not—as the artist 'is born', so also must his public be born. That is, it is impossible to popularise the greatest art, although truly popular or folk-art is often great. But that is another story, for the 'folk' are often artists collectively: with the 'public' it is otherwise. For them it is necessary to paint the obvious in stripes. Nevertheless it is possible to cultivate the gift of understanding, however small its germ. The first essential to this cultivation is sincerity—the courage of personal appreciation, apart from what may be fashionable art, or approved as correct.

Thus, we should neither accept the popular art of the Annual Royal Academies or Simla Exhibitions as necessarily great because it has passed a jury of 'experts': nor should we reject some older or less known art as barbarous (as 18th century England rejected Gothic, or suburban India rejects Asiatic art) because it is not fashionable to admire it. We shall each, for ourselves, be right, when we have found that art, or kind of art, which best expresses our own innermost and best self. I say for ourselves, because there are different kinds of art—as Pravrittic and Nivrittic—which are necessary to different temperaments and different stages of development. The first great difficulty in bringing together the artist and the modern public depends upon what may be called the 'fallacy of illusion'. This fallacy consists in supposing that that art is greatest which most closely resembles some object or objects regarded as the model. The painter is supposed to sit down with a model and a canvas and to have succeeded best when he has made one

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as nearly as possible resemble the other. This is the reverse of art. Art consists in changing things we see or feel directly, or think we see or feel, into something else. The basic principle of all the arts is the same in this respect. Suppose we desire to embody some mood of grief or joy in music or in poetry—we do not consider that music or poetry most expressive which when we heard can be most easily mistaken for actual sobbing or laughter. Gramophone transcripts from life would not be music or poetry. Now, painting is a kind of visible poetry and just as the words of a poem are conventions for the expression of certain ideas, so certain arrangements of form and colour are conventions, which are used as means of expression, and it is as absurd to ask for imitation in the one as in the other.

The method of photographic criticism arises from the false conception of the relation of science to art. Many persons for instance base their judgment at once on the relative knowledge of perspective apparent in the older artists' pictures. But it is very possible for a picture in perfectly correct perspective to be worthless, and for a picture in which the perspective is quite wrong, to be very great. Painting, like all arts, is concerned with expression rather than representation: and science is only of use to art when it aids in expression. Too great a concern with matters such as perspective, or with details of archæological accuracy (another matter of common criticism) often actually hinders expression, and then we are even worse off than if the artist had known less (scientifically). What is essential is, that he should feel; for art is born of passion, not of (empirical) knowledge. It is concerned with *rasa*, more than with line and rule. As none can learn to be a poet by the study of prosody, so none can learn to be an artist by the study of perspective.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

"INDIA UNDER RIPON*"

In details this book severely criticises the British administration of India, finds fault with Anglo-Indian officials and non-officials, makes very unfavorable comments on the policy and methods of the Foreign Office in India, particularly on the way in which Berar was acquired, but it is on the whole in favour of the continuance of British rule in India and of the army being entirely officered by British officers as it is at present. We may note here that even Mr. Valentine Chirol of the *Times* is in favour of admitting Indians to the commissioned ranks of the Indian army.

Deeply interesting are the author's pen pictures of Indian notables, Hindu, Musalman and Parsi. Some of the present-day bosses of the Moslem League fare very badly at the author's hands. The book gives the author's scheme of self-government for India and also his scheme for a Mohammedan University for India.

We reproduce below two long extracts, to give the reader some idea of the author's impressions of the Native States and of British India. We will not make many comments. Here we shall only say that the theory of the drain of India's wealth into Great Britain propounded here by the author is at present stated to be false by high-placed officials. No doubt they will ere long give us their reasons and facts in full detail for disputing the correctness of this theory in support of which many most eminent moderate politicians of India, like Rammohun Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji and R. C. Dutt, have written elaborately with proofs.

Of the Native States the author writes as follows:—

"There is an interest attaching to these Native States which is twofold for the political observer. They present in the first place a picture, instructive if not entirely accurate, of the India of past days, and serve in some measure as landmarks and records of the changes for good and evil our rule has caused. And secondly, they afford indications of the real capacity for self-government possessed by the indigenous races.

"When one has seen a native court, with its old world etiquettes, its ordered official hierarchies, and its fixed notions, one learns something, which no amount of reading could teach, about the traditions of paternal government long swept away in Madras and Bengal. One recognizes how much there was that was good in the past in the harmonious relations of governors and governed, in the personal connection of princes and peoples, in the tolerance which gave to each caste and creed its recognized position in the social family. One is surprised to find how naturally such adverse elements as the Hindu Brahmin and the Mohammedan nobleman lay down together under a system which precluded class rivalry, and how tolerant opinion was in all the practical details of life. One does not readily imag-

* India under Ripon. A Private Diary by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, continued from his "Secret History of the English occupation of Egypt." T. Fisher Unwin, London, Adelphi Terrace, 1909. 10s. net.

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from the mere teaching of history the reason which should place a Mussulman from Lucknow in command of the army of a Rajput prince, or a Hindu statesman in the position of vizier to a Nizam of the Deccan. Yet seeing, one understands these things, and one recognizes in them something of the natural law existing between "the creatures of the flood and field" which makes it impossible "their strife should last." In the traditional life of ancient India there was an astonishing tolerance now changed to intolerance, an astonishing order in face of occasional disorder, and a large material contentment which neither war nor the other insecurities of life permanently affected. It is impossible, too, after having visited a native court, to maintain that the Indian natives are incapable of indigenous government. The fact which proves the contrary exists too palpably before one's eyes. The late Sir Salar Jung was as distinctly a statesman as Lawrence or Dalhousie; and among the Mahrattas there are not a few diwans to be found in office capable of discharging almost any public function.

"At the same time it is abundantly clear that in all that constitutes intellectual life the India of old days, as represented in the still independent States, was far more than a century behind the India of our day. Mental culture is at the lowest ebb in the capitals of the native princes. They possess neither schools on any large plan, nor public libraries, nor are books printed in them nor newspapers published. I was astonished to find how in the centre of busy intellectual India large flourishing towns were to be found completely isolated from all the world, absorbed in their own local affairs, and intellectually asleep. At certain of the native courts history is still represented by the reciter of oral traditions, letters by the court poet, and science by professors of astrology; while the general politics of the Empire hardly affect, even in a remote degree, the mass of the unlettered citizens. Last winter's storm over Lord Ripon's internal policy left the native States absolutely unmoved. There is both good and bad in this.

"Whether the above paragraph is an accurate picture of the intellectual condition of the Native States at the time when, more than 25 years ago, the author wrote it, we are not in a position to say. But we know it would not be a true picture now. For many native States possess colleges, high schools, primary schools and public libraries, and books and newspapers are published in some of them. In the matter of free and compulsory primary education some States are in advance of British India. For instance, there is no parallel in British India to what is being done in Baroda in the matter of Compulsory Education and Circulating Libraries, as the following facts will show :—

"The working of the Compulsory Education Code in Baroda is very interesting. In each village the Patal, Talati and the Schoolmaster make a list of the residents who have children under their care and the schoolmaster publishes notices containing the names. Parents are allowed to appeal against the inclusion of any name, to the Wahiwatdar, whose decision is final. Those whose children do not attend school within 30 days of publication of the lists are fined up to one rupee a month according to the discretion of the Wahiwatdar. The compulsory standard of education has up to this been the third. A Commission has now recommended the raising of the standard to the fourth and has called for legislation (1) to prevent the employment of children of the school-going age in mills, factories, or in works of such a nature as to prevent attendance at school and (2) to increase penalties under the Child Marriage Act, so as to form a more satisfactory deterrant. (Girls have to be in schools till their eleventh year)."

"With the ultimate aim of spreading knowledge amongst the masses and of awakening their interest in and keeping them in touch with the intellectual and industrial movements going on in India and other civilised countries, His Highness the Maharaja Saheb was pleased to sanction a handsome sum of Rs 30,000 for opening libraries and reading rooms in villages where such facilities did not exist before. This sum was placed at the disposal of the Department, and a scheme was formulated indicating the lines on which the Government contribution was to be made It was sanctioned with a few additions and alterations here and there. The scheme, as a whole, is based mainly on three general principles, *viz*, (*a*) that Government should contribute as much as the people would collect but never exceeding Rs. 24 every year, for the purchase of newspapers, journals and periodicals, (*b*) that Government should supply to these institutions a set of books on Literature, Art and Science, etc., of the value of Rs. 100 provided the people collect and forward to the Vidyadhikari a subscription up to Rs. 100 and (*c*) that the Libraries should remain the property of the public so long as they are maintained in a state of efficiency. If circumstances required the libraries to be closed, the books, etc., should become State property under the direct control of the headmaster of the local vernacular school. This was not all. It was also ordered that these new libraries should be supplied with such books as the Bhashantar Store could spare. Under this special concession it has been roughly estimated that each of these libraries secures for itself books worth about Rs. 125 or more. Efforts are being made to popularise these new institutions and it is hoped that the interest created by them will be sustained. The local boards of the four divisions evince a very keen interest in the development of these institutions of public utility and make over a sum of about Rs. 2,900 for the purchase of newspapers for these infant nurseries of knowledge.

"As regards the progress made by these institutions it may be observed with satisfaction that at the end of the year Baroda division had in all 85 circulating libraries and 7 pure reading rooms, while Kadi division had 39 circulating libraries, and as many as 8 reading rooms The numbers of these institutions in Navsari and Amreli districts were 5, 1 and 22, 11 respectively. Thus, there were in all 151 circulating libraries and 27 reading rooms making a grand total of 178 as against 160 of the preceding year. Books have been supplied to most of these institutions and arrangements are being made for supplying them other books from the Bhashantar Store. There are 25 villages, the people of which have sent in their contributions and orders are being issued to supply them the required books, etc. At the end of the year under report there were in all 172 libraries and orders have been issued to

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supply each one of them with books worth Rs. 225. Government spent Rs. 2,895-5-6 for buying books from the authors for these institutions. This amount together with Rs. 1, 80, the total contribution from the people brings the total to Rs. 4,075-2-6. The discount given by the authors amount to Rs. 1,176-10-6. Thus, the total amount of money spent after books comes up to Rs. 6,251-13-0. The Bhashantar Store books have been given to 46 libraries. Assuming that each of these 46 libraries is given books of the value of Rs 125 gratis from the Store, it can be said that the total value of books supplied to all of them is worth Rs. 5,750 In all at the end of the year, there were books worth about Rs 27,725 in these libraries. It has already been said that the State spent Rs. 2,895-2-6 for the purchase of books out of the original grant of Rs. 30,000."—*Ed., M. R.*]

"With regard to their material prosperity, as contrasted with British India, I can only speak of what I have seen. The territories of the native princes are for the most part not the most fertile tracts of India; and one cannot avoid a suspicion that their comparative poverty has been the cause of their continued immunity from annexation. Nearly the whole of the rich irrigated ricelands of the peninsula are now British territory; and the estates of the Nizam, and the two great Mahratta princes Holkar and Scindia, comprise a large amount of untilled jungle. These countries possess no seaports or navigable rivers, and their arable tracts are not of the first order of productiveness, while the Rajput princes are lords of districts almost wholly desert. It would be, therefore, misleading to compare the material wealth of the peasantry in any of these States with those of Bengal or the rich lands of the Madras coast, for the conditions of life in them are not the same. But, poor land compared with poor land, I think the comparison would not be unfavourable to the native States. I was certainly struck in passing from the British Deccan below Raichore into the Nizam's Deccan with certain signs of better condition in the latter. Most of the Nizam's villages contain something in the shape of a stone house belonging to the headman. The flocks of goats, alone found in the Madras Presidency, are replaced by flocks of sheep; and one sees here and there a farmer superintending his labourers on horseback, a sight the British Deccan never shows. In the few villages of the Nizam which I entered I found at least this advantage over the others, that there was no debt, while I was assured that the mortality during the great Deccan famine was far less severe in the Nizam's than in her Majesty's territory.

"It must not, however, be supposed that in any of the native States the ancient economy of India has been preserved in its integrity. Free trade has not spared them more than the rest. Their traditional industries have equally been ruined, and they suffer equally from the salt monopoly; while in some of them the British system of assessing the land revenue at its utmost rate, and levying the taxes in coin, has been adopted to the advantage of the revenue and the disadvantage of the peasant. On the whole the agricultural condition of the Hyderabad territory seemed to me a little, a very little, better than that of its neighbour, the Madras Deccan, and I believe it is a fact that it is attracting immigrants from across the border. The Rajput State of Ulwar, where I also made some inquiries, was represented to me as being considerably more favourably assessed than British Rajputana.

"The best administered districts of India would seem to be those where a native prince has had the good fortune to secure the co-operation of a really good English assessor, allowing him to assess the land, not with a view to immediately increasing revenue, but the true profit of the people. Such are to be found in some of the Rajput principalities, where the agricultural class is probably happier, though living on a poor soil, than in any other part of India for the assessor, freed from the necessity which besets him in British territory of raising a larger revenue than the district can quite afford, and having no personal interest to serve by severity, allows his kindlier instincts to prevail, and becomes—what he might be everywhere in India—a protector of the people. I trust that it is understood by this time that I am far from affirming that Englishmen are incapable of administering India to its profit. What I do say is that selfish interests and the interests of a selfish Government prevent them from so doing under the present system in British territory. Thus it is certain that the Berar province of Hyderabad under British administration has prospered exceedingly, and its prosperity affords precisely that exceptional instance which proves the general rule of impoverishment. What may probably be affirmed without any risk of error is that the best administered districts of the native States are also the best administered in all India.

"With regard to the town population, I found the few independent native capitals which I visited exhibiting signs of well-being in the inhabitants absent in places of the same calibre under British rule. With the exception of Bombay, which is exceptionally flourishing, the native quarter, even in the Presidency towns, has everywhere in British India a squalid look. The "Black Town" of Madras reminds one disagreeably of Westminster and the Seven Dials: and there is extreme native misery concealed behind the grandeur of the European houses in Calcutta. The inland cities are decided in decay. Lucknow and Delhi, once such famous capitals, are shrunk to mere shadows of their former selves; and there is a distrustful attitude about the inhabitants which a stranger cannot fail to notice. The faces of the inhabitants everywhere in Northern India are those of men conscious of a presence hostile to them, as in a conquered city. In the capitals of the native States, on the contrary, there is nothing of all this, and the change in the aspect of the natives, as one passes from British to native rule, is most noticeable. The Hyderabadis especially have a well-fed look not commonly found in the inland towns, and are quite the best dressed townsmen of India. There is a bustle and cheerfulness about the city, and a fearless attitude in the crowd, which is a relief to the traveller after the submissive silence of the British populations. Elephants, camels, horses, men—all is movement and life in Hyderabad; and as one passes along one realizes for the first time the idea of India as it was in the days when it was still the centre of the world's wealth and magnificence. That these gay externals may conceal

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background of poverty is possible—English officials affirm that they do so; but at least it is better thus than that there should be no gaiety at all, nor other evidence of well-being than in the bungalows of a foreign cantonment.

"Nor is the cause of the better condition far to seek. Whatever revenue the native court may raise from the people is spent amongst the people. The money does not leave the country, but circulates there; and even where the profusion is most irrational, something of the pleasure of the spending remains, and is shared in and enjoyed by all, down to the poorest. In British India the *tamashas* of governors-general and lieutenant-governors interest no one but the aides-de-camp and their friends; and a large portion of the revenue goes clean away every year, to the profit of other lands and other peoples.

"Of the administration of justice in the native States I had no opportunity of forming an accurate opinion, but I am willing to believe that it is less satisfactory in these than in British India. The only advantage that I could distinctly recognize in compensation was, what I have already mentioned, the absence of the Civil Courts, which are so loudly complained of in the latter on account of the encouragement they give to usury. It is worth repeating that the only villages I found free from debt in India were in the Nizam's territory. With this exception, it is probable that British justice is better everywhere than "native" justice, and there is certainly not the same check exercised in a native State by public opinion over the doings of magistrates and judges. In all this the native States are far behind the Imperial system, for the despotic form of rule is the only one recognized in any of them, Hindu or Mohammedan, and there is no machinery by which official injustice can be inquired into or controlled. The ideas of liberty are spreading slowly in India, and the native States are hardly yet touched by them." Pp. 299-305.

Of British India he writes:—

"Unless I have wholly failed to make my reasoning clear, readers of these essays will by this time have understood that, in answer to the question propounded at the outset of this inquiry—namely, whether the connection between England and India is of profit to the Indian people; and to the further question whether the Indian people regard it as of profit—I have come to conclusions on the whole favourable to that connection.

"My argument, in a few words, has been this: seeking the balance of good and evil, I have found, on the one hand, a vast economic disturbance, caused partly by the selfish commercial policy of the English Government, partly by the no less selfish expenditure of the Englsh official class.

"I have found the Indian peasantry poor, in some districts to starvation, deeply in debt, and without the means of improving their position; the wealth accumulated in a few great cities and in a few rich hands; the public revenue spent to a large extent abroad, and by an absentee Government. I have been unable to convince myself that the India of 1885 is not a poorer country, take it altogether, than it was a hundred years ago, when we first began to manage its finances. I believe, in common with all native economists, that its modern system of finance is unsound, that far too large a revenue is raised from the land, and that it is only maintained at its present high figure by drawing on what may be called the capital of the country, namely, the material welfare of the agricultural class—probably, too, the productive power of the soil. I find a large public debt, and foresee further financial difficulties.

"Again, I find the ancient organization of society broken up, the interdependence of class and class disturbed, the simple customary law of the East replaced by a complicated jurisprudence imported from the West, increased powers given to the recovery of debt, and consequently increased facilities of litigation and usury. Also great centralization of power in the hands of officers daily more and more automatons and less and less interested in the special districts they administer. In a word, new machinery replacing, on many points disadvantageously, the old. I do not say that all these things are unprofitable, but they are not natural to the country, and are costly out of proportion to their effect of good. India has appeared to me at best in the light of a large estate, which has been experimented on by a series of Scotch bailiffs, who have all gone away rich. Everything is very scientific, very trim, and very new, especially the bailiff's own house; but the farms can only be worked now by skilled labourers and at enormous expense; while a huge capital has been sunk, and the accounts won't bear looking into.

"On the other side, I have found an end put to the internecine wars of former days, peace established, security for life given, and a settled order of things on which men can count. I have never heard a native of India underrate the advantage of this, nor of the corresponding enfranchisement of the mind from the bondage in which it used to lie. A certain atmosphere of political freedom is necessary for intellectual growth. Where men were liable to fine, imprisonment, and death for their opinions there could be no general advance of ideas, and the want of personal liberty had for centuries held India in mental chains. No one had dared to think more wisely than his fellows, or, doing so, had speedily been stopped by force from teaching it to others. [This was probably true of the dark days just preceding the establishment of British rule in India. But we hope the author does not suggest that this is a correct description of Pre-British India in all or most periods of her history.—*Ed. M. R.*] But under English rule, with all its defects, thought has been free, and men who dared to think have kept their heads, so that a generation has sprung up to whom liberty of opinion has seemed natural, and with it has come courage. The Indians in the towns are now highly educated, write books, found newspapers, attend meetings, make tours of public lectures, think, speak, and argue fearlessly, [This was written before the Curzon regime and the passing of the Seditious Meetings Acts and the Police and the press laws of recent years.—*Ed. M. R.*] and an immense revival of intellectual and moral energy has been the result. It is not a small thing, again, that the gross licence of the old princely courts has given place to a more healthy life—that crime in high places is no

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longer common; that sorcery, poisoning, domestic murder, and lives of senseless depravity are disappearing; that the burning of widows has been abolished, and child-marriage is now being agitated against. These things are distinct gains, which no candid Englishman, any more than do the candid natives, would dream of underrating. And, as I have said before, they supply that element of hope which contains in the "per contra" of gain to be set in the balance against India's loss through England.

"It would, therefore, be more than rash for Indian patriotism to condemn the English connection. Nor does it yet condemn it. There is hardly, I believe, an intelligent and single-minded man in the three Presidencies who would view with complacency the prospect of immediate separation for his country from the English Crown. To say nothing of dangers from without, there are dangers from within well recognized by all. The Indians are no single race; they profess no one language; highly civilized as portions of their society are, it contains within its borders portions wholly savage. There are tribes in all the hills still armed with spear and shield, and the bulk of the peaceful agricultural population is still in the rudest ignorance. The work of education is not yet complete, or the need of protection passed. All recognize this, and with it the necessity for India still of an armed Imperial rule. Were this withdrawn, it is certain at least that the present civilized political structure could not endure, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether any other could be found to take its place. I do not myself see in what way the issue of a rupture could be made profitable to the Indian nations, nor do I understand that the exchange from English to another foreign rule would improve their condition." Pp. 305-309.

The book is a serious effort to state the pros and cons of British and Native rule and ought to be read by all Englishmen and educated Indians.

GENERAL ASPECT AND NATURAL RESOURCES OF CHINA

CHINA or the Celestial Empire, as it is termed by the children of the soil, is divided into eighteen provinces. Each is governed by a separate Governor or Tsoong-to. The name China, Sina or Tsina is derived from the Tsin Dynasty, A.D. 260. The climate of the country is highly salubrious, though extreme heat and cold prevail. Perhaps no country in the world is on the whole more favored in point of climate than China. There are no mountains of a very remarkable height. The whole surface is varied in elevation. The two principal rivers Yangtse-Kiang and Yellow water nearly the whole country of China and occupy a very high place from the geographical point of view. These two rivers have taken their origin in Kokonor, the country between China and Tibet, at a small distance from each other. The Empire abounds in safe harbours.

The Grand Canal.

There is a canal called the Imperial canal dug during the reign of Koblai Khan, one of the ablest emperors of China of the Mongol Tartar Dynasty. It is no less wonderful than the noted great wall of China. This grand canal is 600 miles long and plays an important part in irrigation. It takes forty days to navigate it in its full length.

The Great Wall.

The Great Wall of China, which is one of the wonders of the world, was built by Chy-houngty, the first universal sovereign of China, about 200 years before the commencement of the Christian era or rather more than 2,000 years ago, to check the Tartar invasion. It bounds the whole north of China along the frontiers of three Provinces extending from the shore of the Gulf of Pechili to Western Tartary. It is 1500 miles long and it required ten years for ten thousand men to complete this monumental work of human labour. It has been estimated that the materials used for this monstrous wall are sufficient to surround the whole globe in its largest circle. The main body of the wall consists of an earthen mound having on each side walls of masonry and brick and terraced by platforms of square bricks. The height of the wall is seventy-five feet, the thickness at the base is thirty feet diminishing to eighteen at the top. It was constructed over the ridges of the highest hills, brought down into valleys, carried over the rivers on arches and was doubled in some

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important passes. Moreover many towers at distances of about one hundred yards were built. The towers on the wall are about thirty feet high. In some places they are of two-storied and thirty-five feet or thereabouts high. The bricks of China are usually of bluish color, so are they in this case. These are fifteen inches long, half of that in width and four inches thick. About the color of the bricks Dr. Abel made some experiments and as a result found that the Chinese clay for bricks being red at first, burns blue. The once wondrous wall has now been in a sad state of dilapidation and ruin. The readers may have some idea from the pictures, given in the last number, of the wall as it is built over the hills and plains with the nice looking towers.

During the reign of this emperor another event took place. He ordered that all the books hitherto written including that of Confucius should be burnt down. Many tried to save the books through excessive zeal, but upwards of 400 persons were burned at the attempt. Some say that the reason of his so doing was that he wanted to be first sovereign of any fame without any previous record.

Tientsin may be considered the next important town to Pekin. It is situated on the bank of Peiho. Immense piles or hills of salt may be seen here on the opposite bank of Peiho. This is a salt depot. There are a Chinese University and a naval College. This is an important trading place. The native city is surrounded with high walls almost as big as those of Pekin.

Flower may be seen in abundance in this country. Chrysanthemums grow plentifully. The camphor tree is commonly found. The best green tea is produced in the district of Hoey-chow-foo. The soil on which it is grown is best suited to the purpose of making porcelain, as well. King-te-ching, the most noted place for manufacturing porcelain lies eastward of the Poyang lake. The two provinces of Chekeang and Keang-nan are famous for silk production. The province of Fokien chiefly supplies the Emperor with war-vessels and sailors as well as trading junks. This is a great country for the black teas.

The Portuguese first adopted the name of tea, which is the staple production of China, from Macao, and the English from Amoy. Ch, is pronounced like T, in this province and hence the name chea has been turned into tea. The province of Yunan abounds in metals and other valuable minerals. The Yangtsekiang in this part of its course, is named Kinsha' or golden-sanded, as gold is found in its sands of the rivers.

There is a coal mine at Tongshan. Ginseng, a famous wild plant, is gathered at Kirin, a province bordering Corea on the north. To this plant the Chinese attribute wonderful properties and the Emperor has a monopoly of it. In curing certain diseases the Chinese physicians say it is like heavenly nectar and an infallible remedy.

Shanghai, a seaport near the mouth of the Yangtse-Kiang, is the most famous trading place of all on the coast. The place is very beautiful and is styled by the English as "little London." The streets, &c. are broad and kept in such a nice condition that a pin can be picked out. It is far superior to Calcutta.

A kind of petroleum which the Chinese burn in lamps and call She-Yew or stone-oil, is distilled from some rocks near the city of Yen-gan-foo in Shensy.

Kuangtun or Canton is one of the first-class trading places. The view of the city from the river is picturesque but the cleanliness of the place is far from satisfactory. Many people reside in boats permanently. They seem to be cut off from any social connection with the city people. One may consider them altogether separate and created as such by God from the people of the land. They seem to have no connection with the townsmen. They are born in the boat and die in it. Innumerable junks manned by women can be seen floating hither and thither on the river. Some jocosely call these boats flower gardens on the water. In the evening when the lamps are lighted in these boats the scenery presented to one's eyes can better be imagined than described. In short, one can feast one's eyes on those floating flower gardens. Some gourds are attached to the children on boats to save them from being drowned. On landing we were greeted by numerous trades-people who were busy with their commodities. The name and description of goods a shopkeeper sells, are written on a board hung in front of every shop. The

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honesty of the shopkeeper is particularly mentioned in each case. We saw some Mohamedan Mosques in the city. Some old Chinese Mahomedans were introduced to us by our interpreter. They are communicative and good-tempered. They recited some Persian verses with a peculiar tone and accent, very interesting to listen to, though we could not understand a word of the same.

Hongkong is at the same latitude with that of Calcutta. It is a beautiful seaport town situated in a valley. The Peak Tram of this place is worth mentioning. It is connected by a thick electric wire chord underneath the car, being provided with electric bells. When one goes up another comes down. The electric machine room is on the top of the hill. On ascending the peak we had a full view of the city beneath. The ships at anchor seem so many jolly boats on the sea, very nice to look at. There are a hotel and Governor's summer residence on the peak. The Government garden of Hongkong is worth seeing. Just after dusk when the street lights are lit up it seems that so many stars are strewn over the hills. Really a picturesque sight.

The Chinese sea is notorious for its destructive typhoons.

Agriculture is the great pursuit of the people and supports a teeming population. Rice is the staple food and chief production of the country. Wheat and other cereals are cultivated as well but the prolific yield of rice supports relatively a greater population. Opium cultivation is largely made. There are sixty varieties of bamboo in China. Almost all the articles of every day life are made out of it. It is as essential to the Chinese as Iron is to other nations. Of its various uses I shall write in my next article in an elaborate manner. Mulberry trees are largely planted in Chekeang, which is as famous for the production of silk as Keang-nan. Close to the opulent town of Hang-chow is situated the famous lake Syhoo, about six miles in circumference. This extensive sheet of water is almost covered with junks and barges. The wellknown port of Ningpo is situated on the coast. There is a vast lake, Tongting-Hoo, in the province of Hooknang. This lake has a very bad reputation of being venomous. In point of natural scenery and climate the province of Keang-sy is the most delightful part of China. Near the mouth of the Yangtse-Kiang is situated a beautiful little island called the "Golden isle" interspersed with numerous temples of Buddha. The Royal Gardens of Kian-loong, not very far from this place, are in a deplorable state of ruin.

ASHUTOSH ROY,
Benares City.

WHY EMIGRATE?

BY SHIV NARAYAN, M.A., B.Sc., B.E.

A perusal of the statements perpetually appearing in the public press about the treatment of our countrymen abroad, raises the question, why they at all emigrate. If a long and tedious, if not actually sickening voyage, a harsh reception, contumelious and cold in the extreme, are all that they can expect, what leads them to sunder the tender ties of home and country? What prompts them to court danger and privation in place of safety and affection?

Let us take the case of the different countries to which Indians emigrate in large numbers, separately. Most of those going to Canada and the United States of America belong to the working class. They are sturdy and stout adventurous folk. Having heard of the western El Dorado from their kinsmen of the China War, who latterly proceeded to the States and returned prosperous after working there,—or from others of the present day who are able even now-a-days to make money in the islands and coast provinces of Central America, these brave young men sally forth in search of "fresh fields and pastures new," to lands they know little of, except as

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pictured in their dreams. They think, fond optimists, that the land of their destination is flowing with milk and honey, that it is endowed with treasures unthinkable, waiting only to be theirs if they are lucky enough to withstand storm and sickness on the sea. They see no reason why they should not reach where others before them have reached. They boastfully exclaim, "what man has done, man may do." Yes, if they had only themselves to take into account, but alas there are others to be dealt with, not easily appeased or controlled. The saying goes, "make hay while the sun shines." If the sun does not shine, wherewith will ye make hay, my brethren? Ye cannot make the sun to shine, if it has made up its mind not to shine. Ye cannot make the whites smile on you and offer you the right hand of affection, when they have determined to keep you at arm's length from their homes. The ignorant flock blindly undertake a trip, fraught with risks and disappointments, of which they have not the remotest idea. They may brave successfully the terrors of the flood and field, their ship may ride triumphant over the waves and land them hale and hearty on the shores of the "promised land", they may fancy the prize of their quest to be within their grasp, yet there may be "a slip betwixt the cup and the lip." There are watch-dogs at the doors, my friends, which you cannot evade. Though they bark not overmuch, look out for their bites. The doctor and the commissioner are ready at the portal to call a halt to your progress. A thousand questions you must answer, a lump sum you must produce, and above all you must be physically perfect. Have you no slight disease of the eye, ear, or limb? Come you direct from India? If not, please stay where you are, you may not enter the land of perfect beings, for fear you might spread contagion, or become a public charge, or fall a victim to the jealousy and vindictiveness of civilized labour. Bethink you, can *all* of you satisfy those whose interest it is to keep you out, by hook or by crook? Why, they will pick flaws and find faults, where none seem to exist.

But blame not these slaves of duty, though they bite. The barkers are spurring them on from behind, their bark is worse than the bite of the former. If you somehow manage to shove your way in, you have still a mighty host to harass and worry you to death. These narrow-minded agitators are harder to silence, because they know no arguments other than those of the sword or the purse. The sword you do not possess. The natives may molest you, but you have not the means to pay them back in the same coin;—not that it would be advisable to do so. And why do they deem you so obnoxious? Simply because, they firmly believe that your advent spells a diminution of their earnings. Nothing that you say or do, will shake that belief. You may be skilful, robust and steady; you may be pious, pure and manly;—none of these traits commend themselves, none avail to create fellow-feeling. Because you live cheap and are foolish enough to lay by something for hard times or to save for your family in the far distant fatherland, because you work better on lower wages, you are therefore undesirable and must be turned out. To aggravate your offence, you wear your own peculiar head-dress, you herd together, you speak your own mother-tongue and not theirs. For these crimes, and more to be invented out of fertile imaginations, you are declared to be the wickedest blackest beings that they ever came across,—and having been proved so to their satisfaction, you deserve instant deportation at the very least. In the face of this verdict, you look around in vain for a helper. Alas, none of your countrymen is in a position to rescue you, none to compel fair treatment and free residence. In your official protectors and ambassadors, you have not full confidence. God alone may help you out of the scrape you have got yourselves into. Ask Him for succour.

Our ignorant labourers are not the only ones to repair to America. Several young students who have read or heard the New World described as the Golden Land of Opportunity, and who have been ploughed or otherwise disappointed in the examinations of their student life here, betake themselves to some factory town where they hope to study and work at the same time. It is true that some men are able and fortunate enough to find employment, and thus make their way through college by means of their own earnings, but they are the exception rather than the rule. Let none take them for a safe guide. For

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one who succeeds, a dozen suffer defeat and anguish. But if such young men have some one to fall back on, they are sure to receive good treatment and profit by their stay in the land of freedom and advancement. They must, however, sail clear, and not allow themselves to be seduced by the revolutionary, who is, according to the scare-mongers, seeking an asylum in the States and making it the centre of his wild propaganda. These latter aspirants after larger powers and more rights naturally look to the United States as a model. The admiration of its heroes and devotion to its ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity as naturally induce them to make it an object of pilgrimage or a harbour of refuge from the persecution of their people and police. They manage to eke out a living somehow, because of their education, self-help and self-assertiveness. Being generally full of praise for the country of their sojourn and its natives, they do not excite hatred or envy. They are tolerated till some international trouble focusses attention on them.

Yet another class of emigrants is that of the religious missionaries. Indeed the Vedantic Swamis were the first in the field. They discovered that the *Pàtál-lók* offered a suitable ground for the promulgation of ancient Indian wisdom. They created a very favourable impression. The success of the pioneers of this unique movement in Hinduism led to the establishment of a society with branches at several places. To this day, the real swamis are a source of strength to young students in distress. Their high ideals and pious conduct keeps the name of India honourable. But it must be admitted with humiliation that some quacks, magicians, and false saints, who pose as Hindu swamis at sea-side resorts, serve to cast a slur on the fair repute and true worth of Hinduism as a religion and India as a country. These 'so-called' Hindus are, in some instances, not Hindus at all, but Mahomedans,—nay I know of some who never came from India, but hail from Morocco or Arabia. The foolish crowds who frequent such pleasure-haunts think that all Hindus are possessed of mysterious powers for evil and good, and are easily gulled by the name assumed by the charlatan thought-reader or palmister. The swamis are thus brought into disrepute, although it is to the pure and learned amongst them that we owe the friendly attitude of cultured Americans towards young Hindu students. The large majority of the Hindus and Sikhs in the States are not however of the student class, and the antagonism manifested towards them is apt to stand in the way of any Indian whatsoever obtaining rights of free citizenship.

Turning to other countries, what do we find? Are our countrymen, British subjects though they be, accorded a hearty welcome in British colonies? Alas, no,—rather the reverse. We have already seen that the Dominion of Canada has devised measures to put an effectual stop to further immigration of East Indians. Australia and its neighbours have long ago closed their doors against the ingress of any coloured men whatsoever. No Indian may enter under any circumstances, except possibly as a brief sojourner and that, too, in very special cases. As to what South Africa, that latest self-governing unit of the British Empire, has seen fit to do in the way of banishing Indians and forging new and newer fetters for such of them as have stood up for their rights and manfully dared to offer passive resistance to the inflicters of base indignities on them and through them on their brethren in India,—not one word need be said. To do so would be to cast a reflection on the patriotism and public spirit, nay even the intelligence of the reading and thinking portion of the nation. The oft-repeated tale of the trials and miseries of our gallant countrymen in Natal and the Transvaal are known to all, only too well. Yet their persecution has been a blessing in disguise in this respect at least that it has welded Hindu and Mohammedan, Jew and Christian with the enduring bonds of brotherly love and patriotic fervour. If the same end could be achieved in the Motherland, the struggle would not be entirely in vain. Their noble example of selfless devotion to the common cause of moderation in spite of provocation, and the sight they present of united brotherhood, of high spirited strenuous co-workers and co-suffering in a common battle, have evoked the admiration and respect of even the most callous and hard-

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hearted. Those who persisted in scoffing at them are now veering round to the side of their sympathisers and joining in the world-wide chorus of praise for our dauntless deportees. Such is the magical power of union and determination that pity has given place to praise. Before long, let us trust, the newly-awakened conscience of the new Union of South Africa will do ample, if tardy, justice to the demands of our brothers, who have borne degradation, deportation and defeat in a truly religious and heroic fashion. If their prayers are still unheard and they see only an aggravation of former hardships in store, Great Britain should take courage in both hands and vindicate its proud boast of being the dispenser of impartial justice to its proteges of India. Let us hope that the disgraceful chapter of recent history relating to Indian emigration to British colonies will come to a happy termination at an early date.

This differential treatment cannot fail to react adversely on the loyal and law-abiding people of India. What can be more deplorable than to be thrust from pillar to post. Failing to obtain a fair share of the good things of their own country some adventurous youths go out to other countries, preferably to those where English is spoken, in the hope of receiving a somewhat better show there; a mere handful succeeds, but the many meet with further embitterment.

"Then the few whose spirits float above the wreck of happiness
Are driven o'er the shoals of guilt or ocean of excess:
The magnet of their course is gone or only point in vain
The shore to which their shiver'd sail shall never stretch again."

His Majesty's Indian subjects are declared on the one hand to be 'equal' subjects. They are so in name only. They are, on the other hand, everywhere looked on as inferior by John Bull and in some places treated as helots, to use the word employed by Mr. Polak. It is only in non-British countries that, owing to ignorance of their antecedents or precedents and consequent absence of pre-disposed rancour or prejudice, their lot is made more tolerable, if not really pleasant.

This is surely not a spectacle to enthuse over for the people whose nobler ancestors gleefully prophesied the coming of a golden day, and beautifully portrayed the advent of the time "when the public mind of India, having been instructed in European knowledge, may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system, and in some future age demand European institutions." It was of such a day that Macaulay wrote—

"Never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history. I have no fear. The path of duty is plain before us and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour."

Could the same be said of the path taken by the colonies, and by England herself so far, in the matter of Indian emigrants?

Japan treated us brotherly in the beginning, but a large number of outsiders can't possibly settle there, as its own population is in need of accomodation and is being dumped into other countries. For this purpose the Land of the Rising Sun is casting its net around its weaker neighbours like Korea (already annexed under the cognomen of Chosen), Formosa and Manchuria. Where may the weary eye rest in looking for a quiet settling ground for our unhappy friends who desiring not to make a 'black hole' of India, break the chains of old custom, take a long farewell of their kindred, and, casting their bread on the waters, launch forth into dark and dismal regions.

It has been made abundantly clear to us that on alien shores, we can be permitted to land and abide only in the capacity of students, travellers, or tourists. The suggestion is obvious that Indians should be content with what their own land offers and not encumber other countries with their 'contemptible' presence. Why not take the hint? Why not organise industries of the same type as other countries? Why not start factories similar in size and scope to those, where we go out in search of 'jobs'? Why leave the warmth of the tropics, the free and easy life of the hamlet, the fragrant flowers and luscious fruits of Ind? Why part with kith and kin and face disgrace and destitution in strange and inhospitable lands? Why not develop the hidden resources of our own continent? Why go abroad to make the things imported here? Why not make

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them right here? Echo answers "Why not?"

It's easy enough to say but hard to tell how. How to do it, when capital is shy, discipline lacking, organization imperfect and 'expert' advice immature and misleading? Machinery might be ordered, scholars could be trained, but nothing worth speaking of can be accomplished without sound direction, proper management, implicit trust and zealous co-operation on a large scale, without able, far-seeing heads and willing earnest helpers, without wealthy patriots and wise philanthropists. A house could not be erected without bricks and mortar, and experienced masons. Who is to engineer the vast enterprises, accumulate the large funds and properly expend them? The State could do it: it has done a little. Still it is a universal experience that commercial ventures succeed and thrive better in private hands. It is for the big Zemindars and *raises* to shake off their lethargy and passivity, put away ostentation and luxury, and point the way by establishing model institutions. They should form a strong alliance with the educated middle class and make it possible for them to work on right lines, *i.e.*, to turn their attention more and more to business and industry. New modes of earning an honest livelihood must be introduced, new tracts explored, new arts encouraged and the old revived. It is on our initiative, combination and perseverance that the fate of the Swadeshi movement largely rests. All hands must push together. Let the would-be emigrants also join the ranks and put their shoulders to the wheel.

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND LIFE

Science and Culture.

THE meeting of the British Association in Sheffield, in the first week of September, seems, to my mind, to have raised in ordinary men and women with some pretensions to general culture, the very serious question, whether the advancement of science, as it is being increasingly understood and pursued by the vast majority of our present-day scientists, especially in England, is not more or less detrimental to what has hitherto been understood as liberal culture. This tendency has been observed by others also. The writer of the review of the proceedings of the Sheffield Meeting of the British Association in the columns of "The Times" has noticed it. Recalling the remark of Huxley that he had some apprehension "lest science should be crushed by the very gifts which she had demanded with such insistence from Nature", this writer says that this thought was present to many minds during the Sheffield meeting, although it may not have been formulated with any preciseness.

"There was a time, not so many years ago, when men of science could aspire to the possession of an all-round acquaintance with many, if not all, departments of natural history as it was then called. That time has gone by, and the infinite specialisation which is a leading characteristic of science to-day, is becoming more and more embarrassing to those engaged in the advancement of knowledge."

From this point of view, the Presidential address at the Sheffield Meeting was distressingly disappointing. The President, the Rev. Professor Bonney, is a distinguished geologist, and he devoted the whole of his address to a dissertation, highly able in its own way, but also at the same time, exceedingly technical, on—"The Ice Age in Western Europe." It was a subject no doubt, of considerable interest to the student of geology. An address like this would come in very appropriately in the proceedings of the special branch of the association dealing specifically with geological problems. But what one expects naturally in a Presidential Address of an Association which represents every department of modern science, is a good deal more than the presentation of a narrow and specialised theme upon a subject of very limited and specialised interest. What

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the ordinary layman wants to hear on an occasion like this, from the President of a general body of scientists, is not what a particular scientific worker may have to say in regard to any special problem, that he may have been studying, but what all the sciences combined have to say to the general intelligence and culture of their times. Are we to understand that modern science has no universal message to deliver to mankind, or whatever message it may have had, for modern humanity, has already been delivered, and the collective voice of modern science has nothing new to say to contemporary culture? If this be so, then surely Huxley's apprehensions have been realised, perhaps even more fully than he ever dreamt of.

This is the result no doubt of what the writer in "The Times" calls infinite specialisation. But why should specialisation blind the vision of the student and the scholar to a general view of things? It is the more mysterious because of the growing knowledge of the inter-relations of the different sciences. In our day it would be ignorant quackery to claim for any particular department of science the right of carrying on its own special investigations and arriving at correct conclusions regarding the particular group of experience it seeks to study, without any reference to, or helps from, other departments of human knowledge and research. There must be specialisation for the purpose of investigating and collecting the minuter details of the nature of particular phenomena. But such details have no value in scientific study and research unless they help to correct some old and partial, or to build up some new and completer generalisation. This generalisation is the very soul of all scientific work. Mere record of experience is not science. These records are merely the materials for true scientific construction. These details are no more science than a collection of bricks, and stones, and mortar, and timber, and iron joists and beams, are a building. There can be no building without these, nor can there be a science without those detailed investigations and researches with which the specialist is rightly credited. Specialisation is necessary for the advancement of science. No one would deny it. But what this excessive specialisation is practically leading to, is an increasing reglect of the wider and constructive work of reaching out to broader and broader generalisations, which means the greater and greater perfection of science.

And that seems exactly the kind of evil which Huxley foresaw. Excessive attention to details has an unfortunate tendency to starve that side of our intellect which works out broad generalisations. The quest of ultimate principles and fundamental laws is essential to the true advancement of science. The fundamental training of the intellect for great scientific work requires that the mind should always seek to rise from the consideration of particulars to the conception of the Universal. In this, science must always be a hand-maid of philosophy, and judging at least from the latest demonstration of the scientific spirit and achievements of the British Isles, held last month in Sheffield, this is a fact which appears to be very dimly apprehended by the general body of present day scientists. It was not so thirty years ago. In its very protest against the unverified and unverifiable assumptions of the prevailing metaphysics of the time, in its denial of the claims of the supersensuous and the supernatural, science in the Victorian age was forced to cultivate a broader outlook and attend to larger interests than what seems to be the habit or the tendency to-day. In proportion as the old faiths and philosophies have been accomodating themselves to the fundamental truths of modern science and have been increasingly reconciling themselves to the scientific spirit of our age, scientists have on the one hand been relieved to a very large extent of fighting what they regarded as superstitions, and have simultaneously lost interest in philosophical speculations, on the other. This is a state of things injurious equally to both the pursuit of positive science, and the advancement of speculative philosophy. When the study of the sciences ignores the speculative side of the human intellect, and the pursuit of philosophical speculations are carried on, regardless of the facts of experience as apprehended and explained by the positive sciences, both these great departments of human knowledge really lose their hold of the truth of things.

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Practically, however, in this divorce between the scientific and the speculative interests of the intellectual life, science suffers more than philosophy herself.

Science is the systematisation of experience; philosophy is the explanation of it. Both are, therefore, organically interdependent upon one another. Science deals with the contents of knowledge, philosophy seeks the meaning of this knowledge. There can be no meaning of a thing except as it is expressed in its various modes and states, and the complex relations revealed through these, and the facts of experience are meaningless, that is unintelligible, except in the light of the explanation which the mind gives of them. It is for science to correct the wrong inferences deduced by speculative philosophy from the facts of experience. It is for philosophy to correct the wrong interpretations and unwarranted generalisations which a mere positive analysis of the outer facts of experience may lead to. Both modern science and modern philosophy have to a large extent recognised this relation of inter-dependence existing between them. This is freely recognised by the highest mathematicians. This fact was emphasised at the Sheffield Meeting in the Presidential address to the Mathematical and Physical Section, by Professor E. W. Hobson, who discussed the scope and tendencies of modern mathematics.

Mathematics and Metaphysics.

Mathematics, like every other science, has its origin, said Professor Hobson, in physical experience—"analysed and clarified by the reflective activities of the human mind". This is the common ground of all science, and in this common ground we have an absolute community of interests between science and philosophy. Mathematics is admittedly related to every branch of science concerned with natural phenomena, which "when it had reached a certain stage of development, became accessible to, and had need of, mathematical methods and language." This stage has, for example, been reached in our time, as Dr. Hobson pointed out, not only by chemistry; but even biology and economics have begun to require mathematical methods. But what are the foundations of mathematics? They are, as Dr. Hobson said,—"a set of regulative ideas in the form of indefinables and axioms, partly ontological assumptions, and partly postulations of a logical character." But though from considerations of practical utility, the mathematician accepts these assumptions and postulations, the moment he tries to analyse their nature and origin, and to justify their validity, he has to go outside his own special department of knowledge and enter the domains of the metaphysician and the psychologist. And it is because of the intimate relation existing between mathematics and metaphysics, even this, admittedly the most exact of all the sciences has not been free from differences of opinion among mathematicians, concerning the validity of whole lines of reasoning, and affecting the results of such reasoning. And Dr. Hobson points out—

> As a matter of fact, variations of opinion had at various times arisen within the ranks of the mathematicians as to the nature, scope, and proper formulation of the principles which formed the foundations of the science, and the views of mathematicians in this regard had always necessarily been largely affected by the conscious or unconscious attitude of particular minds towards questions of general philosophy. It was in this region that the source was to be found of those remarkable differences of opinion amongst mathematicians, which had come into prominence at various times, and had given rise to much controversy as to fundamentals.

Science and Philosophy.

It is not mathematics alone that depends upon certain essential assumptions for carrying on its own positive researches, but every department of science has to do the same. Physics and Chemistry assume the reality of what they call material substances, and accept the general validity of the testimony of the senses of man in regard to these substances. But the value of these assumptions can only be tested by philosophy. We know absolutely nothing of what we call matter except what our senses tell us about them. The validity of all our generalisations regarding material objects and phenomena is absolutely dependent upon the validity of the testimony of our senses, and the meaning and value of sense-testimony cannot be examined and determined by either physics or chemistry, but by psychology alone. And psychology again, while

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trying to discover the modes and meaning of sense activities is impelled by its own necessity to reach out to facts, and accept assumptions, the nature of which can only be investigated and determined by metaphysics. All our senses are operative, because, behind the passing impressions they receive, there stands what is called, the unity of consciousness. It is here alone that we really reach that back-ground of permanence without which the continual flux which alone falls within the cognition of the senses, can have absolutely no meaning. To study and discover this back-ground of permanence upon which all our senses work, and thereby make our scientific generalisations possible, is the function, not strictly speaking, of psychology, but of metaphysics. No science can really work except upon the assumption of some metaphysical truth.

The Postulates of Physical Science.

The physical group of the sciences work upon three fundamental assumptions; (1) that there is an intelligible, physical order, standing outside man; (2) that there is an intelligent, mental order within man; and (3) that there is a necessary co-relation and correspondence between this outer physical and this inner mental order. Deny any of these assumptions, and the constructive theory of the material universe, which the physical group of the sciences try to build up, at once tumbles down, plinth, foundation superstructure,—all. If there is no order in the universe, science can never deduce any law out of this infinite chaos. All the facts about the regulated movements of mass discovered by astronomy or the ordered relations of matter discovered by physics or chemistry, all your mathematical and physical and chemical laws cease to have any objective basis or truth, and are at once reduced to mere figments of fancy, something that the imagination of the scientists reads into outer facts and phenomena where they do not really exist. Similarly again if the outer natural order be not co-related to, or do not correspond with the laws of our mind that is our inner mental order, it would not be intelligible to us and all our rational interpretation of natural phenomena would have absolutely no basis in reason. And if this be true, if it be impossible to have any rational interpretation of the universe, except upon the assumption that the outer natural order corresponds to the inner mental or rational order, and the mind of men can truly read in its own light the movements and relations of matter then there arises out of these very assumptions the very fundamental question of the existence of a Universal Mind, or Reason, or Intelligence, which relates in and through itself the two co-related and corresponding rational orders, which furnish the logical foundations of all scientific investigations and generalisations.

Postulates of Sociology.

As it is with the physical group of the sciences, so also with the other groups. Like physics, sociology also, of which politics and economics are subordinate divisions,—works upon a similar triple hypothesis, namely, that there is (1) an outer social order, (2) an inner ethical order, and (3) that there is a necessary co-relation and correspondence between the two. These assumptions lead irresistibly to the acceptance of a Universal Good, or Love, or Righteousness, which is progressively revealing itself through these dual channels —the outer social and the inner ethical order, and makes their natural co-relation and correspondence possible. So the ultimate analysis of the postulates of every group of the sciences continually drives us beyond the somewhat arbitrary barriers that have been raised from considerations of practical utility around them. If all that modern science says be true, then this universe is the expression of an ordered, a rational, an intelligible, relation of things, it is not a chaos but a cosmos, not a mere mechanism but essentially an organism. Every atom of matter is related to every other atom; every single movement is related to world-movements. Matter is related to mind; mind to matter. And if this be so, if the organic view of the Universe be the correct scientific view, then no particular department of science can pursue its own specific investigations practically regardless of the relations and truths discovered by the other sciences. Scientists in our age cannot, without detriment even to their own special branches of investigation and study, ignore

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the general course of speculative philosophy of their time any more than can the philosopher, without seriously crippling his own speculations, neglect to take note of the relation of the positive sciences of his time. No philosopher in our age, has, I think, been guilty of this neglect. This is more than what can be claimed, I am afraid, for the general run of the scientists. And this neglect of the speculative side of culture is largely responsible for the prevailing empiricism of the political and the economic thought of modern Europe and more particularly of England.

Economics in the British Association.

The question of *End* is not at all vital to the physical group of the sciences. In the first place, it is impossible to discover the ultimate end of physical phenomena. The scientist can only discover the relations of phenomena, but what is that which all these ordered relations of the outer universe are seeking to bring about, is not an object of his investigations. That investigation belongs legitimately, if it belongs to any department of knowledge, to metaphysics alone. But the sociologist, including the economist and the politician, stands on a very different plane. The object of the physical group of the sciences is to discover truth—what is. The sociologist practically denies his high vocation if he follows the lead of the physicist and does not go beyond that which merely is in social life and phenomena. His object is not merely the discovery of truth, but specially the promotion of goodness. His function is not merely to investigate and know the relations of social life and phenomena as they are, but in the light of this knowledge to discover the means by which these social relations and phenomena may be helped to be what they ought to be. Physics, and chemistry, and astronomy, and biology, all these seek to know the realities of things. In these departments of human knowledge, to know the reality is a sufficient end unto itself. But in sociology, mere knowledge of actual social conditions and laws is not all, in fact, is hardly of any value at all, except as a help to the discovery of the means and methods by which some social ideal may be realised. Economics and statistics have their value not in themselves, but in the help they render to improve the condition of man as a social unit. Here, man himself is the end. We do not know what the ultimate end is towards which the movement of the material universe may be advancing. But we do know or at least we assume that we know the ultimate end of social evolution. Man here is both the instrument and the end of evolution. The perfection of man is the end which the social laws are clearly reaching out to. Sociological investigations, the promulgation of political and economic theories, must be guided, if they are to deserve any consideration, by this regulative end. Yet, strange to say, the consideration of man as a man, the view of man as an organic whole, has received but scant attention from the politician and the economist. The divorce between philosophy and science, detrimental as it undoubtedly is, even in the domain of the physical group of the sciences, to the progress of true culture, is absolutely fatal in the psychological group. Neither ethics nor aesthetics can afford to neglect philosophic speculations without killing themselves. All the empiricism of modern European politics and economics is entirely due to this divorce. Politics looks upon man as a mere factor in the mechanism of the State, and economics views him practically as a factor in the mechanism of the production of commodity. In politics, he is a voter; how he will vote under particular conditions is the main question before the political thinker here. Even the so-called psychological politics, which, in spite of its high-sounding pretensions, is after all, a very poor thing indeed, seeks the help of psychology simply with a view to discover the probabilities of Parliamentary elections under different conditions. That politics has a necessary ethical end unto itself, and that the object of political science is to discover the laws of political life and movements, with a view to guide and control them for the realisation of that ultimate ethical end, is a thing that rarely enters into the consideration of the ordinary political thinker. So it is with economics. The economist concerns himself almost exclusively with questions concerning the production and distribution of commodity.

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Man, to him, is valuable only so far as he produces some commodity, either through contributing his capital or his trained intelligence, or inventive powers, or his personal labour, to the general scheme of production. And this limited and essentially vulgar view of the sociological sciences, is entirely responsible for all the empiricism and quackery that largely characterise ordinary social investigations in Europe. To some people, at least, even the Presidential address to the Economic Section of the British Association Meeting at Sheffield, will perhaps appear to be not altogether free from these deficiencies.

London. E. WILLIS.

PLANT SOCIETY

INSTANCES of saprophytic* relationship of a higher plant with a lower one are well known. Many leguminous plants foster bacteria to the mutual advantage of both. A few instances of saprophytic relationships of higher plants are known. But it is doubtful whether this relationship is exactly of equal advantage to both the parties. In the relationship of the Misseltoe with other plants the advantage seems to be more on the side of the Misseltoe.

When a large number of plants are found to live together, as in a bush or in a forest, it is customary among naturalists to suppose that the individual plants are in a state of constant warfare. They are fighting with each other for the possession of the soil, the air and the light, and eventually, the fittest survive.

A very simple event which I shall relate later, brought it to my mind that a plant society is not unlike human society. The individuals in a community may fight with one other but they also render mutual help to a considerable extent. Much in the same way the plants though they may fight with each other in the bush for gaining individual advantages seem to get on well owing to the very fact of remaining crowded together.

I tried to raise some plants in pots on the terrace of a house in Calcutta. For a month my attempts to raise seedlings from seeds failed. There were plenty of sparrows near about the house; it was found that as soon as the seedlings came up the sparrows either devoured them or destroyed them. Later on bigger plants were planted in the pots. In this case also a number of these plants were destroyed by the sparrows. They devoured the leaves and buds of two marigold plants. One of these was pretty big and in their attempt to eat its leaves they broke its branches and the plant died quickly. In some other cases they would eat the young buds only. As soon as the buds came out they were eaten up. In some other cases (*e.g.*, ocimum sanctum) the sparrows would simply bite a piece of the bud (probably they wanted to taste it); although they did not relish the leaves of ocimum sanctum they kept on successfully preventing its growth in this manner. They, however, left untouched a number of other plants *e.g.*, euphorbia antiquorum, polyanthus tuberosa, coleus aromaticus, belamcand chinensis, jasminum sambac, passiflora foetida, vitis quadrangularis, nerium odorum and gardenia florida.

In order to save the weaker plants from the ravages of the sparrows, I hit upon a plan which succeeded very well. I placed the flowerpots so close together that the plants almost touched one other, and found that most of the weaker plants escaped molestation by the sparrows. The reason for this was, I believe, that the sparrows failed to distinguish the different plants when they were kept together. They would fight shy of touching any plants in that crowd, owing most probably to an unpleasant experience of having tasted some bitter leaves. Thus it seems that the weaker plants by keeping together succeeded in saving their lives. The same must take place in nature on a large scale.

* Relating to plants that grow on decaying vegetable matter.

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During a period of drought in summer, I found that the plants can withstand the desiccating influence of drought much better when they are kept together than when they are kept isolated.

The plants derive the following advantages by living in company:—

(1) They get protection from grazing animals by being in company of poisonous, spiny, bitter or bad-smelling plants.

(2) In a bush the seedlings have lesser chance of being crushed to death by animals.

(3) A twining plant can get hold of a support very easily in a bush. The supporting plant is not always without its share of advantage as it is not improbable that the twiner may form a network which prevents an animal from getting into the bush. Any peculiarity on the part of the twiner, *e.g.*, poisonous character or bitterness of leaves, will also confer a certain degree of immunity to the supporting plant.

(4) In a bush the plants on the border bear the brunt of foreign invasion. Some of them may be killed by animals but the plants in the interior of the bush will remain safe.

(5) Some seeds germinate very readily in a bush, owing to the abundance of moisture and uniformity of warmth.

(6) During periods of drought plants in a bush fare much better than their isolated neighbours in the fields. The cause of this is not difficult to find out. The air in the bush being comparatively cooler and better saturated with water vapour than the air in the open fields, owing to the evaporation of water vapour from a large number of plants, evaporation from individual plants in a bush must be much less than from isolated plants surrounded by dry and hot air in the open field.

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CURRENT LITERATURE: ENGLISH AND AMERICAN MAGAZINES

(OCTOBER).

THE REVOLT OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

THE demand of the Labour Party for a new law authorising the Trade Unions to spend their funds for the purpose of maintaining Parliamentary representation of the labour interest, has given rise to a considerable discussion in the periodical press. Next to the veto of the House of Lords, this promises to become the most important political issue in this country in the immediate future. This question has been raised by what is known as the Osborne Judgment, which is discussed at considerable length in this month's *Nineteenth Century and After*, by Mr. Harold Cox. Mr. Cox is a Liberal politician, and some of your readers may possibly remember him as one-time Professor of Mathematics in Aligarh College.

THE OSBORNE CASE.

The facts of this case are briefly these: The plaintiff in this case was a Railway Porter, Mr. Osborne, who is a member of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. The defendants were that Society. Mr. Osborne's complaint was against the use of the funds of his Society, to which he contributed, for purposes of Parliamentary representation. The courts gave decision in favour of Mr. Osborne. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants appealed against this decision to the House of lords. The appeal was heard last December (1909) by five Law Lords, who unanimously upheld the decision of the lower courts. As a result of this case, it is illegal now to use the funds of any Trade Union organisation for purposes of Parliamentary

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representation. And the Labour Party is, thus, placed in an exceedingly difficult position. As a working men's Party, it is exceedingly poor. Yet Political and Parliamentary work in this country is a very costly business. So long the Labour Party was very largely supported by Trade Union funds. If it is denied this support then it will have to depend entirely upon voluntary contributions for financing its work. And these subscriptions, says. Mr. Harold Cox, have been found by experience, to be very meagre and will be absolutely inadequate to meet the needs of the Party. This sufficiently explains the revolt of the Labour Party against this decision.

Trade Union and Politics.

The Osborne case came up only a couple of years ago. But for a long time past, Trade Union funds had been employed for Parliamentary work. So early as 1874, Mr. Burt was sent to Parliament with the aid of Trade Union funds. But there was no Labour Party, with a definite programme and policy then in British politics. Mr. Burt was a representative of the working class. He has sat, however, as a Liberal in the House of Commons since 1874. Other repesentatives of the working classes, "who have earned, as he has done, the respect of all parties, have received without question similar assistance. But in those days working men were anxious to have their own representatives in Parliament and as the Liberals were the only party who helped them to it, these representatives happened practically to be confined exclusively to the Liberal ranks. But things have changed since then. A new Party has grown up. It is a recognised third party in British politics. It has its creed, its laws and regulations and as a new and young party it had to demand rigid adherence to party-discipline. Of course, there might have been conservative trade-unionists whose contributions went to support Liberal members. But says Mr. Cox, though strictly speaking it was unfair, "no complaint was made on this score because in practice the members so maintained were not bigoted political partisans and respected the tradition that trade unions were non-political. But—

The whole situation was changed by the establishment seven or eight years ago of a system which substituted the dictation of a political party for the representation of trade-unionists. Under the constitution of the Labour Representation Committee, which has now become the Labour Party, funds supplied by the trade-unions could be, and have been, spent in the maintenance of members of Parliament who were not trade-unionists and were not required to represent the special interests of trade-unionists. All they were required to do was to obey the orders of a political party, led by men of whom some were not trade-unionists nor even members of what is known as the working class. There is here a difference, not of degree but of principle, which is amply sufficient to explain the revolt within the trade-union ranks against the Parlimentary levy.

All this is plausible enough. It does seem wrong that Conservative or Liberal trade-unionists should be forced to maintain members in Parliament with whose views they do not sympathise. But this is the common grievance of all minorities. What is there to prevent the Conservatives, if they can capture a few Trade Unions, to demand a Parliamentary levy from them to support a workingman Conservative in the House of Commons. The thing is impossible because in every Trade-Union there is an absolute preponderance of Labourites and Socialists over every other class of politicians. It is a case of the tyranny of the majority. But this tyranny is an inevitable incident of all organised and co-operative work. Morally it would be as wrong to compel a Conservative tax-payer to maintain a Liberal Cabinet with his contributions to the public exchequer as it is to compel a non-labourite or non-socialist trade-unionist to maintain a member of these parties of schools in Parliament with his contributions. There are inevitable instances of injustice to which we must submit. That which stands behind the Osborne Case is, really, not a moral protest but a pure Party-manœuvre to weaken a growing political rival. It is the dread of the Socialist which has actuated this protest. The Judges are perhaps right in their decision. But this decision has been forced from them by people who are ranged against the principles and policy of the Labour Party. Indeed, Mr. Harold Cox clearly shows this in this article, as the following rather lengthy extract will show :—

After stating how the Labour Representation Committee, which has since developed into the Labour Party, owed its origin, at

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the Trade Union Congress of 1899, to the action of the very Society of which Mr. Osborne is a member, Mr. Cox, with familiar irony expresses "a word of appreciation of the extraordinary skill displayed by the Socialists of the Fabian Society and of the Independent Labour Party in *capturing* the trade unions." The italics are mine. And this one word shows the gravamen of the offence of the Labourites and Socialists, in the eye of the writer, who proceeds to say that—

> Only those behind the scenes can tell the full story of this remarkable piece of successful wire-pulling, but it may be stated generally that the Socialists in the trade unions form an organisation within an organisation. They know one another, and they have learnt, like good football players, how to pass the ball. If any vacancy occurs on the committee of a trade union branch, one of the Socialists present at the branch meeting will recommend another Socialist for the post, and, failing competition, he will be elected without question. In the same way, when the branch is electing delegates to the annual meeting, the Socialists, in the absence of organised opposition, secure the election of their candidates without difficulty. In this manner, by regularly attending meetings and by constantly playing into one another's hands, they have gained control both of the branches and of the headquarters of most of the unions. * * *
>
> So far as the present issue is concerned, the Socialist policy has been, first, to capture by persistent log-rolling and wire-pulling the machinery of the trade unions, and then to use that machinery, not only to supply them with funds, but to crush out all resistance among the simpler-minded working men who constitute the great body of trade unionists. In the execution of this policy Socialists have had the wisdom to proceed gradually. They did not attempt to put on the bit until they had their mount so well under control that there was little fear of his bolting. The Labour Representation Conference of 1900, though it created the machinery for the political dictation since established, contained no threat of the coming tyranny. Trade unionists of the older type co-operated unsuspectingly with avowed Socialists, in the belief that nothing more was contemplated than an increase in the number of Labour representatives on the lines previously followed. It is significant that one of the members of the first Labour Representation Committee was Mr. Richard Bell, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, whose subsequent treatment by the Socialists was a principal cause of the Osborne Judgment. At the meeting of the Executive Committee of that Society immediately after the formation of the Labour Representation Committee, Mr. Bell's position was considered, and it was decided unanimously that the proposals of the Labour Representation Conference were 'sufficiently wide to allow Mr. Bell to accept the conditions contained therein' without violating the principle previously laid down by the Society of Railway Servants, namely that if elected to Parliament he must be 'independent of either Political Party.'

These extracts are sufficient to indicate the inwardness of the Osborne Case. The whole agitation here has been clearly got up and is being cleverly manipulated by Conservative and Liberal wire-pullers to weaken and if possible to starve out the growing Labour and Socialist Party in British politics. The latter fully recognise it, and are, therefore, prepared to fight it out to a finish, let what the cost of it may be.

The Misgovernment of Egypt.

Dr. Alfred J. Butler, a writer of some repute on Egyptian history and life, has an article under the above heading in the current *Nineteenth Century*, which furnishes valuable materials to the student of what may be called psychological politics. The writer is a rank enemy of the Egyptian Nationalists, and openly lends his support to the late-President of the United States in his denunciation of the present weakened policy of the British Government in that country. He repeats the Rooseveltian prescription—"Govern or go." But as they are not prepared to "go", they must "govern". But no permanent improvement is possible while Sir Eldon Gorst is British Agent in Egypt. And Sir Eldon's great crime is that he "has perfected the confidence of his British subordinates in Egypt", and "has never won the confidence or even the respect of the natives." The antethesis between "confidence" and "respect" is superb and shows the character of the writer beautifully. What Egypt wants is a strong personality. He recognizes "the ferment of new ideas", but these are mere intellectual concepts, shallow, borrowed, rootless imitative. "The fact is", we are told not for the first time, by the ruling classes here, that "both popular education and popular government of the Western kind are wholly alien to the spirit of Eastern civilisation." The Orientals are unfit for self-government. But "the danger" lies not only in this unfitness of Oriental peoples, but also "in the unfitness of a democratic Government like our own to control Oriental peoples." And the writer asks his nation, therefore, to

> "be honest enough to proclaim and act on the truth—that the question of self-government for Egypt lies beyond the horizon of practical politics. And, above all, let us have done with cant. Sir Eldon Gorst in his last report after admitting 'the general want of confidence in the intentions of the occupying Power

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which prevails among the unofficial upper and middle classes in this country, and causes every proposal brought forward by the Government to be viewed in a hostile spirit," goes on to say:

Want of sufficient knowledge and inherent mistrust appear to put insuperable obstacle in the way of the population comprehending that the British Government are actuated by disinterested motives in the exercise of their control over the affairs of the country; and the unrestrained criticism of a few individuals, based on the assumption that Great Britian should occupy Egypt for her own benefit, is not only in itself unedifying, but sets an exceedingly bad example to those in whom we are endeavouring to encourage the good old fashioned virtue of respect for authority. In spite of these difficulties, the only sound course, in my opinion, is to preserve on the lines already laid down, namely, that British intervention in the affairs of this country is directed to the sole end of introducing and maintaining good administration and gradually educating and accustoming the Egyptians to carry this on for themselves. The Englishmen engaged in this task must possess themselves in patience, in the hope that time will clear away misunderstandings, and that in the end all classes of the community, European and Egyptian, will recognize that British policy in Egypt in no way differs from that followed by Great Britian all over the world towards countries under her influence, namely, to place before all else the welfare of their populations.

Now this is just the kind of statement that gives us a reputation for canting hypocrisy. We did not occupy Egypt in a spirit of quixotic knight-errantry; and as long as we pretend that we are there for the good of Egypt only, there is no answer to the retort that the Egyptians would prefer our departure to our presence. The truth is that while we should administer the country for the good of the people to the utmost of our power, yet British control of Egypt is of paramount importance to the British Empire—indeed, of importance so paramount that it must be retained even at the cost of war. The open acknowledgment of this fact and the direction of our policy: in accordance with it will go far to still the unrest in Egypt; for it is much more likely to clear away misunderstandings than the continued profession of purely disinterested motives and it will win at least the respect due to clear intentions and plain, straightforward language. But that policy can, and must, be carried out in a friendly and sympathetic spirit and above all in a spirit of justice and impartiality to all classes and creeds among the population.

By the bye, the fond delusion that orientals are unfit for self-government has been exposed by India (London, September 1910) in the following leader on

ORIENTALS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Balfour's statement in Parliament some time ago to the effect that self-government is and always has been unknown in the Eastern world was handled rather severely at the time—by Mr. J. M. Robertson, M. P., among others. A further exposure of the absurd delusion is made in the August number of that excellent Calcutta periodical, the "Modern Review." Nothing could be more striking than the extracts which are there given from recognised authorities, whose knowledge of their subject was as great as Mr. Balfour's is limited.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, for example, is quoted in reference to the ancient polity of the Afghans, who, we are told, exulted "in the free spirit of their institutions," under which each tribe had a government of its own, and constituted a complete commonwealth within itself. In most of these, says Elphinstone, the Khans could levy no taxes, and could take no public action without the consent of the elected Malliks, who were obliged in their turn to obtain the consent of their divisions. With regard to the Vedic period in India, the "Modern Review" quotes Dr. Bhandarkar, the eminent scholar of Western India, as saying: "The Indian Aryans had, like their European brethren, the rudiments of free political institutions," though he admits that those institutions did not develop, probably owing to the attitude of the conquering Aryas towards indigenous races.

Similar evidence is cited in proof of the prevalence of self-government in the Buddhist period. Dr. Hoernle in a paper read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, defined the state in which the founder of Jainism was born as an oligarchic republic, its government being vested in a senate composed of the heads of the resident Kshatriya clans. In his "Early History of India," Mr. Vincent Smith describes the republics of the Punjab, Eastern Rajputana, and elsewhere, while Professor Rhys Davids gives a remarkable account of the self-governing institutions which existed in India during the rise of the Buddhist empire. He states the fact most interesting, as he rightly says, from the comparative point of view—that the earliest Buddhist records reveal the survival, "side by side with more or less powerful monarchies, of republics with either complete or modified independence."

Mr. Balfour, we imagine, would not contend that his dictum was based upon any considerable historical inquiry; but if he is inclined to be so bold he might find a partial excuse for his view in the remark by Professor Rhys Davids that "this important factor in the social condition of India in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. has remained hitherto unnoticed by scholars either in Europe or in India." However this may be, the examples quoted by the "Modern Review" should suffice to upset once for all his complacent theory that absolute despotism is the ideal government for Oriental peoples. The "Empire" holds the view, we see, that it hardly requires this eye-opener to "down" the old notions about the inherent inability of certain races to govern themselves. But there will still be many who, in blind defiance of the facts which show that there is no other country, ancient or modern, where democracy has prevailed for a longer period, will continue to assert that "what the Oriental wants is a master," and when we ask why he should want one any more than Western peoples, we shall be told as before, that it is the nature of the beast, and there is an end of it.

THE HONGKONG UNIVERSITY.

There is only one more article of general interest in the current *Nineteenth Century* and it deals with the proposal to establish

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a modern university in Hongkong. Hongkong is a British Crown Colony and the writer prefers the claims of this new project to the generous support of the British public on "Imperial" grounds. Japan has for many years past been trying to secure the intellectual leadership of China. Intellectual leadership promises in modern history to gradually become a great political and commercial assett also in international dealings. The idea at the back of this new movement is clearly to help England to get in touch with the awakening consciousness of the Chinese people. The Chinese "unrest" is a thing of great import in modern world-politics; and yet "none does aught either to arrest or to direct its action"—says the writer in the *Nineteenth Century*.

Nations are actuated neither by motives of evangelism nor of philanthropy, but it is not consonant with the traditions of Englishmen to stand aside and refuse secular help to 'a nation rightly struggling to be free' from the trammels of ignorance and superstition. It is the pride of ignorance which to-day prevents the Chinese from benefiting, as the Japanese have benefited, by the scientific knowledge of the West. To-morrow, when this phase of prejudice is past, China will recognise the debt she owes to those who have assisted her, while respecting her present prejudices, to gain the knowledge she desires. What England has done for India and for Egypt in mitigation of famine, by introducing railways which can carry food to stricken districts, and by remedying a deficient rainfall by irrigation; what she has done in arresting germ-borne disease (plague, malaria, cholera, and small-pox) by medical science, she can help China to do for herself; and she can mitigate her poverty by teaching her how to develop her unrivalled mineral and agricultural resources. And in doing so she will strengthen the bonds of friendship both now and hereafter, and reap a material reward in the development of the future. These are legitimate ambitions, whether to the philanthropist or to the merchant: nor will the movement and aspirations of a vast nation be checked or altered merely by a lack of sympathy on our part. It is better to help than to stand by as an apathetic spectator.

And the constitution of the new University will be made such as will include in its governing body a few of the highest and most experienced of the Colonial officials, will ensure continuity of policy and ripe judgment in matters connected with its relation to China and to local schools and institutions, apart from the more technical educational questions, upon which the Senate will be best qualified to advise.

The Governor will be President of the Court, and the Governor-in-Council will exercise a right of veto, so that a sufficient degree of Government control will be exercised without infringing upon the status of the University as a self-governing institution. Nor is the project open to the charge of thrusting a higher education upon a people not yet sufficiently advanced to avail themselves of it.

Of Indian Interest.

The only article of any Indian interest in the current *Nineteenth Century* is one from Sir Andrew Fraser, which has nothing new or illuminating to say on the subject it deals with, and it would have not found a place in the *Review* if the writer had not been in a high official position in the country whose complex problems he essays to discuss. I will not burden your pages by quoting Sir Andrew's commonplace futilities.

OCTOBER "BLACKWOOD'S."

Indian Civil Service.

There is an article of some historical worth and of interest to the student of the birth and growth of the public service in British India, in this Magazine, from Mr. G. W. Forrest, one time Director of Government Records and head of the Imperial Library in Calcutta. The concluding lines of this article are of general interest and may well be quoted here:—

The peace and good order of the social fabric of a vast continent depend on the maintenance of British rule in India, and the permanence of that rule mainly depends on a small, efficient European executive. How small it is few persons realise. The Indian Civil Service, which supplies the necessary instruments for obtaining the benefits of secure property and protected life over every region of a great empire, comprises little more than twelve hundred persons. The natives can enter that Service by the open road of competition. Many have joined the Indian Civil Service, and the highest posts are open to them. A native civilian is now a member of the Indian Council. The suggestions we have put forward for the future recruiting of the Service will still leave the road by competition open to them. The Government of India should also have the power to nominate every year a certain number of natives who have taken the highest degrees at our Indian universities, and they should be sent to the Imperial College at Oxford at the cost of the State. The Hindu politician demands that a simultaneous examination for the Indian Civil Service should be held in London and in India, but this would tend to destory the English character of the examination—meant to test, not Oriental, but English qualifications,—and it would chiefly benefit the class and race to which the politician belongs. The important question at the present time is not the conciliation of the Hindu politician, but how to sufficiently reward those native officials who have rendered us loyal service at a critical time. If you employ a native in a responsible office, usually held by a European, you ought to give him the status and salary of a European. It is to the men who have proved them-

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loyalty in the Provincial Service that we must give free access to the higher administrative functions. But while we behave honestly and generously to the Indian officials who support our name and ascendancy, we must never hesitate to declare boldly that a permanent English official element is necessary to secure an administration which will make manifest to the masses our supremacy, promote their prosperity, and confer on the most humble native of whatever despised race or caste, the justice, humanity, and civic privileges of British rule. England has undertaken this noble work, and stands pledged by the Great Proclamation to perform it. If, however, we disown our moral right to rule India, if we pursue a policy calculated to discourage friends and give confidence to enemies, we are certain to produce another great catastrophe.

The October Fortnightly,

The place of honour in this Magazine is given this month to a consideration of British Naval Defence, which though of very great interest to the British people and the British Dominions generally, have nothing really to attract or instruct the general reader. There are two articles on

American Economics and Politics,

which are, however, likely to appeal to the general reader. The former of these by Politicus, deals with the economic condition of the American working man. It is written from the standpoint of the British Tariff-reformer and the writer tries to disprove the contention of the British Free-trader that the high Tariffs in the United States are leading to endless misery and economic decadence among the poorer working classes in America. Statistics are in a matter of this kind exceedingly misleading. The Statistician deals in averages and averages are very deceptive proofs of almost any fact concerning the individuals whose effects or earnings or savings or any other things are utilised to work these averages up. With this warning, I may quote here the concluding paragraphs of this interesting article.

Those who wish to prove that the British workers, who enjoy the blessings of Free Trade and of the nominally cheap loaf, are more prosperous than the American workers who "groan" under Protection, have only one argument left. They can say: "Appearances are deceptive. The American workers seem more prosperous because they spend their money more freely than the British workers, who put by in the form of savings money which the American workers spend on the costlier kinds of food, tobacco, and various luxuries." Unfortunately, that assertion is contradicted by fact. The American workers not only earn more and spend more, but also save more than the British workers.

Savings Banks Deposits.

	In the United States.	In the United Kingdom.
1880 ...	£163,821,395 ...	£77,721,084
1890 ...	310,004,791 ...	111,285,359
1900 ...	477,943,991 ...	187,005,562
1907 ...	699,082,015 ...	209,653,672
Increase 1880-1907	+ £535,260,620	+ £131,932,588

In 1907 the deposits in the American savings banks were $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as large as those in the British savings banks. Between 1880 and 1907 the former increased by £535,000,000, and the latter by only £132,000,000. The comparison of British with American savings banks deposits is very unfair to the United States. The American workers have greater facilities for buying land and houses than have the British workers. They invest their savings in real estate throughout the United States, except in the old and densely-settled States in which large towns abound, such as New York and Massachusetts, because in these real estate has become too dear. Densely-populated and industrial New York State and Massachusetts resemble most closely Great Britain. We can, therefore, obtain a more correct view of the state of popular savings in the two countries by comparing the savings banks deposits in commercial and industrial New York State or of industrial Massachusetts with those of Great Britain. Such a comparison yields the followiug surprising result:—

	Deposits in savings Banks in the state of New York (8,000,000 inhabitants)	Deposits in savings Banks in United Kingdom (44,000,000 inhabitants.)
1895 ...	£128,774,715 ...	£143,181,656
1900 ...	184,416,319 ...	187,005,562
1905 ...	222,179,452 ...	204,834,756
1907 ...	278,859,207 ...	209,694,077
Increase 1905-07	+ £56,679,755 ...	+ £4,859,321

The foregoing figures are startling. They show that the 8,000,000 inhabitants of the State of New York have a considerably larger sum in the savings banks than have the 44,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom. Between 1905 and 1907 the savings of the people of New York State increased by £57,000,000, whilst those of the people of the United Kingdom increased by only £5,000,000. During these two years the 8,000,000 people of New York saved almost 12 times as much as the 44,000,000 people of the United Kingdom, and per head of population their savings were therefore sixty times as large as were those of Great Britain. Massachusetts, the American Lancashire, has 3,400,000 inhabitants. It had in 1907 £136,816,200 in the savings banks. Per head of population, the savings banks deposits were therefore in 1907 as follows:—

New York State ...	£35 0s. 0d.	per head of population.
Massachusetts ...	40 0s. 0d.	,, ,,
United Kingdom ...	4 15s. 0d.	,, ,,

The various tests applied to production and consumption, to wages and savings, confirm each other They show a marvellous industrial expansion in the

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United States, and an alarming industrial decline in Great Britain. They show conclusively that the British working man is ill-employed, ill-paid, and poor, if compared with his exceedingly prosperous American colleague.

The next article is headed

THE CONFESSION OF AMERICAN POLITICS,

and is a review of the recent recrudescence of Mr. Roosevelt in the political life of the States. Having referred to the reception that the ex-President received upon his arrival home, and his gradual return to political activities, the writer sums up Mr. Roosevelt's triumphal progress through the "West." This tour, he rightly says,

eclipsed in dramatic excitement and popular fervour everything that had preceded it. When one reads of the overpowering demonstrations of affection and devotion with which he was everywhere greeted, of entire States turning out to welcome him, of men and women gathering by the hundreds in the rain at the dead of night, meerly to cheer the train that bore him past, of the frenzied applause that punctuated all his speeches, one may doubt whether any man of our time has ever been honoured with so magnificent a tribute. The special correspondents who accompanied him all agreed that the spirit of the cheering crowds was something very different from the spirit in which, for instance, Mr. Bryan was hailed when he first burst upon the stage of national politics. They were not there to hear a resplendent orator or to honour a national "hero" in some transient ebullition of emotionalism. They were there to greet, in the first place, one whom they felt to be above all things their friend, their champion, their one bulwark of defence against privilege and dishonesty, their leader in the troublous times of the past, their leader in the yet more troublous times that lie ahead in the future. There was little or nothing of mere partisanship in there reception. It was rather an instinctive and irresistable response from the heart an d conscience of the "common people" to a man whose actions and character had endeared himself to their affections; and whose propaganda had touched and stirred their sense of civic and national morality. For all the boisterousness and easy familiarity that mark his tour, there was something in it of an almost revivalist intensity. It was more than a round of political speechmaking; it had something of the aspects of a religious crusade, and of a crusade such as only America could be the scene of. I rate Mr. Roosevelt's capacity for platitudes at least as highly as he does himself, and I neither hoped nor expected that Europe would cure him. But I confess that until I read his speeches of the past few weeks I had not accurately measured the abundance of his flow of commonplace, or the quite superhuman vigour with which we could thump the cushions of his political pulpit. "I always insist upon absolute honesty and, in the second place, upon obedience to law." "I stand for the poor man until he does something that is wrong." "I will not stand for any man if he is wrong, rich or poor." "If the rich man strives to use his wealth to destroy others, I will 'cinch' him, if I can." "I shall insist upon honesty and I shall insist upon it whether it is the biggest industry in the land." "I shall insist upon order under all circumstances." "I am against the corporation when it does wrong." "I am against the mob when it resorts to violence." "I will attack a poor man if he is crooked, and I will attack a rich man if he is crooked. I will attack the rich man more strongly, because he has abused his advantage." After many columns of such declarations as these, a feeling of repletion undeniably sets in, if one chances to belong to the sophisticated older world. But the masses of Americans take to such pronouncements with a meek avidity, and an unconsciousness that they are not the last word in human wisdom, impossible to surpass. Moreover, they know that Mr. Roosevelt means what he says, and will do what he promises. Almost all Transatlantic politics are comprised in a perennially pathetic search for honesty. In Mr. Roosevelt the bulk of the people feel by instinct that they have found what they are always looking for. That is what makes him the power he is. That is what gives to his moralities and homilies the force of revelation. That is what made his audiences on his Western tour listen to him as to a second Messiah.

MODERN BRITISH JOURNALISM.

(Contemporary)

The place of honour in the October Contemporary is naturally given to the late Holman Hunt, the father and "grandfather" of pre-Republican in modern English art, some reminiscences of whom are recorded by Mr. W. M. Rossetti, a brother of Dante Gabriel Rossetti who belonged to the same school of modern English art of which Hunt was a leading spirit. But this article has only a special interest for the student of nineteenth century British art. The two most interesting articles in this number to the general non-British readers are (1) on the Modern Press and its Public, by Mr. H. W. Massingham, editor of the *Nation*, and (2) on Spiritualism—"Can Telepathy Explain All?"—by Mr. W. T. Stead of the *Review of Reviews*. Mr. Massingham's article is exceedingly suggestive as showing the character and trend of present day journalism in Europe and America and specially in England. Mr. Massingham has to admit that the newspaper has practically ceased to be a teacher of the people, and developed into a thoroughly commercial venture contrasting the new with the old type of journalism. The writer says :—

Generally speaking, it may be said that the most modern kind of newspaper is more thoroughly commercial in tone, and that its interior organisation corresponds more closely in every department to that of a shop or a factory than the older prints, which

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profess most distinctly intellectual aims, and content themselves, in the main with Liberal or Conservative, Unionist or Home Rule readers. But the earlier kind though conventional and narrow, was often thoroughly sincere, and was served by a type of journalist who generally wrote as he thought. The newer is at once freer and more sceptical in tone, more independent, but much less serious. It is imitative, not aiming at general effects and eschewing forms of production that can be called artistic, but with a conscious and very well-directed object of satisfying common modes of taste, feeling and opinion.

It is clear that an appeal of this kind to the emotional prejudices of great masses of people who think, as it were, through their eyes, requires an entirely different set of newspaper. The reflective political essay in the shape of the leader must, as I have said, either disappear or be much shortened. The sharp separation between the literary and the news-gathering staff must also be modified.

The function of the head of the organisation will be to present everyday some new pictorial arrangement of the surface life of man. Its salient feature will not often be of permanent importance, the effect to be aimed at must be sharp, shallow impression made on the fancy of the newspaper's huge clientile, to be removed at the first hint of satiety or the first call to a profitable change of subject. Such machinery is repugnant to the notion of special intellectual training. Any alert and observant man can work it, and amuse himself with it. It presupposes, indeed, one gift more than any other, namely, a faculty for thinking out the kind of appeal that will just last out an election or yield interesting material for half a dozen issues.

We have therefore to deal chiefly with a journalism whose main end is to amuse, based on the broad purpose of "giving the people what they want," giving, that is to say, to a race of hard but not highly educated workers larger imaginative horizons than Peckham or Camberwell afford, appealing to their physical weariness and pre-occupation, their mental and moral confession about life and its puzzling or darkly coloured issues.

N. H. D.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N.B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space. We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

Did the Buddhist Jatakas Precede the Ramayana.

By Sardar Madhao Rao V. Kibe Saheb, M.A.

From the remarks of "Chronos," in the October number of the Modern Review, on the subject of the Ramayana, it appears that he is ignorant of most of the literature on the subject. In his article headed "The Ramayana in the (?) Buddhist Jatakas" he endeavours to restate the theory put forth by Weber that the Ramayana of Valmiki may be an amplification of the Buddhist Jatakas, especially the one called Dasaratha Jataka, as well as it may have borrowed some episodes from the epic of Homer. It was hoped that the reasoned argument of the late Mr. Justice Telang had shown the baselessness of Weber's conjecture. Jacobi of Bonu, who has written the most authoritative work on Valmiki's epic, has also adduced many other arguments proving the same thing. For Indian readers Mr. Vaidya's book* noted below, gives all that there is worth knowing about the Ramayana. It is therefore disappointing to find a writer harping upon an exploded hypothesis in a leading magazine in the year of grace, 1910.

There are three kinds of arguments which show that the story in the Jatakas is more likely to be a partial narration of the story which forms the basis of the present edition of Valmiki's Ramayana.

There is internal evidence to show that the story in the Jatakas contains a greater element of the marvellous, and grotesque, which are regarded by scholars as a sign of comparative modernity, than what is to be found in the basic story of the Ramayana. It is said in the Jataka that the shoes of Rama, which Bharata brought back with him, when the former refused to return to the capital before the expiry of the period of exile, struck each other whenever the ministers of Bharata did an act of injustice. Its description of the grief caused to Lakshmana and Sita, when they heard of the death of their father, nine years after they had been away from home, is hyperbolic. In the Jataka the king did not grant the boon asked by his wife, but consulted astrologers and on their advice exiled his favourite children during the term of his life predicted by them. The writer, moreover, by making the king die some years before the period fixed, pokes fun at astrology, which was regarded with disfavour by Buddhism. The canard that Rama married his sister, is given currency to, perhaps, to justify the Buddhistic legend that one of Buddha's ancestors was an offspring of a similiar alliance. The long and short of it is that these deviations from the original story were made in order to help certain Buddhistic purposes. The later episode of Rama's invasion of Lanka is omitted from the Jataka because its purpose was only to bring comfort to a husbandman, who was so much overpowered with grief at the death of his father as to leave off all his

* The Riddle of the Ramayana: (1906). Mrs. Radhabai Atmaram Sagoon; Bombay.

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avocations and it was unnecessary for that purpose.

(2) Another kind of evidence goes to prove that the present edition of the Ramayana of Valmiki cannot have been the first. In more than one place it is stated in it that a particular stanza was sung by Valmiki before or that a particular episode was noted in the famous Ramayana.

There is also an epitome of the story of the Ramayana in the Mahabharata. It contains several stanzas which are found in the present edition of the Ramayana, but in form the former is more archaic than the latter. It is, however, not known by the name of Ramayana, but it is called Ramopakhyana, which shows that it must have been an abridgment of the former. This argument, then, shows that there appear to have been several editions of the Ramayana prior to the one now extant and therefore any argument based on it to prove its posteriority to the Jatakas is beside the mark.

(3) Lastly there is ample evidence to show that there are numerous references to the principal characters of the Ramayana, in pre-jataka, if not pre-Buddhist literature. The forms Kausalya and Kaikeya are explained in two Sutras of Panini, who flourished sometime between 1200 and 600 B.C. Pataliputra, the capital of Magadha, which was founded about 380 B.C. is not mentioned in the Ramayana, although other cities such as Kausambi, and Kanyakubja, are referred to in it. The name of the capital of Kosala is invariably given in the Ramayana as Ayodhya, which in Buddhistic times was designated as Saketa. The Ramayana knows Mithila and Visala as two separate cities, while in Buddha's time they had coalesced into one. The main story of the Ramayana is also free from the Buddhistic influences, which so much colour the later Hindu literature. As observed by Mr. Vaidya, "the worship of Vedic deities, the preponderence of sacrifice, the free eating of flesh by Brahmins and Kshatriyas, the latter's proficiency, in the Vedas and Vedic rites, the greater freedom of women and their performance of Vedic rites, all show a state of society, a civilization, a religion uncontaminated by feelings and ideas which had their rise in Buddhism."

Those who regard the Jatakas as the basis of the Ramayana perhaps do not deny that in India there had been a hero of the name of Rama before the war described in the Mahabharata was fought. The Puranas furnish lists of kings, which are regarded by scholars as older than their other portions, according to which Rama preceded the heroes of the Mahabharata by 39 generations. He, therefore, may be placed somewhere about the 19th century B.C.*

Even now the invasion of Lanka by Rama is a stumbling block in the way of scholars regarding the facts narrated in the Ramayana as history. Various attempts have been made to make it acceptable to them, but none of them have met with unqualified success. From a careful study of the epic, the present writer has come to certain conclusions about it which are awaiting publication. If his premises pass the scrutiny of scholars, his conclusions will prove that the episode contains very little exaggeration.

If "Chronos" will take the trouble of going further afield than the Buddhistic literature on the subject he will find that there is more reason to believe the Jataka stories to be based upon an earlier version than to regard Valmiki's Ramayana as their amplification. The arguments adduced above only indicate the direction.

* For details I may refer the reader to my Review of Mr. Vaidya's book in the Hindustan Review for June 1907.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

An Indian Novel.

The Prince of Destiny: The New Krishna. By Sarath Kumar Ghosh, Author of "1001 Indian Nights". Colonial Edition (for circulation in the British Colonies and India only). London: Kebman Limited, 129 Shaftesbury Avenue, W. C. Price 2 shillings, Pp. 630. [With a portrait of the author in Indian dress.]

In spite of the crudity of the plot, and the many absurdities and impossible fancies woven into the story, this book of fiction is in many ways a remarkable achievement. The faults of the book lie on the surface. An Indian nationalist settled in England, reviewing it in Mr. Stead's *Review of Reviews*, said that it was a romance for neurosthenics thirsting for sensational novelties or something to that effect. There are no doubt queer extravagances both in the descriptions of the characters of the story and in the situations in which they are developed. To mention only one or two, no Hindu girl in these days dances, even in the privacy of her home, in the way Kamona does in chapter XXIV. Again, no youthful princess of India would be allowed to degrade herself so far as to spend years in the palace of the young ruler of a neighbouring State in the hope of being married by him, and yet this is exactly what Princess Suvona of Udaipur—the heroine of the romance—does in the story. The hero, Barath, himself leads a very peculiar life. For some mysterious reason not fully explained he is regarded by his subjects as a new incarnation of Krishna and certainly no Indian reader would feel quite at home in following the strange early career of this prince of the House of Rama. Some of the names chosen are equally fantastic, *e.g.*, Viswamitra the retired High Court Judge, and Vasistha, the Prime Minister. The peculiar spelling of Indian proper names also betrays the author's eccentricity, *e.g.*, Rama is spelt Barath and वाल्मीकि as Valmikhi, etc. But these and other faults notwithstanding, the book

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has solid worth, though it lies elsewhere. One thing that must strike the most superficial reader is the splendid command over the English language which Mr. Ghosh possesses. To write a work of fiction one must have a thorough grasp of the language not only as it is used in classical works and on public platforms, but also in the most intimate concerns of everyday life. He must be able to wield it as the potter uses his clay, shaping it just as he likes and giving it whatever twist or turn his fancy dictates. In the publisher's preface we read: "When the author of this romance finished his education in Great Britain and began his literary career, his style and diction was so pure as to cause an eminent English critic to say that many distinguished English novelists might well envy him his command of English prose." Nay, a leading London review averred, "We cannot be persuaded to believe that Mr. Sarath Kumar Ghosh is anything but an Englishman in masquerade."...Indian youths of this generation may therefore find in this book an example of the position in English prose that may be occupied by one of their own countrymen. Mr. S. K. Ghosh is a son of the late Mr. P. Ghosh, author of several wellknown mathematical text-books. His own mathematical tastes and knowledge have been demonstrated in chapter XXI—one of the finest in the book—where he describes a session of the wranglership examination at Cambridge. It is a matter of no small pride to us that a Bengali has succeeded in earning an honourable living in England by his pen and in attaining a recognised place among living English literary men.

But the thing by which this romance will be most remembered is its exposition of the causes of the present political unrest in India, particularly in Bengal. This exposition is happily not couched in the form of a homily or political lecture, for in that shape it would be read by but few in England. The darkness which the steady flame of the lamps lighted by men like Messrs. Digby, Dutt and Naoroji was unable to dispel, Mr. Ghosh has attempted to illumine with the lightning flashes of his brilliant sentences. The passages describing the present political situation in these yet powerful language abound in the book, and every Bengali will feel glad to note the vigour and sympathy with which his national character has been defended against the savage attacks of men like Rudyard Kipling, 'the banjo-bard of imperialism'. Prof. Gilbert Murray says in the *Sociological Review* for July that "the incessant girding at the Bengali, by Rudyard Kipling, Mr. Anstey of the *Punch* and others] the most intellectual and progressive of the peoples of India, has an ugly look...There is in such sneers something perilously like jealousy. And if ever in a ruling race there creeps in a tendency to be jealous of its subjects, to dislike them for their good qualities rather than their bad, to keep them out of power not because they are unfit for power but because they are too obviously fit, such a tendency, believe, is disastrous to any empire." Part of Mr. Ghosh's romance is an amplification of this theme, and he makes no secret of his conviction that if India ever lost to England—a contingency which he certainly does not rejoice to contemplate—it will be due in no small measure to the rudeness and insolence of her jingo poetasters and newspapers. The causes of the discontent of the native princes, and of the decline of Indian manufactures, the significance of the victory of Japan over Russia and of the defeat of Italy at Adowah, the *Swadeshi* movement, the rise of anarchism with all its attendant horrors of hate and lust and mutual distrust—all this and much more have been outlined in this romance in striking and impressive colours calculated to make a lasting impression on the mental retina. Mr. Ghosh is not oblivious of the fact that his motives in thus laying bare the weak points of British rule in India may be misinterpreted. Towards the close of the volume (p. 627) he says: "In giving it [the book] to the world I am told that I am trusting to the generosity of England: that if it were France that ruled India, and this chronicle dealt with the French, a frenzied multitude would burn it on Montmartre." But he is confident in his own mind that he deserves well of England for performing this thankless task and adds: "On the contrary, I have to trust to the justice of England, aye, her gratitude; in some degree of the entire West. If you have eyes to see you will see". The fact that the book has been very favourably received by the entire British press shows that his confidence has not been misplaced. As we write we read in the papers that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress "has had much pleasure in accepting from the author a copy of his recent romance 'The Prince of Destiny', which she has read with extreme interest as a depiction of the India of to-day by an Indian, and of India's position in the Empire". After this notable pronouncement, nobody will, we are sure, venture to cavil at the motives of the author, which are to bring about better relations and a sounder and more sympathetic understanding between the rulers and the ruled in India. Let us hope that by being cast in the mould of a romance the grave issues with which the book deals will be pondered and discussed in many a British home where the Indian point of view would otherwise have no chance of effecting an entrance, and if the book before us succeeds in realising this hope it will have contributed materially towards helping forward the cause of the motherland.

The Mosquito. Lt. Col. E. A. W. Hall, I. M. S. Gandaria Press. Dacca.

This beautifully got up pamphlet is adapted and slightly altered from a lecture on the mosquito, delivered at the Northbrook Hall at an "At Home" given by Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury, under the auspices of the Northbrook Hall Library Committee.

It gives the life history of the mosquito, and its relation to malaria and mentions several methods of preventing that disease,—all in popular language. It is a useful lecture.

Advice to Consumptives.

"Advice to Consumptives" by Noel D. Bardswell—Published by Adam and Charles Black, 4 Soho Square, London, Price 1-6 net.

This book is a short advice to consumptives with regard to their home treatment, and the prevention of the disease. It is thus a counterpart of the other treatises on consumption which are now-a-days so numerous and so popular, namely, those on the Sanatorium Treatment of Consumption. Many patients who

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do not like to leave home or cannot afford to live in a Sanatorium, or convalescent cases which have now left treatment in a Sanatorium, it is for these cases that the book is meant. In fact as the author has said in the introduction, the lectures embodied here are those which were actually delivered to the inmates of King Edward VII Sanatorium and preserved and subsequently elaborated and published by request of friends and patients who felt themselves greatly benefited by them and wanted to make them more popular by giving them publication in the form of a small treatise. This short history of the origin and purpose of the book is plain evidence of its high utility and extensive demand. In other words it attempts to give a commonsense knowledge to layman with respect to this most fell disease.

The foreword or introduction to the book has been written by an eminent specialist in the Sanatorium treatment of consumption, namely, Dr. C. Theodore Williams of Brompton Hospital for Consumptives.

The book deals with the following subjects :—

Consumption—its nature, and mode of spread and of arrest, and the Rationale of Sanatorium Treatment—Fresh air, Food, Rest, Exercise and Recreation, Occupation, Emigration ; Factors in Sanatorium Treatment etc.

All important practical points are briefly touched upon—and in language which every layman can read and understand. These short hints from such an experienced man will prove of eminent value to the patients and the general public—both in the arrest of the disease and the prevention of its spread. The book is recommendable to all—doctors, patients and the public. It should be translated into the vernaculars and brought within the power of people ignorant of English to study, specially in our country where home treatment is the only treatment possible at present.

I. M. MALLIK.

"Food and Drugs."

"Food and Drugs" by Dr. K. C. Bose, M.B. A Quarterly Journal of Dietetics, Metabolism, Materia Medica, and Therapeutics. Published from Dr. Bose's Laboratory, 45 Amherst Street, Calcutta. Subscription for India Re. 1 post free. Foreign countries, Two Shillings.

The journal, which consists of 52 pages—and a lot of attractive advertisements besides—deals with the following subjects—

Editorials, Original articles, Therapeutics, Prachid phony, with some charts and illustrations.

In the editorials there are two most important topics dealt with. One is

"The Metabolism and Diet of the Bengalis"—by Dr. Macay, Lecturer on Physiology in the Medical College, Calcutta, a subject which is highly interesting and important inasmuch as it deals with the difference in both these respects from the well-known European standards.

And the other is on—

Lactic acid Bacilli Tablets Manufactured in Europe and sent out beyond the sea.

These the editor shows to be not only useless as not containing any lactic acid bacilli but positively dangerous as containing other bacilli and cocci like Sheptococci and yeast cells which may cause some harm. He advocates the use of our indigenous Streptothrix Dadhi (Chatterjee) as the best—most fresh, pure and abounding in pure lactic acid bacilli—and most reliable. This no doubt would be very useful both from the economic and hygienic standpoints. A lot of our precious money is being drained away by unscrupulous tradesmen of the West. It will be a great gain if we can stop such things.

In the original section some valuable researches are put down from the work of Dr. Lal Mohan Ghoshal, a demonstrator in the Physiological Laboratory of the Calcutta Medical College, and an earnest and able worker in research work. He deals with two indigenous plants—

The "Terminalia Arjuni" and on the chemical composition and properties of the Banana and the milk of the cocoanut.

This latter is undoubtedly a very valuable food-stuff which is so much and so foolishly neglected in a country which is so poor, specially poor in easily assimilable proteid food-stuff. A variety of valuable preparations in our dietary may be made very simply and cheaply with this common fruit of Lower Bengal. It contains valuable proteid and fats in abundance, which can very nicely serve the purpose of meat and eggs and butter in a vegetarian country. Original researches in such indigenous drugs and food articles are highly useful for the economic and hygienic condition of India.

There are however two features to remark upon. First, the language of the journal is rather laboured and second—there is too much of an air of self-advertisement, which should better be cancelled in a valuable scientific journal like the present one. Then it will be an organisation in which local practitioners will readily come in and co-operate and the noble cause will have much better chance of success. Dr. Bose, the editor, is well known to be a man of strong practical instinct and commonsense, specially of an innate trade instinct along with his professional attainments, and, what is rarer, endowed with a steadiness and a perseverance and capacity for labor which ensure success. We shall feel sorry if too much self-interest mars the real usefulness of his undertaking which can only prosper by unselfish co-operation of other members of the medical profession. Then with numerous workers to contribute—the valuable journal may be made still more popular and useful by making it a monthly journal instead of the quarterly which it is at present, and by drawing materials from different workers on indigenous foodstuffs and drugs.

The commercial instinct no doubt is a great need in our poor country, but it should never be divorced from the spirit of true science. If on the other hand that commercial Spirit be carried in the unprepared way in which it is now being carried, and a "Bose dispensary and sale-room be advertised as "Bose Laboratory," shams be sold under an attractive cover and loud advertisements, and true Science will be degraded and degenerated.

I. M. MALLIK.

Consumption.

Pulmonary Tuberculosis and Sanatorium Treatment by C. Muthu. Publishers—Bailliere Tindall & Cox. London, 3/6 net.

This is one of the simplest and best books on the subject of Sanatorium Treatment of Tuberculosis

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most rational and modern method, dealing with a variety of subject matters relevant to the discourse, which is dealt with in a simple, popular and scientific way. It treats both of prevention and cure or rather arrest. The author himself is a great expert and an experienced man in the Sanatorium Treatment of this disease, and has taken a keen interest in the scientific and practical study of this subject in all its phases. It is a record of 10 years' close observation in the Englewood Sanatorium. He is besides the author of many books on similar subjects.

This book deals with its subjects in three aspects—

1. Introduction—Tuberculosis, its predisposing and exciting causes, communicability, early diagnosis and prognosis and treatment.

2. Principles of Sanatorium Treatment, open air, nourishing diet, regulated exercise, and other forms of treatment.

3. Its social and economic factors as well as its remedial and preventive means, and the most important of all questions, namely the marriage problem of people affected with Tuberculosis.

The book is nicely illustrated with beautiful plates —and embellished with apt quotations from great men and poets. One or two points in it deserve a little more detailed reference.

In speaking of physical exercise he advices his patients to practice "Yogi" breathing in particular, since it is the most beneficial of all forms of exercise in consumption. It not only increases the respiratory capacity and tone by absorbing a greater amount of air and oxygen, and eliminating a greater quantity of CO_2, but also serves as a valuable massage to the internal vital organs, such as the heart, lungs, liver, digestive organs, kidneys, which are situated within the chest and abdominal cavities. He very simply and briefly explains the Indian method of "Yogi" breathing in a scientific way by mentioning the different muscles which are in operation one after the other, in regular succession, and the benefits arising from it. Here are a few lines which justify quotation in full.

"The patient, sitting or standing erect, breathes through the nose, and without any jerk, inhales steadily, first filling the lower part of the lungs, pushing forward the front walls of the abdomen ; then he fills the middle part, pushing out the lower ribs ; then the upper part of the lungs lifting the chest and upper ribs, and at the end of the inhalation he throws the head back, elevates the shoulders, and raises the collar-bones, and at the same time draws in the abdomen a little, which, the yogi believes, helps to fill the apices."—Page 96.

The printing, paper, and style of the book are admirably suited to lay men and invalid study. The book closes with the following significant and prophetic remarks :

The patient task of prevention, "of tilling the field and gathering the harvest" "will lead in triumph suffering humanity to the golden days that are yet to come."

It is a book that ought to be translated into different languages and widely circulated for the good of humanity, more specially in a country like India where this disease is day by day rapidly increasing.

In all civilised countries the death rate from consumption is just decreasing by Sanatorium methods and prevention while in India it is steadily on the increase. Thus

	In 1860	1906
In Scotland	37	33
England	35	33
Russia	33	17
India	24	27

I. M. Mallik.

Indian Botany.

Professor Vinayak Nunabhai Hate, B. Sc. (Bombay University), has just published, August 1910, an excellent little work named "An Elementary Course of Indian Botany," comprising Vegetable History, development and Physiology, fully illustrated with photomicrographs most accurately printed. The work is priced modestly, one Rupee and a half per copy. The brochure is more than Elementary. Mr. Hate is the Professor of Biology in Wilson College, Bombay. In his modest preface he says thus :—"An apology is necessary in publishing this volume in the face of already existing excellent manuals of Botany of which it is more or less an adaptation." It is not so. It is quite an original work. He says :—"There are many books on Practical Botany, but these are scarcely made use of by our University Students." The main reason is that the practical Botany Works are confined to English Plants. Mr. Hate's work is mainly confined to the ordinary plants growing in Western India. No less than 58 indigenous plants are discussed in an able manner in 117 pages, with excellent illustrative figures numbering 66. The book is well-worthy of the study of Indian Students of Botany not only in the Bombay Presidency, but all over India.

K. R. Kirtikar.

Treatment of Diabetes.

The Dietetic Treatment of Diabetes. By Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (retired). Third Edition, Panini Office, Allahabad. Re. 1-8-0.

This little book is a veritable jewel of a treatise on diet. It contains a short record of all the important facts in connection with diet,—specially diet in diabetes. The brief summaries of these facts are always supplemented by foot-note references, which furnish valuable authority and sanction to the statements. The book has proved of so much use to the author's countrymen that it has already passed through three editions.

The reasons for this are quite plain. These are :—

1. Dr. Basu is himself a sufferer from the disease he writes upon, as many of his countrymen are ;

2. His book is an excellent epitome of all existing present-day knowledge on the subject, patiently collected by one for his own benefit ;

3. The treatment of the disease mostly lies in diet and less in medicine and drugs ;

4. He has ably dealt with a lot of indigenous articles of diet which are suitable for our countrymen suffering from this disease and which are so cheap and easily available.

In fact one may briefly remark on this book in the same language in which the *British Medical Journal* spoke of the late Dr. Rakhal Chandra Ghose's excellent book on Materia Medica, that "there is not a word to lose, there is not a word to be added."

I. M. Mallik.

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Mysteries of Life.

From a College Window By A. C. Benson.

Mr. Benson occupies a prominent place among the writers who have come into public notice during the present decade. The new age has brought with it a new quest after fresh adventures of the human soul, and Mr. Benson is one of those who have gone forth stout-heartedly and with unclouded vision. He has written for the Englishmen of Letter Series three most interesting monographs *(Rossetti, Walte Pater, Fitzgerald)* each of which apart from its biographical and critical aspects is a subtle study of the atmosphere which envelopes a unique personality.

The present work is a collection of 18 papers, 12 of which are reprinted from the Cornhill Magazine. It is frankly autobiographic and is redolent of a bookman's fancies and attitudes. It has all the charm of a personal talk and yet is not marred by flaccid chattiness or by dreary garrulity. The effect of even a hurried perusal of these pages is consolatory and heartening.

Mr. Benson is haunted by the eternal mystery of things—there is no blinking of truths on his part—no overlooking of the ultimate problems of existence—there is a clear recognition of pain and sorrow and evil—he will not make any truce with the obstinate questionings nor snatch at narcotics to dull the poignancy of doubts that assail all thoughtful minds.

"I do not know why so much that is hard and painful and sad is interwoven with our life here; but I see, or seem to see, that it is meant to be so interwoven. All the best and most beautiful flowers of character and thought seem to me to spring up in the track of suffering; and what is the most sorrowful of all mysteries, the mystery of death, the ceasing to be the relinquishing of our hopes and dreams, the breaking of our dearest ties, becomes more solemn and awe inspiring the nearer we advance to it. I do not mean that we are to go and search for unhappiness; but on the other hand the only happiness worth seeking for is a happiness which takes all these dark things into account, looks them in the face, reads the secret of their dim eyes and set lips, dwells with them, and learns to be tranquil, in their pesence." (Books)

He again reverts to an abiding sense of mystery in the last paper which is on Religion.

"For after all, disguise it from ourselves as we will, we are all girt about with dark mysteries into which we have to look whether we dare or not. We fill our life as full as we can of occupation and amusements, of warmth and comfort; yet sometimes, as we sit in our peaceful room the gust pipes thin and shrill round the corners of the court, the rain rustles in the tree; we drop the book which we hold, and wonder what manner of things we indeed are and what we shall be."

The whole book is full of wise hints and shrewd remarks and suggestive reflections. A new turn is given to a subject by the author's manner of handling even hackneyed topics, and commonplace points seem to acquire a certain dignity and fascination. Here we find him gripping the hard brute facts of real life—there we see him pacing "a flickering world of half lights and echoes" crossing into a region of experience as new as it is thrilling.

"The other kind of talk that I find very disagreeable is the talk of a full-fledged egotist who converses without reference to his hearers, and brings out what is in his mind one gets interesting things in this way from time to time; but the essence, as I have said, of good talk is that one should have provoking and stimulating peeps into other minds, not that one should be compelled to gaze and stare into them. I have a friend or rather an acquaintance whose talk is just as if he opened a trap-door into his mind: you look into a dark place where something flows, stream or sewer, sometimes it runs clear and brisk, but at other times it seems charged with dirt and debris; and yet there is no escape: you have to stand and look, to breathe the very odours of the mind, until he chooses to close the door."

Let us conclude by heartily endorsing the remark of the *Guardian*: We have nothing but praise for Mr. Benson.

H. L. C.

PERSIAN.

Calligraphy.

The Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisan of Mawlana Ghulam Muhammad Dihlavi. Edited with prefaces, notes and indices by M. Hidayet Husain, Calcutta, Asiatic Society, 1910.

This notice does not pretend to review the above-mentioned work, but rather to call attention to it. As remarked by the learned author, this is the fourth book printed, dealing with oriental calligraphy. Of others the best known is M. Huart's 'Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l' Orient Musulman.' There is an illuminating difference of temper in the Indian and the French orientalist's method of approach. Both are learned and accurate. The Frenchman however is interested only in historical data, not in the beauty of an art which was so much appreciated in the cultured Musulman East: "We cannot," he says, "bring to the study of earlier calligraphy the same passionate enthusiasm which the orientals themselves feel for it: even if we understand the texts, the more or less elegant manner in which they are written leaves us almost indifferent." For the oriental orientalist on the other hand calligraphy is an art full of significance and purpose, and he pleads for the re-establishment of schools of writing. Even in modern Europe great men have thought calligraphy an art worth practising, as witness the many beautiful books written by William Morris, some of them illuminated by Burne-Jones. The Maulvi reminds us that the Mughal Emperors themselves not only appreciated, but practised this art. "Calligraphy," he says, "is both an art and a science...one may argue against calligraphy on the plea of the cheaper, larger and the general utility of the Printing Press, but it must be always borne in mind that the difference between Calligraphy and Type-printing is as vast as that between the personal voice of the singer and his recorded voice in a phonogram." The Maulvi, in fact, in his preface raises the whole modern problem of the value of mechanism in relation to our immediate personal environment. The wholly mechanical environment is lacking, as Morris would have said, in temperament: there is no life in it. There is vitality of expression, character, and power, in things separately and individually made: they are the products of individual thought and labour and

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since nothing is lost, they have just so much the more significance. This is defined as an age of progress: but we have yet to arrive at a deliberate and reasoned control of mechanism, defining and delimiting its real from its merely apparent value. That is perhaps the greatest immediate task before modern civilisation. Meanwhile we may be sure that as fine printing and calligraphy have already been revived in Europe on a small scale, for those whose conception of life, in the Maulvi's own words "is not confined to mere material utility, but extends to the ennobling pleasures of the aesthetics in art and nature," so we may hope that when India has more time and opportunity to re-organize her own culture, some corner may be found in her palace of art, for the calligrapher and the illuminator of books. We trust that the Maulvi intends to issue an English translation of the present book for the benefit of those unfamiliar with Persian.

A. K. C.

Gujarati.

Hindustan Man thatan Vavetar Karvani Rit, by Dulerai Chhotolal Anjaria, G.M.A.C.B.,V.S., of Jamnagar, Garden Superintendent, Delhi. Printed at the Rajkot Printing Press, Rajkot. Paper bound, pp. 247. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1910).

The book treats of the various methods followed by the Indian cultivator in producing his crops of cereals, oil seeds, pulses, vegetables, &c. It suggests a number of improvements, all of them being the result of practical experience, as the author, for the last fifteen years, has been in the line itself. It is a moot point whether the very conservative and illiterate class for whom this very useful book is written would ever be moved to take advantage of it, but apart from it even to a lay reader, it is likely to prove an interesting and instructive treat.

Shigal Vad Sutta, by Madhablal Nabhubhai Dvivedi. Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper bound, pp. 61. Price 0-2-0 (1910).

This little book sets out the rules of conduct to be observed by the *Grihasthas*, as preached by Lord Buddha. With a very sweet story, the writer leads us up to the point where the Lord taking pity on an erring boy, showed him the direction of the true path. It contains precepts of universal moral application.

Shantida, by Saubhagyavati Sumati. Published by Somalal Mangaldas Shah, Editor of the Gujarati Panch, Ahmedabad, and printed at his press. Cloth bound, pp. 96. Price 0-12-0 (1910).

Mrs. Sumati is known as a valued contributor to several Gujarati magazines, but this book is, we believe, her first attempt to exercise her pen on an extended and connected story. Her object is to show that mutual forgiveness is at the root of connubial bliss, and the hasty nature of her heroine Shantida's husband, and the extremely dilatory and happy-go-lucky temper of herself are responsible for the domestic calamity which resulted in the temporary separation of a most loving couple. Her descriptions of the country round about Poona and Lanowli, are specially charming. We like the book very much indeed, on the whole.

Kudarat no Khel, Part I, by Munshi Fatehkhan Ahmed Khan, of Vadasinor, at present of Bombay. Cloth bound, pp. 240. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1910).

This a novel in Gujarati, portraying Turkish domestic life and based on Ottoman or European Turkish history. It foreshadows events in Turkey leading up to the rise of Major Enver Bey, the most famous hero of the Young Turkey Party. It is most fascinating reading, and one feels as if one were devouring a morsel from the Arabian Night's Entertainments. The events are so charmingly connected, and incident glides so imperceptibly into incident, that you can not put down this book till you have finished it. The parts played by Zobeida, Layla, Salim Pasha and Okif Pasha are most admirable. The style is that poetical prose which in the hands of an Urdu scholar has made Gujarati so very pliant and the rhythmic cast of the sentences and sub-sentences, produces a soothing effect upon the reader. Mr. Munshi knows his Gujarati and Urdu both very well and has utilised them equally so. We await the next part with great pleasure.

Shri Jaina Granthavali, published by the Jaina Shwetambar Conference, Bombay. Printed at the Induprakash Steam, Press, Bombay. Cloth bound, pp. 365 and 113. Price Rs. 3-0-0 (1910).

The publication of this book and the labor devoted on it are about the most useful and valued work done by this Conference. It is a huge list, comprising works on Jainagam, Jaina Nyaya, Philosophy, Ethics, Literature, and Science. In separate columns, it gives the name of each book, its author, the number of *Shlokas* it contains, the year of its composition (where ascertainable), whether it is annotated or not and the Bhandar where it is extant, *i.e.*, whether at Patan, Jesalmir, Limbdi, &c. Every imformation about the author and the book that could be obtained is given as a foot-note. It would suffice to say that it is modelled on the catalogues published of books in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, or the India Office Library in London. It is a veritable mine of information for those students who want to find out by a co-ordinated study of the literature of the different religions in India the course taken by its history and with Jaina's themselves, we think, up till now nothing like this catalogue has been presented to enable them to see what rich mines they possess, crying for explanation. The Catalogue is printed in Devanagari and we confidently are of opinion, that it is likely to prove of great use to scholars all over India. As an accompaniment to this big work, is being circulated a list of Jaina *Rasas* composed in Gujarati, and prepared by Mr. Manasukh K. Mehta of Morbi. This too is a very handy work, and likely to prove of great benefit to those who have been studying the structure of the Gujarati language historically and philosophically.

K. M. J.

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NOTES

An exact copy of the Taj for America.

When art flourished in India, we had kings and chiefs who patronized the artists; solved the problem of bread and butter for them, and thus freed their minds from anxiety, in order that they might be exclusively devoted at the altar of their deity. During the last few centuries this patronage has ceased to flow with its former generosity, and art in India has almost perished through lack of appreciation.

In the Occident, the millionaires, and multi-millionaires, despite all the crimes that are checked up against them, do much good by their patronage of the artist. Pretty paintings and superb statuary are bought by members of the "idle rich" class, at fabulous prices, and they either go to swell the collection of the art-hunter, or are donated to some public or national gallery, to be admired and loved by the masses.

A friend of ours has just received advice from the United States that an American millionaire, Mr. E. G. Lewis, of University City, Missouri, has fully made up his mind and set out to build an exact copy of the Taj Mahal in his native city. Our readers will remember that in a recent number of the Modern Review we presented them with a life-sketch of Mr. Lewis, who truly has a genius for newspaper-making and advertising which has enabled him to become many times a millionaire in nine years' time, starting out with a capital of less than four rupees.

Our readers will remember that Mr. Lewis recently founded the "American Woman's League", in which the women of America have been banded together, on a firm business footing, to improve themselves intellectually and socially. Under the auspices of their league, a correspondence university has been started, to provide its members free of cost, education in the home on a multiplicity of subjects. Art and aesthetics in all their branches are included in the curriculum of this institution.

Besides teaching by correspondence—which has passed the experimental stage in America, and, to an extent, in Europe—Mr. Lewis has made a provision that regular academies shall be established in his city—University City, a fitting name, to be sure—where the most promising students of the correspondence courses shall be brought and kept at the League's expense, to be taught by the masters of the art or science in which they have shown marked ability, so that they may receive the best possible aid to perfect themselves. These students—who, it must be remembered, are freed from all financial worry through the ingenious plan devised by Mr. Lewis—are known as "honour students". Many of these already are at University City, studying with masters their favourite subjects.

Mr. Lewis is a lover of art, and he is very anxious to develop the aesthetic sense amongst Americans. He, therefore, has made especial and highly satisfactory arrangements for teaching painting, artistic architecture, ceramics, etc., both through correspondence and personal courses. The American newspaper-man has imported men like the celebrated French ceramic artist, the Hon'ble Mr. Taxtile Doat, to teach art to his "honour students."

It is the intention of Mr. Lewis to engage his "honour students", under the supervision of trained artists, to build an exact copy of the Taj Mahal, employing as nearly as possible the same materials, and producing as near an imitation as he can.

In a recent letter to Mr. Saint Nihal Singh, Mr. Lewis wrote:

"We are going to adopt the Taj Mahal as the head chapter house of the American Woman's League, even though it may take ten or fifteen years to build it; the ceramics, mosaics and mural decorations all being

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done by the "honour students" of the Academy of Fine Arts."

Now Mr. Lewis not only has money, but also an unusual amount of business sense, grit and perseverance. Moreover, his past record unequivocally shows that he is the kind of a man who never goes back on his word. It sometimes takes him a long while to mature a plan: but once he does this, he never turns back, but unflinchingly pursues the path in which he has set his feet. For these reasons, there is no doubt whatever that, in course of time, he will be able to put through the scheme of building a perfect copy of the wonderful mausoleum that Shah Jehan had built in memory of his beloved Mumtaz Mahal. At any rate, we wish the enterprising American God-speed in his noble undertaking.

Sanitation in the Vedas.

We have commented in some previous numbers on some of the falsehoods contained in Sir Harry K. Johnston's *Quarterly Review* (January, 1910) article on "The Rise of the Native." We wish to refer to one more statement of his. He writes:—

"Also.....the 162,000,000 Hindu men, and women, and children follow for the most part wholly unreasonable forms of religion, quite incompatible with modern ideas of physical development, social progress, sanitation, avoidance of cruelty, and unrestricted intercourse with one's fellow men.....The one desire of nine Brahmans out of ten is to oppose *any* measures for improved sanitation and extirpation of disease,..." Fp. 146-147.

The passage quoted above contains a strange mixture of truth and falsehood. But of this we are sure that Hinduism is not opposed to sanitation; on the contrary, many of its precepts are hygienic in intent: nor are nine Brahmans out of ten opposed to *any* measures for improved sanitation. Take the testimony of a British Medical Journal. Says *The Hospital* (London, July 9):

"The sacred books of most religions contain many excellent sanitary precepts which, while based merely on an intelligent observation of Nature, are often startlingly accurate in their effectiveness, as the following article will show. *The Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* points out that, so far from being contrary to the religion of any considerable section of the population of India, rat-killing is actually enjoined in their sacred books. According to Hindu ideas, the Vedas stand on even higher authority than is claimed by Christians for their Bible, as they are said not to be merely inspired but to have existed [illegible] time. The following is a translation from Book VI., verse 50, of the Atharva-Veda:

"'Destory the rat, the mole, the boring beetle; cut off their heads, O Asvins.

"'Bind fast their mouths; let them not eat our barley; so guard ye twain our growing corn from danger.

"'Hearken to me, lord of the female borer, lord of the female grub! Ye rough-toothed vermin.

"'Whate'er ye be, dwelling in woods, and piercing, we crush and mangle all those piercing insects.'

"The journal goes on to remark that the destruction of the flea and mosquito, both piercing insects, is clearly enjoined as well as that of the rat, and it is certain that if the Veda could be literally obeyed by its followers, plague, malaria, and filariasis would be promptly abolished from India, and trypanosomes cease to destory its cattle. This passage in the original Sanskrit with a translation into the modern vernacular should be incorporated into a leaflet for general distribution, and introduced into any book prepared for instruction in elementary hygiene for the use of vernacular schools."

We may add that the Asvins mentioned in the extract are the twin physician gods.

Many sanitary regulations can be picked at random from the code of Manu and other Shastras.

Study and Tobacco.

Dr. George L. Meylan of Columbia University, New York, has been prosecuting a very diligent inquiry into the effect of tobacco on young students. He has come to the conclusion that smokers, as a rule, are not bright scholars. But Dr. Meylan says this is partly due to the fact that the young men who smoke usually belong to the idle rich class, who are in the college to get the utmost fun out of it so long as they are there. Thus, in their case, tobacco really can not be said to be the primary cause of their backwardness, although it suspiciously is coeval with it. However, while pointing this out, the Columbia University Professor says: "All scientists are agreed that the use of tobacco by adolescents is injurious."

The Education of Persian Women.

The Times' Teheran Correspondent writes:

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL.

Some 30 years ago the American Presbyterian Missionary Society began to take an active interest in the education of girls in Teheran. A school was opened for a dozen American girls, and it was for many years the only school of its kind in the place. The annual enrolment did not reach 50, though the girls were given free tuition, books, food, and

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lodging. In 1876 the first Moslem girl was admitted, but it is only since 1900 that Mahomedan girls have been coming with any degree of freedom. Prejudices were strong, and it was only by paying surprise visits that Mahomedan parents were gradually able to overcome their attitude of suspicion. Last year, however, 235 girls were enrolled, of whom 120 were Mahomedans, and instead of everything being given free, the patrons of the school paid over £200 towards the costs of tuition and stationery. Girls are admitted at seven years of age, but it has been found difficult to keep them for the entire 12-years course. Nevertheless, five classes, each consisting of 13 girls, have graduated, and nearly 800 pupils have passed through the school since its foundation. It is not the purpose of the promoters of the school to denationalize or make converts of their pupils. Their aim is to give them an education on the lines of the ordinary high school and to inculcate European ideals of womanhood.

During the last year or two the Persians have become awake to the necessity of doing something themselves on similar lines. It is stated that there are now more than 50 girls' schools in Teheran. Several of the older girls at the American school are training to become teachers, and a few of them are already teaching in the Persian schools during part of the day. Recently the head of one of these schools paid a visit to the American school, and expressed her delight at the "blackboards that do not rub off" and at the "nice desks and clear maps." "If this school in its perfection were known," she said to the Rev. Dr. Esselstyn, head of the American Mission (to whom I am indebted for the above particulars), "you would have a thousand girls begging for admittance. I have visited every school in the City, and only here have I found real learning." Another visitor to the school remarked on leaving, "I wish my wife had been educated. I want my daughter to take her diploma, and then give her life to educational work for the women of Persia."

The movement is in its infancy, but the fact that last April for the first time Persian women held a large meeting in Teheran to discuss problems of education seems to suggest that the education of women will play an important part in the future evolution of Persia.

Lack of British Activity.

Other foreign schools and institutions in Teheran are an American hospital, a German school for which the Persian Government pays £2,400 a year, a Persian Government hospital under German management, a French school under the charge of the Alliance Francaise, a Jewish school under the charge of the Alliance Israelite, an Armenian school supported by Armenian subscriptions, and a Russian hospital. It is matter for regret that Great Britian, with her special political and commercial interests in Persia, has not seen her way to give a helping hand in the cause of education. The sum total of her "good works" in Teheran amounts to the permission accorded to Persians of the poorer classes to receive free physic and advice at the dispensary attached to the British Legation.

Indian nationalists should not fail to note that wherever there is a struggle for political freedom, the woman's cause must also advance. India cannot be an exception to this rule. She cannot advance, unless her daughters are given education on modern lines.

"Jagai and Madhai": by Nanda Lal Bose.

In pure line-drawing, with scarcely the aid of a touch or a wash of colour, stands the picture of Jagai and Madhai, by Babu Nanda Lal Bose. It is another of the great technical triumphs of the artist and the school, for the amount of labour that must have gone to the production of a work in this kind, at once so small and so perfect, would be almost incredible to the mind of the mere layman. Firm anatomical drawing, the strokes that in their thousands make hair, the definite and harmonious patterning of the turban, the washes of colour that suggest modelling, and stand for light and shade, all these imply lavishness of skill and time. And how exquisite is the sum total! An extraordinary proof of the technical perfection of this tiny work, lies in the fact that under a magnifying glass, it is the modelling of the two faces that becomes most prominent.

In the shelter of a sand-hill, beside a great river, the two heroes of hilarity have spread a skin, and seated themselves for an hour of good fellowship. It is the rascal on the near side, we may venture to wager, who has had the forethought to provide himself with the wine-jar, and *three* cups, for the potations of delight. The further of the two is responsible for nothing more than the mat on which they sit, and the dish of fruit that will afford them a royal dessert. The drowsy joys of the hookah, when wine shall be done, are foreseen by the more provident also. It is a fine rapture, this, that seizes Jagai and Madhai, as they gaze for a moment on the silvery liquid. It suggests that it is not so much the joys of the flesh as those of the imagination that appeal to them even in the wine-cup. They pause a moment, in the fashion of those who would drink a health, while some thought of overweening fascination is invoked, to be capped by the draught.

But the delight that envelopes them is wholly innocent. They are madcaps, not criminals, child-like, not cunning. Even in the hour of conviviality, there is

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JAGAI MADHAI.
By Nanda Lall Bose.

KUNTALINE PRESS, CALCUTTA.

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nothing revolting in their pleasure. The beautiful hands of refinement and good birth, are very noticeable in both. The tie of affection that knits them together, like grown-up schoolboys, has a frankness and ease that is refreshing. These are not souls subject to breezes from the meaner shores of feeling. Even in their sins they are high-hearted and strong in mutual loyalty and comradeship.

They are, in sober fact, the stuff of which saints may, by rare good luck, be made. For sudden conversions do not occur, where men are sunk in vice, or saturated with vulgarity. Those extraordinary psychological revolutions of which religious history is full, are never the miracles that they are painted. They are miracles, indeed, if by that term we mean to refer to the supreme grace and virtue of the soul that influences. But the effect produced, is never a matter outside law and reason. If Mary Magdalene is suddenly enrapt by the shadow of the Christ upon the street in which she dwells, it is because in her life there has always been an undercurrent of quest for the ideal, there has always been disinterestedness in her giving of herself. And similarly, it is a mistake to think that Jagai Madhai —so beloved in Bengal, because where they were received, there must be hope, even for us!—were sunken in iniquity. Had they been so, Nityananda might have offered embraces in return for blows a thousand times, without avail. But no, they were boisterous troublers of the peace of quiet folk. They were mischievous players of rude practical jokes, they filled the air of their place and time with the sound of their lawlessness and riot; yet at bottom they remained right knightly. Their roughness was fearlessness; their cruelty was thoughtlessness. The faggots were ready piled, in their hearts, to blaze into the fires of generous love. They were lighted on that day when a man, drunk with God-consciousness, pushed forward to throw his arms about the rude assailants who had just caused his blood to flow. It was then that Jagai and Madhai understood for the first time wherein lay that highest ecstasy for which unknown to themselves, all their daring lives had been a search. All the anticipations and all the disappointments of the wine-cup stood explained. Rapture attained was at last revealed, and it was to be reached by an unknown road. Away, then with the joys of the senses! Avaunt, all counterfeit intoxications! Nothing lower than the first step towards the best shall content us henceforth. The rascals of the quiet town of Nadia, have become the child-like saints of the Vaishnava story. They who persecuted the congregation, have taken their place amongst its preachers and worshippers. The capacity for all this, is suggested by the picture before us, in which the delight produced by wine, is nevertheless not gross or low.

N.

Successful Indian Students Trained Abroad.

We have received the following brief sketches of the careers of some successful Indian students trained abroad. We hope those of our countrymen who are in a position to do so will avail themselves of their skill and attainments.

We desire to publish similar brief notices with portraits whenever available, of the careers of successful students belonging to *all* the provinces of India, irrespective of creed, caste or race. Will our young Indian friends in foreign countries kindly take particular note of this?

(1)

His many friends will be glad to learn that Mr. Shiv Narain, B.A., (son of the late S. Jodh Singh, Tahsildar of Gujranwala, and brother of Mr. Arjan Singh, Bar-at-Law, and Public Prosecutor, Ferozepore, and of Mr. Karm Narain, Bar-at-Law, Gujranwala), is now returning home after completing the course of Textile Engineering at the famous Municipal School of Technology, Manchester, as well as undergoing practical experience in some of the best mills of England. He is one of the first batch of the enterprising Punjabee youths, who left for England in the autumn of 1906 to learn the art of Textile Engineering. He joined the celebrated School abovementioned. His career there has all along been brilliant, and he succeeded in winning the golden opinions not only of his Principal and Professors, but also of the Mill-owners under whom he worked. His various qualifications may be enumerated as below:—

(1) Certificate of Proficiency in Textile Industries from the Victoria University of Manchester.

(2) Diploma in Textile Manufacture &c., from the Board of Education, England.

(3) Associateship of the Manchester School of Technology.

(4) First Class Honours, Full Technological Certificates in Cotton Spinning and Weaving from the City and Guilds Institute of London.

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(5) Practical experience in Darwen and Blackburn Mills, and testimonials of satisfactory work in the same.

He was to sail in the middle of October last, intending en route, to visit some mills in Germany, and is expected to reach India in the middle of November current.

(2)

Mr. Pravash C. Pramanik of Santipur, Bengal, a Student of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, came to Japan over two years ago. Here he worked in three of the leading Umbrella factories and learnt umbrella-making and two other allied industries, namely, electro-plating and braids and lace manufacturing. Be it said to his credit that in spite of his father's death that unfortunately occurred some time before



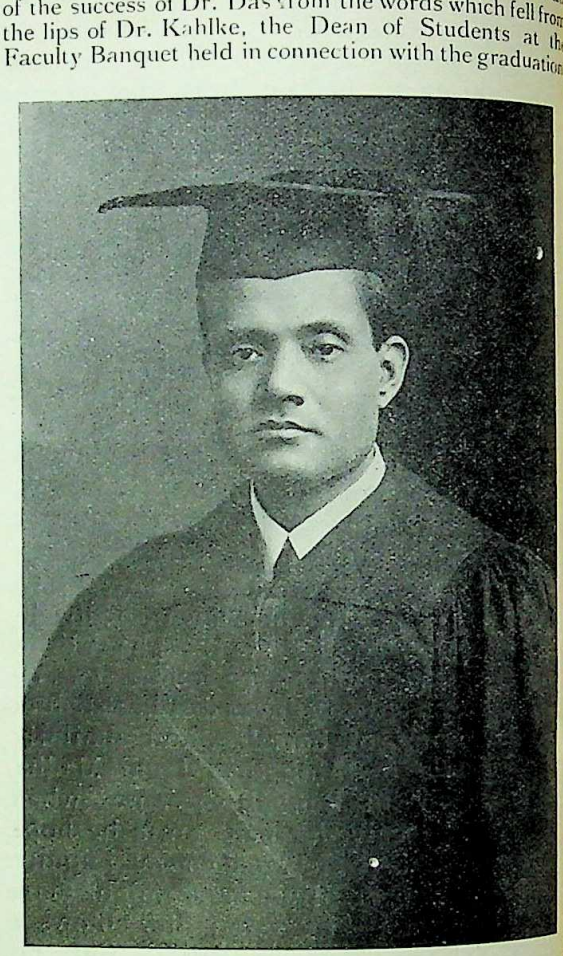
Mr. Pravash Chandra Pramanik.

and badly required his early return, he stuck to his work till it could be finished. He is shortly returning home and we believe his skill in this particular industry and his native capacity for hard labour will, if properly employed, contribute at least to a some extent towards the industrial regeneration of our impoverished Motherland. He is a youngman of 24.

G. C. B.

(3)

Mr G. C. Das of Mymensingh proceeded to America in 1907 to complete his education at the instance of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians. At home Mr. Das read up to the third year class of the Calcutta Medical College as a regular student. While in America he joined the Hahneman Medical College of Chicago, U. S. A. as a rugular student and obtained his degree of M. D. in 1909. The college from which Dr. Das has graduated is recognised as one of the first class medical colleges in U. S. A. by the American Medical Association. An idea may be had of the success of Dr. Das from the words which fell from the lips of Dr. Kahlke, the Dean of Students at the Faculty Banquet held in connection with the graduation.



Dr. G. C. Das.

He was pleased to observe on the occasion "Doctor, you have done admirably well in the examination; you have secured very high marks in some of the subjects. I am sure you studied hard before the examination." Dr. Kahlke, along with other eminent professors of the college expressed the hope that Dr. Das might prove his merit in practical life. Dr. Das returned to Calcutta in August last.

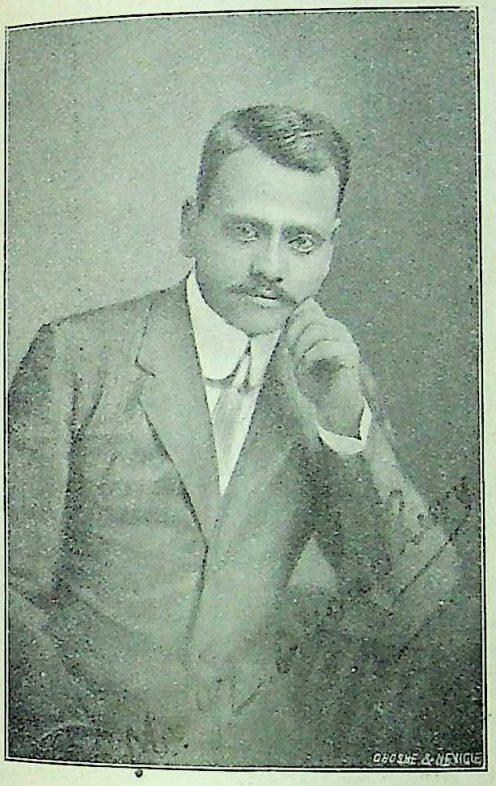
(4)

Mr. J. C. Chowdhury, hailing from Agartala, Tippera State, is a student of Sericulture, sent by the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, under the guardianship and esteemed patronage of H. H. the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur of Tippera. After having finished his general education, he was sent to the School of Sericulture, Rampur Boalia, Rajshahi, at the instance of the said State, from where he graduated after two years. Immediately afterwards he spent much energy and time in seeing all the sericultural centres in Bengal, etc. Afterwards he went to Bangalore to observe the Japanese method of rearing and re-

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at Tata's Experimental Silk Farm, from where he was appointed as Superintendent of Sericultural Experiments, Tippera-Raj, where he managed the work with much skill and success. During this time his merit was much appreciated by W. Val. Weston Esq., Genl. Manager, Bengal Silk Company, F. L. Perrin Esq., Manager, Silk Filature, Kajla, Rajshahi. F. Morton Esq., Manager, Motihar Silk



Mr. J. C. Chowdhury.

Factory, Rajshahi and H. C. Barnes Esq., I. C. S., the Director of Agriculture, Eastern Bengal and Assam. After finishing the experiments there successfully he was sent by the State to join the College of Agriculture, Imperial University, Tokyo, where he studied sericulture and graduated with much credit this year. During his stay here he spared no pains in visiting most of the important places of Sericulture in Japan.

"The Vina" by Asit Kumar Haldar.

"What is the song my heart sings ?
I know, I know, I know—"

We have here a small work, of indescribable beauty of drawing, colour, and setting. The rich autumn tints yield to an equally rich blue overhead. The terrace-roof, at nightfall or at dawn, suggests vastness and solitude, fit for the dreaming attitude and pensive air of the woman in the foreground. We can almost hear the faint sweet notes of the *vina* in her hand, as she seeks for the song of the heart. The setting of this gem-like work suggests book-illustration. A letter or a sonnet would rightly fill the page below it.

We confess however to a feeling of bewilderment as to the Persianised Bengali script. What is the reason of this? It reminds us of the adage.

"Neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring".

Is it for its beauty that the Persian lettering has been imitated? Persian script is beautiful of course, but then, so is Bengali. Is it for a certain sentimentality that fits its form to the subject here? We fancy the true scribe of Persian would hardly thank us for such an explanation, nevertheless despite eccentricities of inscription, this work is exceedingly fine, and we congratulate the artist on his achievement.

N.

"Young Aurangzib's Encounter with a Fighting Elephant"

This picture is reproduced from a manuscript in the Khuda Bakhsh Library at Bankipur. Aurangzib is seen on the left, spear in hand, and mounted on horseback. Shah Jahan on horseback is shown on the top of the picture. His robe of cloth of gold has been badly reproduced by photography. The incident which the picture illustrates was thus narrated by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in our last April number :—

Elephant combat at Agra.

One incident of his boyhood made his fame ring throughout India, and showed what stuff he was made of. It was his encounter with a fighting elephant on 28th May, 1633. That morning Shah Jahan, who loved this sport, set two huge elephants, Sudhakar and Suratsundar by name, to fight a combat on the level bank of the Jumna near the mansion at Agra which he had occupied before his accession. They ran for some distance and then grappled together just below the balcony of the morning salute in the fort. The emperor hastened there to see the fight, his eldest three sons riding a few paces before him. Aurangzib, intent on seeing the fight, edged his way very close to the elephants.

Elephant charges Aurangzib.

The brutes, after a while let go their grip and each stepped back a little. Sudhakar's spirit was fully roused. Losing sight of his opponent he turned to vent his wrath on the prince standing by. Trumpeting fiercely, the moving mountain charged Aurangzib. The prince, then only fourteen years old, calmly stood his round, kept his horse from turning back, and flung his spear at the elephant's head. All was now confusion and alarm. The crowd swayed this way and that, men stumbling on one another in

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"YOUNG AURANGZIB'S ENCOUNTER WITH A FIGHTING ELEPHANT."

their eagerness to flee. The nobles and the servants ran about shouting, fireworks were let off to scare away the elephant, but all to no effect. The animal came on, felled Aurangzib's horse with a sweep of his long tusk. But the prince jumped up from the ground, drew his sword, and faced the raging beast. The unequal combat would have soon ended fatally for the heroic boy, but succour was at hand. His brother Shuja forced his way through the crowd and smoke, galloped up to the elephant, and wounded it with his spear. But his horse reared and he was thrown down. Rajah Jai Singh, too, came up, and while managing his shying steed with one hand attacked the elephant with the other from the right side. Shah Jahan shouted to his own guards to run to the spot.

Just then an unlooked for diversion came to the princes' aid. The other elephant, Suratsundar, ran up to renew the combat, and Sudhakar, having now no stomach for the fight, or being daunted by the spear-thrusts and fire works discharged at him, fled from the field with his rival thundering on his heels.

The danger thus passed away, and the princes were saved. Shah Jahan clasped Aurangzib to his bosom,

Aurangzib rewarded.

praised his courage, gave him the title of *Bahadur* or hero, and covered him with presents. The courtiers cried out that the boy had inherited his father's reckless courage, and told how Shah Jahan in his youth had attacked a wild tiger sword in hand before the eyes of Jahangir.

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On this occasion Aurangzib gave a foretaste of his lofty spirit and royal contempt for death, in his speech as reported by Hamiduddin Khan.

Brave words.

When his father lovingly chid him, he replied, "If the fight had ended fatally for me it would not have been a matter of shame. Death drops the curtain even over emperors; it is no dishonour. The shame lay in what my brothers did!"

Three days afterwords occurred his fifteenth birthday. The Emperor had the boy weighed against gold pieces in full court and presented him with the amount (5000 *mohurs*,) the elephant Sudhakar, and other gifts worth two *lakhs* of rupees in all. The deed was celebrated in Urdu and Persian verses. The Poet Laureate, Saidai Gilani, surnamed Bedil Khan, got Rs. 5,000 for his ode. Shuja was praised for his gallant exertions. Another sum of 5,000 gold pieces was distributed by the Emperor in charity.

Thereafter we get occasional glimpses of Aurangzib. Next year the Emperor paid a visit to Kashmir. Aurangzib accompanied him and was presented with the parganah of Lukh-bhavan near Sahibabad or Achbal (September, 1634).

Hitherto Aurangzib had been getting, like other Mughal princes before they were old enough for military appointment, a daily allowance of Rs. 500. But on 13th December, 1634, though not yet sixteen, he got his first post in the Mughal peerage, with the rank of a Commander of Ten Thousand Horse, but with an actual following of 4000 troopers. He was also permitted to use the red tent, which was a royal prerogative. The governorship of the Deccan, was intended for him, and there under the guidance of the highest generals of his father's court, he was expected to receive the best education then possible for a man of action and a leader of men. As a preparation for this high and difficult post, he was given his first lessons in the art of war and the control of men by being sent to the Bundela Expedition in September, 1635.

His first mansab

Mrs. Besant's University.

The Educational Review of Madras writes as follows on Mrs. Besant's proposed University:—

For sometime past Mrs. Annie Besant has been planning to establish a university in India which should owe its foundation to private and voluntary effort and should draw together colleges in which religion and morals form part of the curriculum. This university, it is said, will have a field of activity of a distinctive character from the existing universities, and possess special features of its own. The most marked speciality of the proposed university will lie in the fact that it will affiliate no colleges in which religion and morality do not form an integral part of the education given. The second important speciality will be the placing in the first rank of Indian philosophy, history and literature, and seeking in these, and in the classical languages of India, the chief means of culture. The third important speciality will be the paying of special attention to manual and technical training, to science applied to agriculture and manufactures, and to Indian arts and crafts, so as to revive these now-decaying industries. The question naturally arises whether there is any need for this proposed university. Our answer is distinctly in the negative. The very fact that this university is to be under the auspices of the Theosophical Society must give rise to a suspicion. The methods employed by this society are the very opposite of what can be called rational and critical. Its teachings are a mixture of savage superstition and high-sounding scholastic gibberish. The essential aim of a university is the increase of knowledge and the training of young men for this work. Neither the teaching of religion nor the inculcation of morality comes within the scope of a university. It may be noticed that all modern universities have nothing to do with the teaching of religion or morality, although they may have chairs for the critical study of theology and the moral sciences. With the spread of civilization the number of universities increases, but the *religious spirit* declines, because the strength of character needed to make civilization possible arises from other sources than *religion*. No university can think of placing any philosophy in the first rank. Its aim being the discovery of truth, it cannot patronise any particular system. Manual and technical training can be given even by the existing universities. What we want in India at present is one grand university of the German type; a teaching university, thoroughly equipped up-to-date in all departments where the best Indian intellect is brought to a focus to train young Indians, not only to become good citizens and patriots, a thing that can be done by the ordinary school and college, but also to make them capable of carrying out original investigation in the several departments of life so as to enrich the country and elevate it in the scale of nations.

The only alteration that we should like to make is the substitution of "blind religiosity" and "blind faith in religious dogma" respectively for the words which we have italicised above.

The Teaching of Venaculars in English Schools in Ceylon.

We observe that at a recent meeting of the Ceylon Educational Association a resolution was passed disapproving of the proposed compulsory teaching of Sinhalese in English schools in Ceylon. Most of the speakers were missionaries, managers of schools. One said that "Sinhalese was their (the pupils') home language and it was not necessary that it should be taught"!

Imagine such a principle enunciated by an educationist in any other country. If the matter were not so serious, it might be regarded as a thing to laugh at. Another speaker said that "he punished his children who spoke Singhalese during school hours". Fortunately there are other missionary educationists in Ceylon who are wiser. Mr. A. G. Fraser, Trinity College, Kandy, has

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anticipated Government action by himself making Sinhalese or Tamil a compulsory study. The President of the Jaffna College (Rev. G. G. Brown) too is of the same opinion. In a recent speech he remarked —"no student can be considered well-educated unless he is thoroughly familiar with his own tongue." "It is difficult to see why they (the vernaculars) should not be made compulsory in every primary and secondary school from the lowest to the highest class."

We trust that the desire of other Managers to ostracise all that belongs to the national culture of Ceylon will have no effect on the intention of Government to make the vernaculars a compulsory study in all Ceylon schools. It would be a very good thing if the children of all English residents were also compelled to learn one of the two languages referred to—it might broaden their minds: a knowledge of the vernacular is also essential to any really successful professional work, and to any but the most superficial social intercourse. To deliberately punish children for speaking their own mother tongue is what we have learned to regard as the policy of Germany in Poland, or to expect of Russia in Finland, if they obtain the power. We do not expect it of English educationists in an English colony. And why should missionaries have so much voice in the matter? Only because the people of Ceylon are still willing to allow other people to do their own work for them.

European and Indian Government Officials.

The Rev. John Page Hopps, Editor of *The Coming Day*, London, writes to *The Daily Chronicle, London* :—

Thank you for your leader on "Our Indian Empire," in which you say: "To-day there are employed in the executive and judicial administration of British India 1,250,000 natives, as against a small sprinkling of 5,000 Englishmen. There is not a department of the administration that could be carried on to-day without the co-operation of Indian officials." That looked familiar to me, and then I remembered what was lately said to me by one of the most judicious, temperate, and reliable of Indians. He said, "There is not a department of administration but what could be carried on to-day by Indian officials." He went on to say that it would only require a little easy re-adjustment and "going up one" to dispense with the English officials altogether, as the work was done by Indians, barring the highly paid so-called work of the men at the head. Will some one tell us what are the wages of the 1,250,000 and what are the salaries and what will be the pensions of the 5,000?

Sanskrit Inscriptions in China.

Two Sanskrit inscriptions, said to be the first yet discovered in China, have been found by Commandant d'Ollone during his recent 'Mission', of which an account appears in the current number of the *Comptes Rendus* of the Academie des Inscriptions: we take the following from the *Athenaeum* of September 24th :—

"The Sanskrit inscription at Yun-nan-sen was found on a pyramid over 6 metres high, covered with Buddhist sculptures which M. d'Ollone considers to be more graceful and delicate than any others now existing in China. He hazards the guess that those on the lower part, which are distinctly Chinese in Type, were executed by native artists, while those on the upper, on which the Sanskrit inscription appears, were the work of sculptures imported from India."

The collection of works of Art.

"Experience teaches that the collection of works of art, provided it is prompted by genuine love of art, is of inestimable value to a nation as an agent for good and an antidote to purely materialistic tendencies."

W. S.

The collection of works of art now being made by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy for the next Allahabad Exhibition will be unique. It would be of incalculable benefit to India if we could permanently locate entire collection or as much of it as might be available in a national museum. Is it impossible to get money for the purpose?

India has already been denuded of a considerable portion of her art treasures; they are now in London, Berlin, Leyden, Copenhagen and other places in Europe. The process still goes on. While we hanker after the *trivial* art of Europe, neglecting both Indian art and the *great* art of Europe, Europeans who appreciate true art continue to spend money and time and energy to collect for their museums good specimens of Indian art. The following telegram from *The Empire*'s Madras correspondent is the latest instance of such Western efforts:—

Dr. Scherman, the eminent Oriental scholar and Director of Oriental languages, in the University of Munich, has been deputed by the German Government to make a tour of India and to collect ancient idols, bronze and copper articles, images and specimens of Hindu architecture, for the National Museum of Munich. Dr. and Mrs. Scherman, (who is an accomplished lady) will reach Madras at the end of the month from Colombo.

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Is there no means of keeping our art treasures in our own country? Shall we awake to the gravity of the problem only when it is too late?

A Fatal way of paying a compliment.

"India is destroying her civilisation out of compliment to England."

Rev. R. H. U. Bloor.

Our most important national duty is to understand the true meaning of civilisation and what is the distinctive and essential characteristic of Indian civilisation.

Education of Indian Women.

"The boys can take care of themselves, but the poor girls are at a disadvantage." This is what Her Gracious Highness the Maharani of Baroda said at Seattle to Sister Evelyn who had approached her with the proposal for establishing homes for the Indian students in the different university towns. And she was perfectly right. As her husband is the model prince in India, so is she the model princess. She has nothing else in her heart but the education of the Indian women.

It is a great shame to us men; and the way we have neglected the education of our women goes to show how selfish we are. Even the latest educational organization, the National Council of Education, has no provision for the girls. We know, there are some nationalits who will come forward with the argument that the "double prison of purdah and ignorance" doesn't stand in the way of our winning perfect citizenship. But pray, will it not be thousand times easier if our women are educated, at least as much and as many as men? Certainly there are many occasions in history when the men have drawn inspiration from the women and then have been able to accomplish noble deeds.

If the men are doing nothing for our brothers and daughters, let the women themselves take up the work. Let those women who have got education feel that it is their duty to educate the ignorant ones of their sex. We sincerely appeal to them to spend all their time, energy and money for the upliftment of their sisters and only for that.

Mothers and sisters, follow the lead of the Maharani of Baroda. You will be very much encouraged to hear that this royal lady in her recent travel in this country always made it a point to pick up able and worthy American ladies interested in the welfare of our dear motherland; and a band of such workers will, in the near future, leave the American shores to take up the cause of female education in Baroda. Mothers and sisters, those of you who are educated, form yourselves into an organisation all over India, decide upon the kind of education needed, and take the initiative. Then the men will surely feel ashamed; and cannot but help you in every possible way. We can assure you that there are some of your American sisters who are ever ready to help you. If such an organisation is started, we will be very happy to give information about our American sisters through the Modern Review.

Berkeley, U. S. A. "G."

The rate of increase of population in India.

In the article on high prices printed in this number the writer says that "it is an undisputed fact that the population of India is increasing at the rate of 15½ per cent. in a decade." He also quotes the *Statist* as saying that "The British Raj has stopped all intestine wars, has made life and property secure, and therefore has brought about an extraordinary increase of population." The real facts are given below, showing that the rate of increase has been neither 15½ p.c. per decade nor extraordinary. We quote from the *Census of India*, 1901, Volume I.

The gross increase of the population during the decade preceding the Census of 1901 was 2·4 per cent., compared with 13·1 and 23·1 per cent in the periods 1881—91 and 1872—81 respectively, but, as already explained, the real progress is obscured by the gradual extension of the area included within the scope of the census operations. Of the increase of nearly 48 millions recorded in 1881, no less than 33 millions was derived from the counting of new areas, and of the increase of 34 millions and 7 millions registered in 1891 and 1901, 5½ millions and 2½ millions respectively were obtained in the same way. The exclusion of these fictitious gains reduces the rate of increase in the three periods 1872—1881, 1881—1891, and 1891—1901 to 8·8, 10·9 and 1·5 per cent. respectively." P. 79.

In the next paragraph the Report discusses the elimination of variations on account of

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better enumeration. The following conclusion is then arrived at :—

"It may therefore be concluded that the true growth of the population since 1872 has been as follows :—
From 1872 to 1881—possibly *nil* and certainly not more than 1·5 per cent.
From 1881 to 1891—about 9·8 per cent.
From 1891 to 1901—about 1·5 per cent."

So the increase per decade has been very much less than 15½, and certainly not "extraordinary." A comparison with other civilised countries will show that our increase has been *less*, not *more* than that of the population in many other civilised countries. Our figures are taken or compiled from *The Statesman's Year Book*. From 1891 to 1901 the rate of increase has been in England 12·1, in Wales 13·3, and in Scotland 11·1. Belgium is the most thickly populated country in the world. Yet there from 1890 to 1900 the rate of increase has been nearly 13 per cent. From 1890 to 1901 the rate of increase in Denmark has been nearly 13 per cent. In the German Empire from 1895 to 1900 the rate of increase has been 1·5 per cent. *per annum* or 15 per cent. per decade. For the Russian Empire we extract a paragraph from the *Statesman's Year Book*, noting that the increase shown is for a period of 10 years approximately; so that the increase for a decade would approximately be obtained by dividing the figures by 4.

"The following table [it is needless for our purpose to print the table. *Ed., M. R.*] exhibits the details of the census which was taken over the whole of the Empire on January 28 (February 9) 1897, with the exception of the Grand-Duchy of Finland,—no less than 230,000 persons having been engaged to take part in it. Comparing the items of the census with the figures of the 1856—59, it appears that the population of the empire has increased by 74 per cent. The largest increases took place in the capitals (270 p. c. in St. Petersburg), South Russia comes next (207 p. c. in Kherson, 170 p. c. in Yekaterinoslav, 137 p. c. in Taurida). The increase in other parts of the Empire appears as follows :—North-West Russia, from 56 to 73 p. c.; Baltic Provinces, 25 to 58 p. c.; White Russia and Lithuania, 77 (Kovno) to 130 (Minsk) p. c.; Poland, 117 p. c.; Caucasus (without annexations) 95 p. c.; Siberia, 130 p. c."

In 1900 the population of the United States of America was 75 millions. This year the Director of the Census prophesies returns of over 90 million souls,—an increase of 20 p.c. in a decade.

The British belief, re-stated by the *Statist*, that because the British Government has stopped intestine wars and made life and property secure, therefore the increase of population is bound to be extraordinary, does not rest on incontrovertible logic, and it has been shown above from facts to be a myth. For though mortality from internecine wars has been *nil*, the mortality from famines and epidemics and many preventible diseases has been great; whether it has been greater than in the pre-British period we cannot say off-hand. It has been calculated that the mortality from famines alone in India from 1891 to 1901 was 19 millions, whereas the mortality from all the wars in the world from 1700 to 1900 was only five millions. We take the figures from *The Twentieth Century Magazine* of America for August, 1910, but cannot vouch for their accuracy.

Child marriage and increase of population.

There is a notion that the earlier a couple actually enter into the conjugal relation the more are they likely to add to the population of the country. This is a wrong idea. We are speaking, of course, of early marriages as they prevail in India, in the sense of child marriages, particularly in the case of girls. Even if it were true that the offspring of such marriages would be more numerous than in the case of adult marriages, there would at the same time be a greater mortality among the issue of immature mothers. But the fact is child marriages really serve as a check upon population and not unoften lead to complete sterility or untimely termination of the child-bearing period. We shall quote one authority; others may also be quoted.

"Nearly ninety years ago, when Dr. Francis Buchanan made his well-known survey of Bengal, embracing, under Lord Minto's orders, 'the practices and most remarkable customs of each different nation or tribe of which the population consists,' he wrote as follows of one of the districts in Bihar, the border land between Bengal and the United Provinces :—

"Premature marriages among some tribes, as in Shahabad, on the same footing, as in Bengal. This custom, so far as it extends, and the number of widows condemned by rank to live single, no doubt proves some check upon population."

"In another place Dr. Buchanan says [illegible] respect of marriage customs, Patna—

"is nearly on a footing with Bhagalpur; but (in Bihar) the custom of premature marriage is so prevalent: and it must be observed that in districts this custom is by no means such a [illegible]

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population as in Bengal, for there the girl usually is married when she is ten years of age, but in this district the girl remains at her father's house until the age of puberty, and of course her children are stronger and she is less liable to sterility." Pp. 433-434, Vol. I, *The Census of India, 1901*.

So when the writer of the article on "High Prices" says that with the system of early marriages (meaning child-marriages of course) an increase of population is inevitable, he lays down a proposition which is by no means incontrovertible.

"The necessity for emigration."

The same writer thinks that he has established the necessity for emigration from India. We also admit that there should be emigration from India, but certainly not because India is over-populated. India is really wofully under-populated. Any one who has travelled through India, up hill and down dale, knows this from the evidence furnished by his eyes. But as many Indians unfortunately do not do so and as the modern tyranny of statistics has to be reckoned with, we give some convincing figures here. The population per square mile in Austro-Hungary is 196·22, in Austria 243·03, in Belgium 627·95, in Denmark 127·58, in France 189·51, in the German Empire 289·60, in Italy 303·71, in Japan 434·91, in the Netherlands 445·12, in Switzerland 216·51, in the United Kingdom 356·11, and in India 166·62. The figures for France, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and India are for 1906 and the rest for 1905. So India is not over-populated. It may be contended, however, that as she is an agricultural country, a greater population can not be supported in India by agriculture. This is not true, even from the point of view of *extensive* culture, leaving aside the method of intensive farming. For we find in that common school-book, Arden Wood's *General Geography for Indian Schools*, that "about a quarter of India is unculturable, and nearly a quarter is culturable but at present uncultivated", P. 145. So about 450,000 square miles of culturable land in the Indian Empire still remains untilled.

It is no doubt true that in some provinces, notably Bihar, the population is very dense. But others are sparsely inhabited. In Assam the population is 120 to the square mile, in Burma 44, in Kashmir 38, in Central India 108, and in the Central Provinces 112. So that there is much room for inter-provincial migration in India. Both official and non-official agencies ought to work much more in this direction than they have hitherto done. But, wherever it exists, indentured labour ought to be put an end to. Free labour and free emigration ought to be the invariable rule. Persuasion and inducements of easy land tenure, and, where necessary, subsidised farming, should be the only methods employed.

Emigration to Foreign Countries.

Our students must go abroad for such education as cannot be had at home. Other Indians must go abroad for such opportunities of improving their material condition as do not exist in India. Besides the direct gain of education and wealth to these two classes of voyagers to foreign lands, there is the much more important indirect gain to spur them on. A sojourn in foreign lands cannot but awaken political consciousness and political aspirations. The atmosphere of free countries is worth breathing. It has such a bracing effect on our entire nature. If we seek work in foreign lands and cannot easily find it, in spite of our capacity, willingness and sobriety, whereas any foreigner may come to India and work and even settle here if he likes, the contrast cannot but set us thinking more vigorously as to why it is so, than any amount of reading in newspapers about the sufferings of our countrymen abroad. Moreover the majority of our countrymen do not and cannot read ; they are illiterate. They can have an idea of their political condition only by actual personal experience. We must also all know by actual experienc why in other countries people earn so much, whereas we cannot do so in our own country. Emigration to foreign lands will knock all caste and creed and race conceits out of our heads. "The politically important," "dynamic," and "loyal" Musalman, "the too-holy-to-be-touched" Brahman, and "the untouchable" lower classes, all will find that they are pariahs ; and, as in the Transvaal, will learn to fraternise and stand shoulder to shoulder in a struggle for the rights of man.

In a word, we must all graduate in the

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University of Hard Knocks. Else we shall all remain less than men.

True, in foreign lands, there are sufferings and hardships and ill-treatment, and possibly starvation by death in store for us. But is India such a paradise? Are there no miseries here? No chronic semi-starvation? No wrongs? For the sake of the Motherland itself, we must learn to leave India, for a while at least. We must not like children cling for ever to her knees.

A speech of the incoming Viceroy.

Lord Hardinge's postprandial speech at a banquet has set all Anglo-Indian and Indian journalists speculating as to what will be his policy and the character of his administration. Many previous instances have shown the utter uselessness and delusiveness of all such speculations. Words have many meanings and shades of meaning, and there are many reservations and mental ifs and buts. It is best, therefore, to wait and judge a man by his actual performances.

We note that the Viceroy-elect has expressed a desire to conciliate all classes, creeds and races in India. This means, not that each section is to get whatever it demands (which is impossible), but that justice is to be done to all and the just claims of all are to be met. Judging by this standard, if Lord Hardinge is to fulfil his own desire, he will have to do several things.

To satisfy all Indians, he will in the first place have to do *all* that lies in his power to secure for Indians the full rights of British citizenship in British colonies. Success, of course, he cannot command; what is expected of him is that he should make a persistent, whole-hearted endeavour. This, we are convinced, has not yet been done either by the Imperial or the Indian Government. If the colonists will not admit us on an equal footing, let there be reciprocity, let them and their goods be prevented from coming to India. That will, in the last resort, satisfy Indians.

In the second place, if Lord Hardinge wishes to conciliate Hindus and in fact all non-Musalmans in India, he will have to give them exactly the same status and rights under Lord Morley's Reform Scheme as the Musalmans enjoy. Preferential treatment accorded to any one class cannot possibly conciliate other classes.

In the third place, if he wishes to conciliate Hindus all over India, he will have to stop the North-Western frontier raids. As the aggressors are all Musalmans and deliberately choose Hindus as their victims, these raids are felt as a great humiliation by all Hindus. It cannot be that the powerful British Government cannot stop these raids, if they be convinced of the seriousness of the problem from our point of view.

In the fourth place, if Lord Hardinge wishes to conciliate the Bengalis, he will have to undo or suitably modify the Partition of Bengal. In years to come even the faintest traces of any anti-partition demonstration may be obliterated by executive order, but Bengalis will never be reconciled to the divison of their province and people effected by Lord Curzon.

But we have no desire to draw up an exhaustive list of the various things which in our opinion Lord Hardinge should do to conciliate all classes of the people. So we stop here.

The N. W. Frontier Raids.

The raids on Hindus by their transfrontier Pathan neighbors still continue. The following are the details of the latest raid committed at Phalhar in Tank on the night of the 10th October. About 11 p.m. a number of Waziris entered the house of one Ganeshram by scaling over the wall of the adjoining house and overpowered Ganeshram's Bhanjuram, nephew of Ganeshram, raised an alarm but was assaulted with a dagger. Ganeshram, who came to his rescue, was killed. Ganeshram's mother and wife were also wounded and his infant child taken away. *The Mahomedans of the village had some guns given them for the protection. Hindus did not turn up.* Bhanjuram is said to be lying in a precarious condition.

Considering that the raiders are all Musalmans and that, with the exception of one Shaikh Muhammad Akram, all the victims have been Hindus, by deliberate choice, the official who gave the Mahomedans of the village arms for the protection of the Hindus must be held to be an unconscious humorist of the first order.

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The Anti-partition Agitation.

The anti-partition, swadeshi and boycott movements in Bengal are all connected with one another. They may even be considered in their origin one and the same; though, no doubt, even if the partition were now cancelled, the swadeshi movement will not come to an end.

Therefore in considering why the antipartition agitation does not now show the same vigour and volume as before, we should take into account the causes which have affected all these allied movements. We shall mention some of the principal causes, but not in chronological order. After the deportation of nine Bengali gentlemen without trial, there were questions asked in Parliament as to why they had been deported. In reply to one of these questions it was officially said that the deportations were due to causes connected with the swadeshi agitation. But as the deportees were never told their offence nor brought to trial, and as some other gentlemen very prominently connected with that agitation were not deported or legally proceeded against, people have not been yet able to understand what sort of connection with the Antipartition-Swadeshi-Boycott agitation qualified the nine gentlemen for deportation and disqualified their fellows. So a vague sort of terror came to be connected with all three movements, and people began to fight shy of them.

There was also the cry in the Anglo-Indian press and among Anglo-Indian officials that the boycott movement had led to terrorist crimes. We, for ourselves, have never been convinced as to any necessary cause-and-effect connection between the two. The cry, however, led to the giving up of the use of the world "boycott"; it was said that the people had not given up and would not give up the thing itself. But the fact is the same fear that led to the avoidance of the name, has been also leading (let us charitably suppose, subconsciously) to the gradual moving away of the people from the urging and practice of boycott itself.

The effect of the repressive legislation against public meetings, the proclamation of districts under the Seditious Meetings Act and the stopping of conferences have to be taken into consideration. As Calcutta is the centre of the movement, whatever has an adverse influence on the movement in Calcutta tells upon it in the districts. So the order stopping meetings in the squares half an hour before sunset, the passing of the new Calcutta Police Act which increases the risk of holding and addressing public meetings and the stopping of the celebration of the last 7th of August "Boycott" anniversary, must be considered as having a very important bearing on the permanence and strength of the movements.

The agitation has all along been carried on by both speech and writing. Hence the restrictive and repressive press legislation has also affected the movement. And it should be borne in mind that whenever any restrictive or repressive measure is passed, against either public speech or writing, it has the effect of repressing or restraining more than is necessary, and that even when the legislature does not intend that such a result should be produced. For the Executive and the Police sometimes give effect to the measures more rigorously than is necessary, and people also like to be on the safe side.

Thus not only have our speakers almost ceased to agitate, the journalists have also allowed some respite to their pens on this subject.

The political dacoity and conspiracy cases have also produced a deterrent effect on the agitation. Some men connected with the agitation have been convicted by the law-courts on the charges of dacoity or conspiracy, and there is a doubt in the public mind that some convictions have not been right, though some were so. Again, some gentlemen connected with this tripartite agitation were arrested by the police on suspicion of their complicity in dacoity and conspiracy cases and kept in confinement for weeks and months, though at length they were either not committed for trial or acquitted after trial. And of the innocence of these men the public have had no doubt from the start. The net effect of the troubles undergone by these innocent men has been to make men of lukewarm or easy-going disposition (and it must be confessed that most of us belong to this class) give a wide berth to the Antipartition-Swadeshi-Boycott Movement. Then there are the house-searches. In the majority of cases, the searches have been entirely

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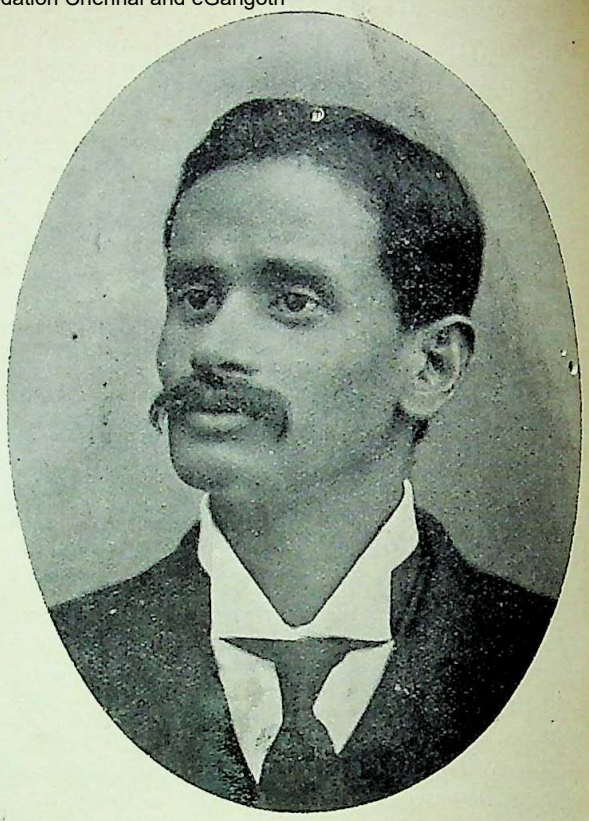
fruitless. The Police have taken the touble to make these troublesome searches (we mean troublesome to the householders) for nothing. And among the houses raided have been those of men connected with the movement. So it has been rightly or wrongly connected in the popular mind with the searches as a possible contributory cause. This has increased the tendency to avoid the agitation. Lastly has come Sir Edward Baker's pronouncement against the antipartition demonstration.

National life in India has been cast in the Western political mould comparatively recently. It would not have been unnatural or unexpected, therefore, if the agitation had naturally subsided and come to an end in course of time, considering that it had failed to gain its primary object. But it cannot now be said that political agitation of the Western type has not taken root in the soil. For, as shown above, there have been so many causes to disturb the natural course of the antipartition movement, that it is now impossible to say what, left to itself, would have been its present condition or character.

Rakhi Day.

The Rakhi Day was observed this year with as much enthusiasm as one had a right to expect from the inclemency of the weather and the openly expressed dissaproval of the Government, amounting practically to a prohibition. We know personally and also from men of the greatest veracity who were behind the scenes, that the shops and bazars were closed spontaneously and willingly and "no-cooking" was also observed with equal spontaneity. These facts are more significant than the numbers of the processionists and the audience at the public meeting, though these, too, were under the circumstances quite satisfactory.

The public meeting was presided over by Mr. A. Rasul, M. A. (Oxon), Barrister-at-law. Attempts have been made to belittle his importance. But character, brains and disinterested patriotism must tell. These are more than the possession of acres, even when the possessor cannot manage them himself. Mr. Rasul's speech was worthy of the occasion, full of sound reasoning and convincing facts and figures.



Mr. A. Rasul.

We have often been told that the partition is a settled fact. But why is it not demonstrated to us what good it has done or is calculated to do to even the Musalmans which could not have been done without the partition? Where are the facts to show that it has increased the efficiency of the administration, if by that is not meant the increase of crime?

Sir Edward Baker and the Antipartition Agitation.

Sir Edward Baker having admitted the lawful and constitutional character of the agitation ought not to have asked loyal and law-abiding persons to refrain from taking part in it. There was no consistency in his doing so. For his advice plainly carried the implication that those who would take part in it would not be quite loyal and law-abiding. Moreover, a constitutional ruler, as Sir Edward claims to be, should not use his moral influence and the fear that it excites in a country where there is no popular control, to put a stop to a constitutional movement.

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Whatever our work or profession may be, we should try to excel in it, so that we may feel that we are men. Nothing great can be done without confidence.

The Second Punjab Hindu Conference.

The second Punjab Hindu Conference, held last month at Multan, was very largely attended and the proceedings were throughout marked by great enthusiasm. As for results, its critics will, we hope, try to find out what results the Indian National Congress achieved immediately after its first two sittings. Comparison is a safe guide in such cases.

We are glad to find that the Conference has not shown any desire for preferential treatment, which really means an encroachment on the just rights of others. It has simply tried to secure for Hindus equitable treatment.

Of the ten resolutions passed this year, four were political in their character. Should any one feel disposed to wonder as to whether the Conference was political or non-political, we would ask him to bear in mind that some Provincial conferences, which are certainly political institutions, have passed resolutions calling for the elevation of the depressed classes,—which is undoubtedly a social problem.

Who is a Hindu?

The Conference having been presided over by Baba Gur Bakhsh Singh Bedi, the spiritual head of the Sikhs, a question has arisen as to who is a Hindu. The Baba himself declared that Sikhs, *Aryas* and Brahmos are all Hindus.

Indian Musalmans who go to Arabia on pilgrimage are called Hindus there. All inhabitants of India who visit the United States of America are there called Hindus. But we in India do not use the word in that sense. Here it is usual to attach to the word a meaning according to which a Hindu may be defined as a man who observes the distinctions of caste and all allied restrictions as to food, etc., worships idols, and accepts the Brahman as the officiating priest at marriages and funerals, etc. But we think such a definition unduly and unnecessarily restricts the meaning of the word. If we go back to Vedic times we do not find that caste was so stereotyped as that the worship of idols was considered a *sine qua non*, or that the same restrictions as to food existed as now, or that the Brahman had the monopoly of the priest's function and of spiritual ministration. We think, therefore, that all persons of Hindu extraction whose spiritual ideals, culture and exercises are mainly Hindu in character and origin, and whose social and domestic life and ideals conform generally to the Hindu type may be called Hindus.

The Revolution in Portugal.

All lovers of liberty must rejoice at the establishment of a republic in Portugal. The revolution which brought it about took place only ten days after the opening of a Parliament by the Portuguese King, showing how belated reforms often prove unavailing.

We are glad to read that the revolutionists did not perpetrate a single act of private revenge, that no plundering was allowed and that King Manuel was allowed to leave Portugal unmolested. All this shows the admirable temper of the republicans. We could wish, however, that they had been able to prevent the mobbing of the religious houses also, though there is nothing to be said against the expulsion of the Jesuits and other people of the same description. Here in India we know the Jesuits to be very estimable educationists.

The revolution changes the political condition of Goa and a few other places in India. It will be a matter of sincere gratification if the change improves their moral and material condition.

The New President and some of his colleagues are described in the subjoined extract.

> The new President is Senhor Theophilo Braga, a man of 67, son of a Lisbon Doctor. He has been known as a Republican ever since he began to write forty years ago, though his connection with practical politics has been very brief. He is a poet, a writer on sociological subjects, and professor of Portuguese literature at the High Literary College in Lisbon—a striking example, therefore, of a literary revolutionary. President Braga, says a contributor to the *Times*, owes his office to the qualities and attainments which formerly gave him the presidency of the Academy of Sciences and later that of the Republican Congress.
>
> He is a man not only of great education and command of language, but of lofty and far-reaching ideals. Not long ago in conversation with the writer he described at great length, with tears in his eyes and in a voice choking with emotion, the hopeless

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distress in which his fellow-countrymen were living and a burning desire for its amelioration. He explained his immediate political ideal for the Peninsula as a federation of four or five Republics, based on racial characteristics, of which Portugal, together with Galicia, should form one. Dr. Braga's ideals are still drawn largely from the pictures of the French Revolution, and the thoroughness with which he follows them to their logical conclusion has earned him in some quarters the name of visionary and Utopian.

His patriotism and the generosity of his motives, we are told, are above suspicion, but he is no longer young, and the task he has assumed would tax the powers of a man of greater physique, nervous energy and experience of affairs than Dr. Braga can pretend to. The most prominent of his colleagues is the Foreign Minister, Dr. Bernardino Machado, the only one who has had experience of office. He is a constitutional Republican, an active philanthropist, a man of independent fortune, and is described as the chief educative and attractive force of the Republican party in recent years. He has passed (says the *Times'* writer above quoted) as the restraining influence of the party; "but despite his patriarchal manner and reassuring exterior, the Monarchy has had no more deadly foe." Senhor Costa, the Minister of Justice, who comes perhaps next in importance, exemplifies the opposite type of Republican leader. He is described as a tough-fibred man in the prime of life, full of ambition and nervous energy, a successful barrister and an advocate of armed revolution. Such are the men to whom for the present the affairs of the infant Republic are entrusted.

We note for the benefit of those who are crying aloud for religious education in our schools, that the Portuguese Republic has passed orders for the complete secularisation of its schools, no doubt for sufficient reasons.

The First Hindi Literary Conference.

Literary Conferences are calculated to stimulate the growth of literature, and good literature exerts a very healthy influence on national life. These conferences indirectly increase the extent of literacy and raise the level of intelligence of the people. For these and similar reasons the holding of the first Hindi Literary Conference has given us great pleasure. In addition to what the Conference wishes to do with regard to Hindi literature, it wishes to see two results brought about. One is the adoption of Devanagari as the common script throughout India; and the other the adoption of Hindi as the national language of India. The first is a much simpler affair than the second. Though not an easy task, it is certainly much more feasible than the second. It is superfluous to enumerate the advantages of a common script, they are so obvious. We think if any Indian script ever becomes the common script for India, it will be the Devanagari, though it is neither the oldest, nor the mother of other Indian scripts. The reasons for our "prophecy" are that it is more widespread than other characters, and Sanskrit books are generally written and printed in it.

As regards a common language for India (a question which we have discussed on more than one occasion), Hindi has several advantages over other Indian languages. It is spoken and understood over a wider area than any other vernacular, it is the language spoken in the most famous places of Hindu pilgrimage, it is also the language spoken in the places where are to be found many of the most wonderful specimens of Indian architecture. Moreover, Urdu, which is so liked by Musalmans, is only Hindi with a somewhat large admixture of Persian and Arabic words. But its disadvantages are that it is not the easiest to learn, among prominent Indian vernaculars that it does not possess a better modern literature than some other prominent vernaculars of India (thus offering little inducement to non-Hindi speaking Indians to learn it) and it does not appeal to the speakers of the Dravidian tongues in the South.

In a paper written for the Conference Babu Sarada Charan Mitra is reported to have said: —

> The Bengali should as a sister dialect try to help the Hindi into rapid progress and ought not to try to suppress it, which in fact it cannot, considering the population that uses it. It would be opposed to well established theories of history and science of languages to attempt to impose wholesale a dialect like the Bengali upon the peoples of the rest of India. If the Bengalis were the governing race like the English, such an idea might have been worth entertaining, but as it is the imposition of the Bengali would be almost an impossibility. The Anglo-Indian Government itself would be opposed to it and try its best to prevent such a movement.

We are sorry that Babu Sarada Charan made the above quite unnecessary observations. It is not a very commendable or useful feat to lay a ghost of one's own creation. What Bengali ever tried or proposed to try to suppress Hindi? Who ever proposed to *impose* wholesale the Bengali language on the whole of India? The speaker has been a distinguished lawyer and judge, and must be presumed to possess

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the judicial habit of not speaking without proof. Will he very kindly let the public know the evidence on which he bases his assertions? Just as the advocates of Hindi urge its adoption by all the peoples of India, so the advocates of Bengali have put forward its claims, but neither so often nor so persistently as the advocates of Hindi. There never has been any question of *imposing*. It seems then that if the advocates of Hindi repeatedly urge its claims over a number of years, it is quite allowable (as it undoubtedly is), but if the claims of Bengali are urged only twice or thrice, it must be considered a heinous offence. Mr. Mitra ought to have been able to resist the temptation of appearing wise by exposing the imaginary foolishness of others. Other Bengalis know as well as Mr. Mitra that even Russia has not been able to impose the Russian language on the Poles. Of course, the Anglo-Indian Government itself would be opposed to the imposition of Bengali on the whole of India and try its best to prevent such a movement. But the question is, who ever dreamt of such a movement? We hope Mr. Mitra has been assured that the Anglo-Indian Government will enthusiastically help forward a movement for making Hindi the common language of India.

There is much truth in the following observations of Mr. Mitra:

> Bengal has not yet understood the necessity of a common script and a common language. It is still proud of its advance in the Bengali dialect and literature as it deservedly is, but it has also the narrowness of looking to Bengal alone and not outside it.

He went on to say:—

> I have always expressed my sentiment against the separation of the Bengalis from the people of Bihar and Orissa and the formation of a province consisting only of the Bengali-speaking people. Such a separation would, in my opinion, be suicidal to the wished for consolidation of the Indian people. I am indeed opposed to cries of 'Bengal for Bengalis' 'Bihar for Biharis' or 'the Punjab for Punjabis.' Narrow nationalism is a serious bar to the growth of a true Indian nationality. Patriotism in its broad phases is not confined to mere political unity; it embraces script, language, manners and customs and their uniform gradual progress. The days of small states in a country are gone; the world has broader views and we should not lag behind. Social and literary union must be the basis of the solidarity of a nation, and strength of union must also to a large extent depend on numerical strength.

These remarks have our entire support. Only we should like to make it perfectly clear that no Bengali has ever desired separation from Bihar or Orissa; Bengalis only want that all Bengali-speaking districts should be under one provincial government. If other districts are placed under the same government, they have not the least objection. It is the most vocal men of Bihar who have desired separation from Bengal.

The Chinese National Assembly.

The Chinese National Assembly was opened in Peking by the Regent on October 3. He declared that the Assembly represented the verdict of the people. Though it was only an initial step towards a Constitution, it was an emblem of hope for the great future of the country, and showed that China was in harmony with the world's progress. The business of the Assembly at present is advisory and not legislative, but the people and members are elated at the partial realisation of representative government. The Government has taken a large part in the selection of members, so that we need not expect a great deal from it. Nevertheless, we are told, its inauguration has been hailed with joy in China as the beginning of a new era. The Peking correspondent of the *Times* says:—

> It is much remarked that the Assembly was opened with little pomp and ceremony, and that the foreign Missions were not invited, as if the Government was anxious not to attract great attention to the beginning of its constitutional experiment. It is possible that the Chinese do not wish to have foreign critics of their tentative steps in constitutional procedure, and it is true that the Law School, where the ceremony was held, is too small to accommodate all the members of the Assembly.
>
> It is significant that the semi-official *Daily News* (Peking) in a leading article favours the widest extension of authority in a future Parliament. A vernacular newspaper states that the Regent is impressed with the strength of the popular desire for the acceleration of the preparations for a full Parliament, and that he has decided to shorten the period of probation and to convoke a Legislative Assembly within three years.

The first edict authorizing the creation of a National Assembly was issued three years ago, when the late Empress Dowager declared that in China the time had not yet come for the establishment of Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament; it was necessary first to create a National Assembly as the foundation of a Parliament. The

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regulations received imperial sanction on August 23, 1909. The new assembly is a single Chamber, but it contains the elements of two Chambers, that is, representatives of certain privileged classes who will form the basis of an Upper House, and representatives from the Provincial Assemblies who will form the basis of a Lower House. Members are nominated for a term of three years.

At the first serious business meeting of the Assembly on 22nd October last great enthusiasm prevailed. Many princes and high officials were present. A motion praying the throne to open Parliament at an early date was unanimously carried.

On October 26th, the Assembly, after a dignified debate, unanimously favoured the opening of Parliament as early as possible, rejecting an amendment postponing it for three years. The President promised when he presents the Memorial to the Throne that he will use his influence to explain that the world sympathises with a Parliament.

The latest news regarding the Chinese assembly is that an edict orders the Government Council to consider the Assembly's memorial for a Parliament in conjunction with the provincial representations, and present a report to the Throne at the general audience. The people are most hopeful considering that the majority are certain of support.

It is reasonable to hope that China will soon have a Parliament. We rejoice at the progress which humanity is making in all parts of the world. It cannot also be without its effect on our destiny. Representative Government cannot be long withheld from India.

Persia.

A Note has been presented by Britain to the Persian Government stating that unless order is restored within three months Great Britain will be obliged to take certain measures, consisting of the organisation of a local force commanded by Anglo-Indian officers. The cost of maintaining the force will be defrayed out of a ten per cent. surcharge on the customs of the Gulf. If this is insufficient a portion of the Fars customs will be added. If local recruits cannot be obtained Great Britain will introduce Indian troops. The justification for such a Note is sought in the argument that the trade of Great Britain in Southern Persia has suffered severely and the Persian authorities are unable to afford any protection. The Note holds out nothing more or less than a threat of a punitive police and a deliberate determination to override the sovereign rights of Persia as an independent Government. Reuter is informed that the Note was presented after consultation with Russia.

Persia's reply to the British Note dwells on the chaos which prevailed when the new regime was established, particularly with regard to finances. Nevertheless the new regime has succeeded in many ways in bettering the condition of the country. It emphasises that the presence of foreign troops keeps alive the vain hope that the Ex-Shah will be restored. It explains how, for political reasons, the attempt to obtain a small advance from England and Russia failed, and refers to the letter from the British Minister on the 16th March which impeded negotiations and destroyed Persia's chance of restoring order. The Persian Government thinks the best means of restoring and maintaining order will be the surcharge of ten per cent. on Customs but as the method indicated by Britain would be contrary to the independence of Persia and the traditional friendship between the two countries, Government cannot consent thereto, but attaching the greatest importance to Britain's anxiety concerning trade, it proposes that Persia herself shall levy the surcharge. The Note concludes by pointing out the increase in trade, showing that foreign merchants have no right to complain of loss.

German papers, ignoring all denials, protest indignantly against the supposed Anglo-Russian schemes for the partition of Persia.

We shall be happy if events prove the baselessness of Germany's suspicions.

A correspondent of the "Indian Daily Telegraph" writes:—

The Persians are stated to have been goaded into a boycott of Russian goods. Finding that the Russian Government showed no sign of any intention to withdraw its troops from Persia, the Nationalists at first instituted a boycott of Russian cotton and woollen goods, which are imported in immense quantity into the country. Russian manufacturers and importing houses suffered great damage, but the Russian

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Government still remained obdurate. The boycott has been extended to Russian sugar and petrol. Many markets of Russian goods are stated to have been ruined thereby. Germany is also said to be utilising the Persian hatred of Russia to the utmost. The agents of German manufacturing companies are pouring into Persia and Persians are readily purchasing goods made in Germany.

Mr. M. F. B. Lynch of the firm of Lynch Bros., well-known all over Persia and who has been a resident for many years in that country says, among other things, in a letter addressed to the London Press : —

I am convinced that the Persian Government are doing all that lies within their power to set their own house in order, and that the time has come for the display—it is already overdue—of a fuller measure of sympathy and consideration towards Persia by her two great neighbours, England and Russia. The occasion is more than ripe for these two Powers to make good the assurances which are so well expressed in the despatch of the British Charge d' Affaires at Teheran writing to the Persian Government on the morrow of of the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. After quoting a declaration of M. Izvolsky to the effect that 'neither of the two Powers seeks anything from Persia, so that Persia can concentrate all her energies on the settlement of her internal affairs,' the despatch goes on to state that the object of the two powers in making this agreement is not in any way to attack but rather to assure for ever the independence of Persia. Peasia is to work out her own salvation 'aided and assisted by her two powerful neighbours'.

What steps have already been taken by the Persian Government to establish their claims to the confidence of their neighbours and friends? They have been greatly hampered by want of money. * * * But in spite of an improverished Treasury, much has already been accomplished. A force of gendarmerie, about two thousand strong, has been organised in the capital, and in addition to the brigade of Persian Cossacks, the Government have now at their disposal in Teheran several reformed regiments of the Regular Army, well armed and equipped. Rahim Khan, the notorious brigand, has been surrounded and has taken refuge in Russia. The 'fidais' have been disarmed. It would be unfair to ignore the part which Sardar Assad and his Bakhtiari have played in the pacification of the country. But this a factor entirely to the credit of Persia, and which augurs well for her future coherence.

It was clearly recognised by the leaders of the reform movement that Persia is at present unable to produce men of sufficient experience to overhaul and to reorganise the great administrative departments of State. Their programme therefore included the employment of European experts of character and capacity—men of high standing in their own countries —who, by their example as well as by their methods, should form the habits and train the intelligence of a new generation of Persian officials.

Mr. Lynch goes on to add that serious efforts are now being made to abtain the services of such men. He goes on to say :—

Such are some of the measures to which it is possible to point as evidence of the capacity of the Reformed Government and of the spirit in which they have addressed themselves to a task of no ordinary difficulty. But so long as the Russian troops remain in the country the feeling of unrest inseparable from a change in the methods of Government will not be easy to allay. I do not know what conditions they attach to evacuation, though nobody, I suppose, could object to the renewal of the concession for a copper mine which has figured in the Press. But insistence on condition is plainly contrary to the assurance given to the Persian Government in the most solemn form on the day before the arrival of the Russian troops in Tabriz. Writing under special instructions from their respective Governments, the British and Russian Consuls informed the Anjuman or Provincial Council of that city 'that the object of the entry of the troops was of a humanitarian nature, namely, to provide for the revictualling of the place and the protection of its inhabitants against the barbarous horsemen of Karadargh.' They added that once this object had been achieved and order restored, the troops would be withdrawn without delay, without conditions and without any claim for an indemnity. In the face of these assurances—'complete assurance' is the phrase used by the consuls—how do the Russian Government justify their present insistence upon conditions?

The good faith of our own country would appear to be involved in this matter.

Mr. A. O. Hume's Message to Congress-men.

"If this should chance to be my last message and advice, I would say to you and to *all;* be of good cheer! never grow faint or weary in the up-hill fight ; stick to constitutional methods; be united brother soldiers in one holy army; put far from you alike all selfish aims, all personal differences, be vigilant, wise and temperate alike in worth and in desert ; be sure that a Power greater than all Kings or Viceroys or Parliaments will lead you in the fulness of Time, to all that you can rightly and wisely desire, and to all that you have tutored yourselves to merit."

Mrs. Besant on India's "prejudice against the foreigner."

In a lecture delivered last month at the premises of the Lahore Theosophical Society, Mrs. Annie Besant said that one of the prejudices which India must overcome in order to realise her destiny is the prejudice against the foreigner. On this *The Tribune* makes the following appropriate comments : —

In reality, however, most of the prejudice lies the other way. The history of India does by no means corroborate the theory of any prejudice being entertained by Indians against foreigners. The ancient Parsee

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immigrants were hospitably received and sheltered on the shores of India. The English merchants were welcomed with open arms by the people. In the sphere of literature and art, the educated Indians, as even Mr. Valentine Chirol has recognised, plucked with both hands the fruits of western culture, and the noble literature and science of England have always had an extraordinary fascination for the Indian mind. In fact, barring the rabid writings of a few irresponsible vernacular papers, which came into existence and disappeared within the last few years, there has never been exhibited in India the least prejudice against the foreigner. Just look at the other side of the picture. Colour and racial prejudice fill the minds of European colonists in Australia, South Africa, Canada and the United States. In South Africa, Indian subjects of His Majesty are subjected to a most galling and harrassing persecution for the mere crime of colour. In the United States, a prize fight between a black man and a white recently led to a violent demonstration against all coloured people. Blame the Indian by all means for such prejudice as he may have, but the beam is in the eye of the foreigner himself.

Yorkshire Woolen Traders are Philanthropists pure and simple.

The Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce state that the Board of Trade have refused to receive a deputation to urge the serious effects of the Japanese tariff on the Yorkshire woollen trade, on the ground that no good result can accrue. The Chamber has, therefore, resolved to seek an interview with the Board of Trade to urge the hardship of the tariff on the Japanese poor who are deprived of woolen garments in winter.

We thank the Chamber for adding to the stock of the world's funny ideas.

It is impossible for the Japanese Government to feel more for the Japanese poor than the Huddersfield Chamber.

A Prize Essay.

Dr. A. K.Coomaraswamy offers a prize of Rs. 250 for the best essay upon "Trade Guilds in India" in connection with the U. P. Exhibition. The doctor will be the sole judge and the essay must reach him by December 31st. The competitors are advised to select any Guild in a manufacturing town. The particulars should be given of the history, constitution, meetings, regulations of trade, settlement of disputes, support given to the poor or unfortunate members, the religious ceremonies observed, provision for education, etc. The award will be made before the end of January.

The Ranade Institute.

The objects of the Ranade Institute, opened in September last, are :—

(*a*) To promote the spread of industrial, technical and scientific knowledge in the country.

(*b*) To collect statistical, historical and other information about other countries, which is likely to be useful to the industrial progress of India.

(*c*) To publish from time to time reviews by competent persons of the economic position, needs and prospects of India.

(*d*) To send, as funds permit, scholars with good qualifications in science, engineering or technical arts, and possessing the necessary aptitudes, to England, Japan and other countries to learn the manufacture of those articles, for which there is a plentiful supply of raw material in this country, and which might, therefore, be profitably manufactured here.

(*e*) To provide facilities to such scholars, on their return to India, to enable them to demonstrate by experiments on a small scale that the manufactures in question can be successfully started.

(*f*) To advance in other ways the industrial development of the country.

And for the present it is to confine its attention to the following industries and these too will be taken in hand one by one.

(1) Cement.
(2) Oils, Soaps, Candles, &c.
(3) Matches.
(4) Sugar.
(5) Extract of Myrobalans.
(6) Bone-Products.

There should be similar institutes in all parts of the country.

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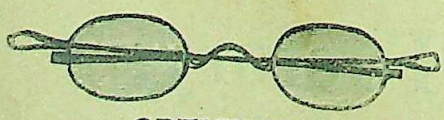
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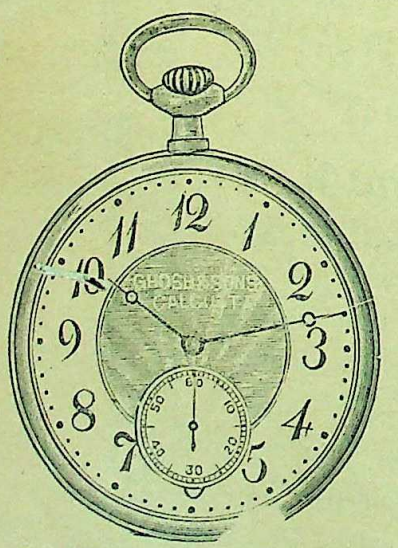
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A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

DECEMBER, 1910

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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DECEMBER, 1910

WHOLE
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PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AND MAN'S SURVIVAL OF BODILY DEATH

I.

MOST of us, perhaps, have, in a general way, heard something of the Society for Psychical Research, but it is not probable that many have found time or have had the patience to study the ponderous and often dry-as-dust volumes of the Proceedings of the Society. I have undertaken to write this series of articles in order to give the general reader a rough idea of the results so far achieved by the Society in some spheres of its field of activity and the bearing of them on the momentous question of man's survival of bodily death. I shall begin with the simple cases of apparitions and telepathy and end with the complex and amazing phenomena of cross-correspondence. The facts to be cited will almost all be taken from the Proceedings of the Society. I shall endeavour to state as impartially as possible the alternative theories put forward to account for the facts and conclude with some observations of my own on their interpretation and the metaphysical problems which they suggest.

The Society for Psychical Research was founded in 1882 by some eminent men of science and letters

"for the purpose of making an organised and systematic attempt to investigate the various sorts of debatable phenomena which are *prima facie* inexplicable on any generally recognised hypothesis."

The Society undertook principally to investigate the following subjects :—

(1) An examination of any influence which may be exerted by one mind upon another apart from any generally recognised mode of perception.

(2) The study of hypnotism and mesmerism and an inquiry into the alleged phenomena of clairvoyance.

(3) A careful investigation of any reports, resting on testimony sufficiently strong and not too remote of apparitions coinciding with some external event (as for instance death) or giving information previously unknown to the percipient, or being seen by two or more persons independently of each other.

(4) An inquiry into various alleged phenomena apparently inexplicable by known laws of nature, and commonly referred by spiritualists to the agency of extra-human intelligences.

(5) The collection and collation of existing materials bearing on the history of these subjects.

Stories of ghosts, haunted houses, apparitions and such other supernormal phenomena have been current since time immemorial. Their reality has been denied, they have been proclaimed as unworthy of credence of men with any pretension to culture and education, they have been persistently poohpoohed and jeered at, but, all the same, they display a tenacious vitality which is explicable only on the supposition that amidst much illusion and deception, there does exist a

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nucleus of something which demands explanation. As Professor Hyslop says,—

"Their constancy in the experience of all races in all stages of human culture has been so prominent a fact that Mr. Herbert Spencer traces not only the belief in a future life to them, but also the origin of religion. He is also so much impressed with their influence upon ideas and institutions that he gives them an important place among the forces that determine the data of Sociology."

It is difficult to attribute beliefs so persistent and wide-spread entirely to superstition and illusion. At any rate, a scientific age can scarcely leave unexplored a *terra incognita* full, it may be, of mines of gold or of bogs and quicksand only.

Now, the Society for Psychical Research came into existence precisely with the object of settling once for all the question whether there is any substratum of truth in the supernormal phenomena so persistently alleged to occur and if so what is their explanation and significance. It is obvious that no subject of greater importance can engage the attention of man. If, to use the words of Hegel in another connection, "it is held a valuable achievement to have discovered sixty odd species of the parrot, a hundred and thirty seven of veronica and so forth, it should surely be held a far more valuable achievement to discover" whether man survives death or not. The late Mr. Gladstone truly said,—"It"—the work of the Society for Psychical Research—"is the most important work which is being done in the world—by far the most important". The Society for Psychical Research was, as I have already said, organised in 1882 with Professor Henry Sidgwick as the President. Other distinguished persons who, in later years, have been its Presidents are the Rt. Hon'ble A. J. Balfour, the late Prime-Minister of England, Sir Willam Crookes, Professor William James, Professor Balfour Stewart, Frederic W. H. Myers, Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor W. F. Barrett, Professor Charles Richet, The Rt. Hon'ble Gerald Balfour and Mrs. Henry Sidgwick. Among its workers and members we find the names of such men as Professor S. P. Langley, Lord Rayleigh, the Bishop of Ripon, Dr. Milne Bramwell, Prof. James Hyslop, Prof. J. J. Thompson, F. R. S., Mr. Frank Podmore and scores of others with similar standing in the scientific world.

The Society began its work with no partiality for the phenomena it undertook to investigate. On the contrary, its bias was distinctly against them. The rules of method governing the Society, Professor William James aptly calls "draconian." Indeed the canon of evidence insisted upon by the Society is so exacting that Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, who discovered the law of natural selection simultaneously with Darwin, and some others seceded from the Society years ago on the ground that "no experience based on mere eye-sight could ever have a chance to be admitted as true, if such an impossibly exacting standard of proof was exacted in every case". As a writer in a recent issue of the *Times* says,—

"The standard of evidence required by Psychical Researchers is about five times stricter than that required to hang a man for murder; and Mr. Podmore's standard is several degrees stricter than that"

It is for this reason that the Society for Psychical Research has become so obnoxious to men like Mr. W. T. Stead, who are of opinion that the Society is so absurdly sceptical that it is obstructing rather than promoting a knowledge of the true nature of super-normal phenomena. Readers, therefore, may rest assured that any phenomenon accepted as true by the Society and recorded in its Proceedings is as unquestionable as the fact that the sun shines.

Among the subjects to which the attention of the Society was first directed is telepathy. This term was coined to indicate the super-normal acquisition by one person of some thought or feeling existing in the mind of another. The word generally used to express this fact is 'thought-transference.' But as it is not thought only that is transferred, and as the transference often takes place across a considerable distance of space, the term 'telepathy' was brought into use. Various experiments were performed and it was found that it is sometimes possible to impress upon persons susceptible of telepathic influence, whether in the hypnotic or in a normal condition, ideas and feelings similar to those of the agent or operator. What the peculiar conditions are on which the success of a telepathic operation depends is, of course, entirely unknown. Regarding these experi-

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ments, the Report on the census of hallucinations says,—

"The experiments may be divided into three classes. (1) In the great majority of cases the experimenter was trying to make himself visible to the percipient, at or near the time at which the effect was produced on the latter. But (2) there are two cases in which the percipient saw an apparition of the experimenter when the latter was merely trying to make the percipient think of him: and these are noteworthy as having a closer resemblance than the first class to the ordinary non-experimental apparitions of living persons. (3) Finally we have an old but well-attested record of a unique case, in which the experimenter transferred to two percipients an apparition of a third person.—(*Proceedings S. P. R., Vol. X. P. 29*).

But telepathic phenomena *experimentally produced* form only a small part of these phenomena investigated by the Society. The bulk of them are those which are produced spontaneously. What happens in these cases is that a hallucination or some unaccountable impression is produced in the mind of a person at a moment coinciding or nearly coinciding with the moment at which another at a distance, often across continents and oceans, dies or passes through a crisis. *A*, for example, dies in Australia; just at that moment his apparition is seen by *B* in England, who knows nothing of what has happened to *A* except what is conveyed by the apparition itself. A very large number of cases of this nature are on record. The apparition that is seen is not necessarily anything objective. The name of "veridical hallucination" has been given to it. "We speak," says the Report on the census of hallucinations, "of these phenomena as 'coincidental' or 'veridical' hallucinations.

The latter of the two terms has been sometimes criticised, on the ground that the meaning of the adjective is inconsistent with the received sense of the substantive; but it seems to us that the combination exactly expresses the mingling of truth and error in the apparent perception of objective fact which the phenomenon involves. We regard the phenomenon as a "hallucination" because it is an apparent perception of a body occupying a portion of space, under conditions which render it unreasonable to suppose that this portion of space was really so occupied: at the same time, we call it "veridical hallucination" because so far as it suggests that the person in question is dying or passing through some other crisis at the time, it represents a real fact otherwise unknown to the percipient.—(*Proceedings S. P. R., Vol. X, P. 30.*)

To determine whether a causal connection exists between deaths and apparitions a Committee was appointed by the Society for Psychical Research in 1889 consisting of Professor Sidgwick, Mrs. Sidgwick, Miss Alice Johnson, Frederic W. H. Myers and Mr. Frank Podmore, with Professor Sidgwick as President. Mr. Frank Podmore's name is now well known all over the world as a relentlessly hostile critic of spiritualism and of super-normal phenomena generally. Miss Alice Johnson is a distinguished mathematician, who stood above the sixth wrangler of her year. She is a prominent worker of the Society for Psychical Research. The others are distinguished persons well-known to every educated man. The Committee made an exhaustive inquiry into the spontaneous hallucinations of the sane, characterised by thoroughness and extreme caution, and presented a voluminous report which forms the bulk of the tenth volume of the S. P. R. Proceedings. It is impossible for me to give in this paper even a meagre description of the elaborate method of inquiry adopted by the Committee. The reader must go to the Report itself for that. The unanimous conclusion of the Committee was that the coincidence between deaths and apparitions of the dying was 440 times more numerous than chance would account for. Of course, the calculation was made according to the well-known methods of the logic of chance. "Between deaths and apparitions of the dying persons," says the Report, "a connection exists which is not due to chance alone. This we hold as a proved fact. The discussion of its full implications cannot be attempted in this paper, nor perhaps exhausted in this age." The Report being unanimous, it, of course, bears the signature of Mr. Podmore. The same conclusion, I may add here, had previously been arrived at by Edmund Gurney by means of his own independent investigations.

I now give a few specimens of the kind of phenomena with which the Committee had to deal—

I.—From Mr. James Lloyd, 3, The Grove, Adderley Road, Birmingham, February 10th, 1891.

I was in India. I awoke in the night and saw my father in England, standing beside the bed. He was as real as in life, and dressed in a grey suit such as he used to wear when I last saw him about nine years before. The figure said, 'Good-bye Jim. I won't see you any more,' or words to that effect. A month after that (the first mail I could have heard by) a letter came, saying he had died the same night and about that hour—September 14th, 1876. I was a soldier at Mhow in Bombay Presidency. What

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hour the vision appeared I did not know. In the morning I told a comrade who slept in the next room.

I wrote it on the wall at the back of my bed at the same time so as to fix the date.

Mr. Lloyd was 27 at the time, and was in good health, and in no anxiety about his father. *(Proceedings, S. P. R, Vol. X, P. 216).*

II.—From Mr. S. Walker-Anderson, Tickhill, near Bawtry, Yorks, June 12th, 1891.

An aunt of mine, who died in England last November, 1890, appeared before me in Australia, and I knew before I received the letter of her death that she was dead. I took a note of it at the time, and found on comparing notes that she appeared to me the day she died—date November 21st, 1890. *(Ibid, P. 212).*

III.—From the Rev. Matthew Frost, Bowers Gifford, Essex, January 30, 1891.

The first Thursday in April, 1881, while sitting at tea with my back to the window and talking with my wife in the usual way, I plainly heard a rap at the window, and looking round I said to my wife, 'why, there's my grandmother,' and went to the door, but could not see any one, and still feeling sure it was my grandmother, and knowing, though 83 years of age, she was very active and fond of a joke, I went round the house, but could not see any one. My wife did not hear it. On the following Saturday I had news my grandmother died in Yorkshire about half an hour before the time I heard the rapping. The last time I saw her alive I promised, if well, I would attend her funeral; that was some two years before. I was in good health and had no trouble: age 26 years. I did not know that my grandmother was ill.

Mrs. Frost writes,—

"I beg to certify that I perfectly remember all the circumstances my husband has named but I heard and saw nothing myself." *(Ibid, P. 225.)*

IV.—From Mrs. F. H.

March 29, 1892.

It occurred at Bury (Lancashire) about fourteen years ago; I was awakened by a rattling noise at the window, and wakened my step-brother, with whom I was sleeping, and asked him if he could hear it. He told me to go to sleep, there was nothing. The rattle came again in a few minutes, and I sat up in bed, and distinctly saw the image of one of my step-brothers (who at the time was in Blackpool) pass from the window towards the door. Time—2-30 A. M.

I was in good health and spirits. Age 18.

I had not seen him for some time. He had not been home for 2 or 3 months. We heard next morning that he had been taken ill and died about 2-30 A. M. *(Ibid, P. 230.)*

V.—From Mr. H. Sims,

46, Geach Street, Birmingham, May 20, 1891.

Sixteen years ago, I had just got into bed, but had not lowered the gas, which was burning brightly. My wife and I both saw her aunt walk across the room and disappear. The figure was as plain as in life. She lived one and a half miles away, and was ill at the time. Next day we heard she had died about that hour.

My age was 26.

Mrs. Sims adds a note to the narrative,—I certify the above to be correct. *(Ibid P. 231.)*

VI.—From Mrs. B de A,

Rio de Janeiro, March 14 1892.

I saw the form of a lady-friend lying on a sofa as if dead. I exclaimed, 'Retinha is lying there dead, mother'. We were living at the time at Rio de Janeiro. It was past midnight on the 21st June, 1886.

I was doing needle work. Health and spirits good. Age at time 56.

It was Donna R. N. my cousin. She had promised to dine with me that very day, but afterwards sent word that she would dine at T. She died of congestion of the brain at the house of the people she had gone to visit, shortly after midnight, and was laid out on the sofa. I saw her next day exactly in the same position in which I had seen her at home.

My mother and a servant was present. They did not share the experience. *(Ibid, P. 233.)*

Most of these phenomena can be adequately explained by telepathy from the *dying*. We may suppose that some sort of influence as yet unknown to science emanates from the mind of a person about to die or passing through a crisis and somehow affects another, susceptible to the influence, at a distance. In what this susceptibility consists, it is impossible even to conjecture, but there does seem to exist some peculiar condition, which, obviously occurs very rarely, on which the reception of the influence depends. Telepathy between any two minds does not appear to be possible. To obviate the objection on the part of those who are not sufficiently in touch with these things that the dying person cannot be supposed to exert any sort of influence, it is necessary to say that we have got to reckon with the subliminal self of man. The telepathic influence may pass from some subconscious stratum of the mind quite unknown to the normal consciousness. It will be far beyond the scope of this paper to attempt to summarise the evidence for the theory that our ordinary self is only a fragment of a larger self. Nor can the task be easily accomplished. All that I can do is to baldly state the conclusion at which investigators like Frederic Myers, William James and others have arrived. What the nature of the subliminal self is, has, of course, not been determined and cannot, in my view, be *experimentally* determined. It is a problem for speculative philosophy to attack with the aid of the materials supplied by scientific research. Now, it may very well be that the more potent telepathic agent is the subconscious mind and not the conscious

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mind and, if so, the fact that the dying person does not consciously send forth telepathic influence is no argument against his being the agent of the operation. Whether it is so or not must, of course, be decided by the nature of the facts. All that can be safely asserted at present is that the great majority of apparitions can be explained by telepathy from the dying. This does not mean that a spiritistic interpretation of them is not possible. It may be maintained that the person just dead or some other spirit in the other world telepathically conveys the news of death to a relative or friend on earth by means of the apparition. But in framing a hypothesis, it is not permissible to refer to agents not known to exist as long as a *vera causa* can be found capable of adequately explaining it. The mere fact that an apparition is seen does not imply that it is caused by a deceased person. Numerous instances are on record of apparitions of living persons. The following is an exampable.

From Miss A. E. R.

When out in camp in an Indian Jungle, my sister and I were anxiously awaiting the return of her husband, who had left in the morning on a surveying expedition, promising to return early in the afternoon. Between six and seven p. m. we were very uneasy and were watching the line of road, I should say 200 yards distant from where we stood. Simultaneously we exclaimed, "There he is" and I distinctly saw him, sitting in his dog-cart driving his grey horse, the syce occupying the seat behind. We at once returned to the tents—my sister ordering the bearer to get the Sahib's bath-water ready, and the butler to prepare dinner, I running to set my brother-in-law's mother's mind at rest as to the safety of her son. However, as time passed on, and he did not appear, our alarm returned, and was not allayed until he arrived in safety at eight o'clock. On interrogating him we found he was just starting from the surveying ground, about eight miles distant, at the very time we had the above-related experience. I should add, we were both in good health and certainly wide awake at the time, and I have never before or since had any experience of the kind. (*Proceedings, S. P. R.* Vol. X, *p. 308.*)

But all cases of apparitions are not simple like those I have cited above. Some of them are of persons not *dying*, but *dead* and give such indications of appearing with a purpose that it is by no means easy to explain them by telepathy from the living. The following experience of Lord Brougham, who was travelling with his friends in Sweden, is an example.—

We set out for Gothenberg determined to make Norway. About one in the morning, arriving at a decent inn we decided to stop for the night.

Tired with the cold of yesterday, I was glad to take advantage of a hot bath before I turned in, and here a most remarkable thing happened to me—so remarkable that I must tell the story from the beginning.

"After I left the high school, I went with G. my first intimate friend, to attend the classes in the University. There was no divinity class, but we frequently in our walks discussed and speculated upon many grave subjects—among others on immortality of the soul and on a future state. This question, and the possibility, I will not say of ghosts walking, but of the dead appearing to the living, were subjects of much speculation; and we actually committed the folly of drawing up an agreement, written with our own blood, to the effect that whichever of us died the first should appear to the other, and thus solve the doubts we had entertained of the life after death."

After we had finished our classes at the College, G, went to India, having got an appointment there in the Civil Service. He seldom wrote to me, and after the lapse of a few years I had almost forgotten him; moreover his family having little connection with Edinburgh I seldom saw or heard anything of them, so that all his school-boy intimacy had died out and I had nearly forgotten his existence. I had taken, as I have said a warm bath, and while lying in it and enjoying the comfort of the heat after the late freezing I had undergone, I turned my head around looking towards the chair on which I had deposited my clothes as I was about to get out of the bath. On the chair sat G., looking calmly at me. How I got out of the bath, I know not, but on recovering my senses I found myself sprawling on the floor. The apparition, or whatever it was that had taken the likeness of G. had disappeared. (Quoted in Hyslop's *Science and a future life*, pp. 47-48.)

The apparition occurred on December 19, 1799 and Lord Brougham made a record of it at the time. On his return to Edinburgh, he received a letter from India announcing the death of G. on the same day. The experience produced a profound impression on Lord Brougham's mind. The telepathic explanation of the event would, of course, be that the apparition was due to the influence of the dying G.'s mind on Lord Brougham. But what are we to make of the compact to appear and solve the doubt about 'life after death'? It is certainly possible to say that it is only a chance coincidence. But every reader must judge for himself whether this solution of the problem satisfies his mind.

A remarkable case is the following:—

From Miss Dodson, September 14, 1891.

On June 5th, 1887, a Sunday evening between 11 and 12 at night, being awake my name was called three times. I answered twice, thinking it was my uncle, 'come in, uncle George, I am awake,' but the

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third time I recognised the voice as that of my mother, who had been dead 16 years. I said 'Mamma!' She then came round a screen near my bed-side with two children in her arms, and placed them in my arms and put the bed clothes over them and said, 'Lucy, promise me to take care of them, for their mother is just dead!' I said, 'Yes mamma!, She repeated '*promise* me to take care of them'. I replied, 'Yes, I promise you!' and I added 'oh, mamma, stay and speak to me, I am so wretched.' She replied, 'not yet, my child,' then she seemed to go round the screen again, and I remained, feeling the children to be still in my arms, and fell asleep. When I awoke there was nothing. Tuesday morning, June 7th, I received the news of my sister-in-law's death. She had given birth to a child three weeks before, which I did not know till after her death.

"I was in bed but not asleep, and the room was lighted by a gaslight in the street outside. I was out of health and in anxiety about family troubles. My age was 42. I was quite alone. I mentioned the circumstance to my uncle the next morning. He thought I was sickening for brain fever. I had other experiences, but only to the extent of having felt a hand laid on my head, and some times on my hands, at times of great trouble. (*S. P. R. Proceedings, Vol. X. P. 380*)

This case was accepted after a personal inquiry by no less a person than Professor Sidgwick, reknowned for his caution and scepticism and the real author of the draconian rules of method of the society. If no definite information had been given by the phantom it would have been possible to regard it as purely subjective and to attribute it to the percipients' ill health and her anxiety about family troubles. But a detailed and precise information was given which turned out to be correct. If we are not to attribute the apparition to the agency of Miss Dodson's departed mother, we shall have to say, in the words of the Report that "a telepathic impulse from the living brother might conceivably embody itself for the percipient in the form of their mother".

Another case as remarkable as the preceding is the one quoted in Myers's *Human Personality and its survival of bodily death* from S. P. R. Proceedings, Vol. VI, P. 16.

From Mr. F. G. of Boston, Jan. 11, 1888.

Replying to the recently published request of your Society for actual occurrences of Psychical phenomena, I respectfully submit the following remarkable occurrence to the consideration of your distinguished society, with the assurance that the event made a more powerful impression on my mind than the combined incidents of my whole life. I have never mentioned it outside of my family and a few intimate friends, knowing well that few would believe it, or else ascribe it to some disordered state of my mind at the time; but I well know that I never was in better health or possessed a clearer head and mind than at the time it occurred.

In 1867 my only sister, a young lady of eighteen years, died suddenly of cholera in St. Louis, Mo. My attachment for her was very strong, and the blow a severe one to me. A year or so after her death the writer became a commercial traveller, and it was in 1876, while in one of my western trips that the event occurred.

I had "drummed" the City of St. Joseph, Mo. and had gone to my room at the Pacific House to send in my orders, which were unusually large ones, so that I was in a very happy frame of mind indeed. My thoughts, of course, were about these orders. I had not been thinking of my sister. The hour was high noon. While busily smoking a cigar and writing out my orders, I suddenly became conscious that some one was sitting on my left, with one arm resting on the table. Quick as a flash I turned and distinctly saw the form of my sister and for a brief second or so looked her squarely in the face, and so sure was I that it was she that I sprang forward in delight and the apparition vanished. * * * She appeared as if alive. Here eyes looked kindly and perfectly natural into mine.

Now comes the most remarkable *confirmation* of my story. This visitation so impressed me that I took the next train home and in the presence of my parents and others I related what had occurred. My father, a man of rare good sense and very practical, was inclined to ridicule me but he too was amazed when later on I told them of a bright red line or scratch on the right hand side of my sister's face, which I had distinctly seen. When I mentioned this my mother rose trembling to her feet and nearly fainted away, and as soon as she sufficiently recovered her self-possession, with tears streaming down her face, she exclaimed, I had indeed seen my sister, as no living mortal but herself was aware of that scratch which she had accidentally made while doing some little act of kindness after my sister's death. She said she remembered how pained she was to think that she should have, unintentionally, marred the features of her dead daughter and that, unknown to all, how she had carefully obliterated all traces of the slight scratch, with the aid of powder, &c., and that she had never mentioned it to a human being from that day to this. In proof neither my father nor any of our family had detected it, and positively were unaware of the incident, yet *I saw the scratch as bright as if just made.* So strangely impressed was my mother, that even after she had retired to rest she got up and dressed, came to me and told me *she knew* at least that I had seen my sister. A few weeks later, my mother died happy in her belief she would rejoin her favourite daughter in a better world.

I have left out a few unimportant sentences in this narrative to economise space. On this case Mr. Myers observes,—

"This coincidence is too marked to be explained away. The son is brought home in time to see his mother once more by perhaps the only means which would have succeeded and the mother herself is sustained by the knowledge that her daughter loves and awaits her. Mr. Podmore has suggested, on the

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other hand, that the daughter's figure was a mere projection from the mother's mind: a conception which has scarcely any analogy to support it."

I shall conclude with a very startling Russian case.

From Baron Von Driesen.

"Baron Von Driesen begins by saying that he has never believed and does not believe in the supernatural; and that he is more inclined to attribute the apparition he saw to his 'excited fancy' than to anything else. After these preliminary remarks he proceeds as follows,—

"I must tell you that my father-in-law M. N. J. Ponomareff died in the country. This did not happen at once, but after a long and painful illness, whose sharp phases had obliged my wife and myself to join him long before his death. I had not been on good terms with M. Ponomareff. Different circumstances which are out of place in this narrative had estranged us from each other, and these relations did not change until his death. He died very quietly, after having given his blessing to all his family, including myself. A liturgy for the rest of his soul was to be celebrated on the ninth day. I remember very well how I went to bed between one and two o'clock on the eve of that day and how I read the Gospel before falling asleep. My wife was sleeping in the same room. It was perfectly quiet. I had just put out the candle when footsteps were heard in the adjacent room—a sound of slippers shuffling, I might say—which ceased before the door of our bedroom. I called out 'who is there?' No answer. I struck one match, then another, and when after the stifling smell of the sulphur the fire had lighted up the room, I saw M. Ponomareff standing before the closed door. Yes, it was he, in his blue dressing-gown, lined with squirrel furs and only half-buttoned, so that I could see his white waist-coat and his black trousers. It was he undoubtedly. I was not frightened. They say that, as a rule, one is *not* frightened when seeing a ghost, as ghosts possess the quality of paralysing fear.

"What do you want?" I asked my father-in-law. M. Ponomareff made two steps forward, stopped before my bed, and said, 'Basil Feodorovitch, I have acted wrongly towards you. Forgive me! Without this I do not feel at rest there.' He was pointing to the ceiling with his left hand whilst holding out his right to me. I seized this hand, which was long and cold, shook it and answered, 'Nicholas Ivanovitch, God is my witness that I have never had anything against you.'

The ghost of my father-in-law bowed, moved away and went through the opposite door into the billiard room, where he disappeared. I looked after him for a moment, crossed myself, put out the candle, and fell asleep with the sense of joy which a man who has done his duty must feel. The morning came. My wife's brothers, as well as our neighbours and the peasants, assembled, and the liturgy was celebrated by our confessor, the Rev. Father Basil. But when all was over the same Father Basil led me aside and said to me mysteriously, 'Basil Feodorovitch, I have got something to say to you in private'. My wife having come near us at this moment, the clergyman repeated his wish. I answered, "Father Basil, I have no secret from my wife, please tell us what you wished to tell me alone."

Then Father Basil who is living till now (1890) in the Koi Parish of the district of Kashin said to me in a rather solemn voice, 'This night at three o'clock Nicholas Ivanovitch Ponomareff appeared to me and begged of me to reconcile him to you'* *(S. P. R. Proceedings, Vol. X, Pp. 385-86).*

Father Basil corroborates this narrative. His account, which will be found in the S. P. R. Proceedings, need not be quoted here.

The telepathic explanation of this phenomenon would perhaps be that the apparition seen by Baron Von Driesen was a pure hallucination caused somehow by his subconscious regret for his misunderstanding with his deceased father-in-law and that seen by Father Basil was due to telepathic influence from the Baron's mind. Once more the reader must decide for himself whether this explanation is satisfactory to him. It will be observed that in this case and in that of Miss Dodson, the apparitions were, seemingly, not mere hallucinations. Dr. A. R. Wallace and many others and the spirits themselves, if spirits they be, say that

"Under certain conditions the disembodied spirit is able to form for itself a visible body out of the emanation from living bodies in a proper magnetic relation to itself, and, under certain still more favourable conditions, this body can be made tangible."

It may be so, but, as yet, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to justify this assertion. One must not, however, ignore Sir William Crookes's experiences, notably those connected with "Katie King".

The very cautious conclusion of the Sidgwick Committee on the apparitions of the dead is as follows,—

"We have found that the distribution of recognised apparitions before, at and after the death of the person seen affords some argument for the continuity of Psychical life and the possiblity of communication from the dead. We have found further that the Census affords some remarkable cases which *prima facie* are not purely subjective, and which suggest the action of the dead. The amount of evidence, however, does not appear to us in itself sufficient to constitute anything like a conclusive case for *post mortem* agency."

This, however, was only a conclusion to which all the members of the Committee

* Do not cases like this enable us to understand the truth about Christ's resurrection after his crucifixion and his appearance to St. Paul on the Damascus Road?

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were able to agree. The individual opinions of them were naturally divergent. Mr. Myers was in favour of spiritistic agency, at any rate in some cases, Mr. Podmore decidedly hostile to it, while professor and Mrs. Sidgwick were not inclined to commit themselves to any definite opinion.

I have talked freely about telepathy in this paper. But, it may legitimately be asked, whether there is any warrant for assuming that it is a proved fact. The answer is that unless we assume that there is some supernormal means of communication between mind and mind, to which the name of telepathy has been given, it is impossible to account for the connection between deaths and apparitions which, according to the Sidgwick Committee, is not due to chance alone. Even if we conclude that some at least of the apparitions are caused by spirits, a means of communication is necessary. What is the process by which departed souls manage sometimes to convey messages to their friends and relatives on earth? Obviously, it is telepathy. If you accept the facts recorded in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, you have no alternative but to admit the reality of telepathy for the explanation of them. The facts are beyond cavil. They have, it must be remembered, found place in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research because they have conformed not only to the standard of evidence of the Society which is "five times stricter than that required to hang a man for murder," but also to that of Mr. Podmore which is "several degrees stricter than that." The only issue, therefore, is whether for the explanation of the facts it is necessary to go beyond telepathy from the living. That most of the facts can thus be accounted for is undeniable, though, of course, they can also be explained on the hypothesis of spirit agency. There remain, however, a small number of cases, such as those of the commercial traveller and the Russian Baron, which it is difficult to see how telepathy from the living can explain.

What is telepathy and what is its law? Is it a physical or a psychical process? It is impossible to answer these questions in the present state of our knowledge. There are various speculations on the subject, but no definite and generally accepted conclusion. Indeed, orthodox science has not yet accepted it even as a fact to be explained. All that we can do, therefore, is to note the theories provisionally put forward by eminent scientists and philosophers who have studied the subject and speculate ourselves. Mr. Myers, whose views are entitled to the greatest respect, regarded telepathy as the fundamental and all-pervasive law of both the physical and the spiritual world. "Love," he tells us, "is a kind of exalted but unspecialised telepathy; the simplest and most universal expression of that mutual gravitation or kinship of spirits which is the foundation of the telepathic law." In his famous Presidential address to the Society for Psychical Research he said,—

"To believe that prayer is heard is to believe in telepathy—in the direct influence of mind on mind. To believe that prayer is answered is to believe that unembodied spirit does actually modify (even if not storm cloud or plague germ) at least the minds, and therefore the brains, of living men."

Mr. Arthur Balfour, in his Presidential address, dwells upon the dissimilarity between telepathic action and the action of any known physical force. His distinguished brother, Mr. Gerald Balfour, regards telepathy "as the universal form of interaction between Psychical existences, and even, it may be, the fundamental bond of unity and principle of development within the entire spiritual world." "Is it too wild a flight of speculative fancy to imagine," he asks, "that telepathy, in its highest aspect, is an actively unifying principle leading us upwards and onwards, the manifestation in the world of spirits of the supreme unity of the Divine mind."—(*Proceedings, S. P. R.*, Vol. XIX, Pp. 388-89). Sir William Crookes, on the other hand, believes that there must be a physical medium of communication of the telepathic influence from one mind to another. "If", he says in his Presidential address to the British Association, "telepathy takes place, we have two physical facts—the physical change in the brain of *A* the suggester and the analogous physical change in the brain of *B*, the recipient of the suggestion. Between these two physical events, there must exist a train of physical causes." Professor Flournoy of Geneva takes the same view. "How could one believe," he observes, "that centres of chemical phenomena so complex as the nervous

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centres could find themselves in activity without transmitting various undulations,—X, Y or Z rays,—passing through the skull as the sun passes through glass, and going on to act, at any distance, on their homologues in other skulls? It is a mere question of intensity.

"If telepathy is considered strange, mystic, occult, supernormal, etc., it is because this character has been gratuitously conferred on it by making of this imponderable link between organisms a purely spiritual communication of soul to soul, independent of matter and of space. That such a metaphysical union does exist I am ready to believe, but it is to introduce a gratuitous confusion if one substitutes this problem of high speculation,—which abandons the strictly scientific ground and sets aside the principle of psycho-physical parallelism,—for the empirical problem of telepathy, which is perfectly concordant with that parallelism and in no way contradicts established science."

Future investigations will, I believe, lend support to Professor Flournoy's views. It is not justifiable to use the term "telepathy" to signify the universal bond of union between spirits, as Mr. Myers and Mr. Gerald Balfour do. The close and essential union of all spirits in the universe is, no doubt, the presupposition of telepathy as of the ordinary means of communication between finite minds, but it is inappropriate to call it telepathy. Restricting the term to mean some supernormal mode of communication between finite minds, it is impossible to regard it as a purely spiritual process.* No process is purely physical or purely psychical. Every thing physical has a psychical aspect, and every thing psychical has a physical aspect. All means of communication, therefore, between finite minds must be psycho-physical. So are speaking and writing and so must be telepathy. Professor Flournoy rightly says that if "telepathy is considered strange, mystic, occult, supernormal, etc., it is because this character has been gratuitously conferred on it." Those who build hopes of immortality on the proof of telepathy are, I think, foredoomed to disappointment. Miss Alice Johnson, in her review of Podmore's *Modern Spiritualism*, "is inclined to think that along this line our best chance lies of proving personal immortality." I venture to differ from her. If materialism is compatible with human intelligence and the ordinary modes of communication between mind and mind, which, be it remembered, are psychical no less than physical, why should it not be compatible with telepathy? Telepathy only shows that the human mind possesses a peculiar power hitherto undreamt of, but if mind itself fails to disprove materialism and justify the hope of immortality, the possession of one more power by it, however strange and however extensive, will certainly not do so. The only thing that will demonstrate man's survival of bodily death is spirit communication. This is pointedly indicated by some cases of apparitions and is, as we shall see, all but proved by the phenomena of automatic writing investigated by the Society for Psychical Research.

HIRALAL HALDAR.

* If I am asked, how spirit communication can take place, if telepathy is not a purely psychical process. I answer by asking a question: Is it an axiamatic truth that departed spirits are bodiless and the spiritual world is really what its usual designation suggests? May not spirits possess bodies composed of some form of subtle matter and live in a world which is physical as much as spiritual though uncognisable by our present organs of sense? To my mind, a purely spiritual world and a purely physical world are inconceivable absurdities. I shall deal with the subject later on.

CONVERTING CRIMINALS INTO CONSCIENTIOUS CITIZENS

REPLACING REVENGE WITH LOVE

BY INDO-AMERICAN.

I.

FOR ages society has endeavoured to protect itself from the depredations of wayward men and women by means of an inexorable criminal code. Until a few centuries ago the community believed that its only safety lay in completely ridding itself of the transgressor of the law; and offences, small as well as great, were punished by death. Of com-

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paratively recent years man has become civilized enough to realize the injustice involved in chopping off the head of a petty delinquent, and as a consequence the death penalty now is prescribed only for the most heinous crimes. Working on the old Hebrew principle of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth", as a rule today we condemn a man to "hang by the neck until dead", or its modern substitute, "electrocution", only when he has killed a human being, consigning other criminals to a longer or shorter term of imprisonment in gaol and even going to the length of inflicting a mere money fine if the offence is slight or the offender is a man of means and influence.

This system of justice, being graduated and elastic, manifestly is a degree less barbaric than the one which meted out death to all misdemeanants; but in society's Jew-like demand for its "pound-of-flesh", there is shown no solicitude whatever for the uplift of the criminal himself or the well-being of his family, whose bread-winner more than likely he is. Indeed, the community plainly exhibits its mean-mindedness by seeking to revenge itself upon the law-breaker to the full extent of the damage he has done. The worst feature of all is the fact that the magistrate to whom the community delegates the duty of wreaking its vengeance on the erring individual, swayed by a desire to cater to his master, society, often inflicts an unduly severe punishment upon the offender with a view to preventing others from following in the wake of the wrong-doer. It is questionable whether such a step ensures any good to the organism; and the injustice to the individual of such a procedure is apparent.

In case the judge may choose to overlook social considerations and deal with the accused strictly according to the merits of his case, it must be borne in mind that the trying official oft-times belongs to a different stratum of society than does the misdemeanant, and naturally is more or less ignorant of the temptations and trials that assail the man in the dock before him. Even if this was not so, the criminal process is conducted along such effete lines that the magistrate knows little or nothing of the mental and moral heritage of the accused; or of his physical and economic conditions. In such a circumstance, justice, in the truest sense of the word, is utterly impossible; for modern sociology makes it absolutely plain that heredity and environment play important parts in deflecting an individual from respectability toward crime.

The theory of hereditary criminal tendencies is by no means defunct. Writes no less an authority than Ernest Haeckel, in "The Evolution of Man", translated from fifth edition, Watts & Co., London, 1906, Vol. II, Chap, XXX.

"I hold, with Lamarck and Darwin, that the hereditary transmission of acquired characters is one of the most important phenomena in biology, and is proved by thousands of morphological and physiological experiences. It is an indispensible foundation of the theory of evolution."*

Indeed, some States of the American Union endorse this theory to the extent that in order to prevent the future generation from moral taint they go to the length of performing the operation of "Vasectomy" or "Ophorectomy" on their male and female habitual criminals. Thus, three years ago, in 1907, the State of Indiana passed legislation providing that, where the staff surgeons of certain specified State institutions unanimously agreed that a man who was imbecile, or had been three times convicted of felony, or had been guilty of criminal assault, was beyond the possibility of improvement, he may be surgically operated on with a view to sterilizing him. Almost immediately Connecticut passed a similar law, and to-day in that State the operation of "Vasectomy" or "Ophorectomy", as the case may be, is performed upon any person who is considered by the majority of a State Board appointed for that purpose, to be likely to bear children who would inherit the tendency to crime, imbecility, insanity, idiocy or feeble-mindedness. The Pennsylvania and Oregon State Legislatures have enacted similar laws, but the governors of those respective States have not yet signed the Bills. In many of those States where the procreation of the vicious is not thus legally stopped, there are now strong movements on foot to enact such legislation.

* Compare the scientist's dictum with the philosopher's opinion: "To reform a man you need to begin with his grandfather."—*Victor Hugo.*

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Like heredity, pre-natal influences also may incline a child to crime. A short time ago, in an American court of justice, the mother of a youth who had killed a man pleaded with the judge to sentence her to be hanged in place of her son.

"I am the real criminal", she urged, "because I gave the impulse to kill to my child before he was born by doing everything in my power to destroy the life by causing an abortion."

There is much food for thought in these words of a despairing parent, and doubtless they disclosed the true cause of many inexplicable murders.

Likewise economic conditions now are conceded to contribute toward lawlessness and immorality. Rev. Harris R. Cooley, head of the Cleveland, Ohio, House of Correction, recently wrote :

"There is an army of unfortunate and weak men who are sickly, defective or crippled. In our modern industrial system there seems to be no place for them. In summer they are just able to make their way, but winter leads them to offences for which they are put in prison."

Just what dire influence physical disorders may exert in inclining an individual toward crime, can be inferred from the conclusions arrived at by scientists after careful investigation of the havoc which bodily defects and physical maladies work in tending youths toward crime. According to an official report recently published at New York, thyroid glands, adenoids, and other abnormal growths, as well as hereditary taints, are more often responsible for the appearance of youngsters in the children's court of New York than natural wickedness. This is the invariable experience of all Juvenile Courts ; and it has impressed them to such an extent with its gravity that, in the correction of a youthful offender, the surgeon's aid is quite frequently called upon in order to remove the physical abnormality in order to render the little one normally moral.

Naturally a system of justice which permits an offender to be punished without serious consideration of his heredity, physical and economic conditions, the various factors that have betrayed him into crime, can only be characterized as barbaric.

2.

Apart from its savagery, the effectiveness of the present criminal procedure to protect society—for which it is claimed primarily to be intended—is questionable. Death of necessity puts a period to the destructive activities of the offender. But a gaol sentence, unless for life, does not accomplish this end. When the restraint is removed from the prisoner and he regains his liberty, the probability is that he will return to his old life, molesting his fellowmen instead of following some peaceful occupation and abiding as a law-abiding citizen. Indeed, it is a matter of common knowledge that the inexperienced law-breaker's discharge from the prison is virtually tantamount to his graduation from the university of crime, since the gaol furnishes the convict ample opportunities to come in contact with hardened criminals who train him to be an accomplished villain. Moreover, the prisoner comes out of the dungeon with a heart full of hatred for society, which he holds responsible for his incarceration and the many hardships incidental thereto. He yearns to wreak revenge upon the community. The fact that, on regaining his freedom, the one-time gaol-bird finds himself an outcast among men—among even his former friends and associates—heightens this feeling of hatred and intensifies his longing for vengeance. All these impulses combine with his increased skill to render the former amateur in crime a really menacing criminal.

The prodigal waste involved in this practice is apparent on the very surface. Society taxes itself to provide the money necessary to pay for the detection of crime and the apprehension and conviction of the criminal and his imprisonment—which, in other words means the upkeep of the police, magisterial and jail establishments. This expense secures the community only temporary immunity from the depredations of the felon, for only so long as he is penned up behind the bars is he forced to behave himself. It does not insure society against his depredations when the prison doors open to release him, with his heart full of resentment against the whole world and his hand raised against all mankind.

In addition to this it must be remembered that a term in gaol means extreme hardship for the man's wife, children and other dependent relatives. The imprisonment of the bread-winner more often than not spells famine for the family. If the convict is

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awarded simple imprisonment, his sojourn encourages him to be a loafer. Naturally when he comes out of goal he does not feel inclined to take up his old occcupation where he left it. Just how this reacts against organized society it is easy to imagine.

3.

Now there are two methods by which this inordinate waste of society's money and energy may be checked. One of these is a barbaric—and a quite foolish—solution. The other is humane as well as wise and effective.

We will first discuss the former of the two plans.

This simple but heartless way of completely ridding society of crime contamination consists either in reverting to the old-time custom of choking to death every offender, as the ancients used to do, or enacting laws that will lock the doors of the prison on the criminal, never to be opened again.

The world has left barbarism too far behind seriously to consider prescribing capital punishment for small or even great crimes. Oliver Wendell Holmes expressed the modern horror at the shameful wickedness of "legal murder" committed by the State in condemning a criminal to the gallows when he wrote :—

"It is unjust as applied to moral idiots; immoral, considered as revenge; unless as a means of intimidation; and dengerous to society as cheapening the value of life."

Many years have elapsed since these memorable words were penned by the great American humanist, and civilization is slowly advancing to a point where the progressive communities can appreciate this wholesale condemnation. It will be many decades before the conscience of man is awakened to the extent that the death sentence will be altogether done away with. But in the meantime the discerning student of conditions here and there comes across communities that abhor the taking of life by the State in punishment of a criminal offence. In this respect, France is ahead of other countries; although it may be regretfully recorded that recently a wave of reaction has set in and the cowardly custom of guillotining human beings has been revived in that land.

There always have existed, and today there are to be found some who advocate with all their might that the only way in which society can be protected is to lock up for life any criminal showing a strong tendency to repeat his crime or make lawlessness his occupation. These "reformers" frequently advocate "prison colonies" designed exclusively for the abiding place of life convicts. These settlements, they suggest, should be segregated from the rest of the world and the prisoners, on no account, even for a moment, should be permitted to mingle with free citizens. The gaol-birds must be made to work hard in order to support themselves and pay for the superintendence provided for them by the State; and a portion of the proceeds of the convict's labour should go toward the maintenance of those whose natural bread-winner he is.

Arguments such as these have one point in their favour. A life sentence completely segregating a persistent law-breaker, would effectively protect the community, whereas under the present system it is worse than useless to lock up an offender for a certain number of years, provide him with a post graduate course in crime, embitter him against organized society, and then turn him loose to prey upon the world. If such a system could be made self-supporting, that would be another point in its favour.

Plausible as these proposals sound, they really are weak in their logic. Penal settlements have been tried by many nations—but they have proved to be far from self-supporting. Besides, if all criminals showing an evil tendency were to be transported to prison colonies, the communities of evil-doers would become so large and so congested as to be fairly unmanageable. Furthermore, this plan totally ignores the smaller offender, who if not taken in hand and reformed betimes, eventually will become a habitual criminal. It would be far preferable and eminently more sensible to take in hand the reformation of the misdemeanant before he becomes hardened in crime than to let him become a menace to society and then segregate him. The ethics of branding a man permanently malicious and consigning him to an everlasting purgatory upon earth when the State has made no serious effort to straighten his crooked character, in itself is questionable.

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4.

While the rabble has thoughtlessly accepted the unscientific treatment of the malefactor, a few people gifted with a keen sense of the fitness of things, through the ages have risen to protest against the continuance of this folly. They have pleaded that society should make good use the term of imprisonment in an assiduous and ceaseless effort to burn the dross out of the offender's nature; inspire within him love of work; train him in some special trade or profession—in fact, convert him into a useful, productive citizen. These men have sought to have the gaols turned into reformatories where erstwhile bad characters could be made into clean-souled individuals.

Unfortunately for humanity, theirs has been but as a voice crying in the wilderness. Despite their warning and pleading, the mob has persisted in having things its own way. This has been to the detriment of society for it is by reforming the criminal only that the community really can be protected.

Advancing civilization, however, is giving a new impetus to the agitation for a sane system of penology. Inspired by the spirit of our times, movements more or less strong, all uncoordinated, simultaneously have sprung up in various parts of the world, all of which have for their aim the institution of a humane system of criminology calculated to uplift the criminal and make a man of him, instead of the present pernicious plan which thrusts him deeper into the mire of evil than he had sunk before he entered the prison doors.

Already all enlightened lands have seen fit to attempt to rescue youthful delinquents from being dealt with as criminals. Juvenile offenders now are cared for as if they were morally sick. They are sent to reformatories where their character is remade, and from evil-doers they are converted into conscientious, capable citizens.

The United States of America originated and perfected this system of dealing with youthful wrongdoers; but today the Juvenile Court is a world-wide institution, most enlightened nations having adopted it. Everywhere invariably highly satisfactory results have followed the establishment of the modern method of dealing with wayward children, thousands of boys and girls being saved to the nation to be productive, law-abiding citizens instead of being permitted to drift into evil ways and finally become hardened criminals.*

The Juvenile Court movement is not quite a generation old, but its theories have worked out so well in practice that today advanced penologists are advocating that the effort should be made to uplift the older criminal just as the attempt is made to rescue the youthful delinquent. A three-fold propaganda has been outlined to achieve this ideal.

First, the attempt is to be made to brand as few men and women with the criminal stamp as possible: this means that the police and magistracy shall employ more conscience and care in condemning and consigning men and women to gaol.

Second, the endeavour is to be made to convert prisons into character-rebuilding factories; this signifies that the authorities will engage themselves in the reformation of the unfortunates locked up in gaols.

Third, the State or humane agencies will look after the convict when he is released from prison: this is to be done in order to insure the material well-being of the ex-prisoner and help him in overcoming temptation.

A mere cursory glance at this programme is sufficient to convince a thinking person that it is intensely practical and that, if carried out efficiently and kindly, it is calculated to protect society from its lawless members by taming them into respectable citizens. Of course, the posiblities of this propaganda never have been tried on as adequate a scale as it pre-eminently deserves. But wherever this common-sense treatment of the criminal has been experimented with,

* Refer to the articles: "India's Criminal Waste of Children", Indian World, June, 1908; "Making the Bad Child Good", "The Foundation Principles of the Children's Court", "The Machinery of the Children's Court In Motion", "A Model Reform School: How it Works" and "How Bad Girls are made into Respectable Women", in The Modern Review for December, 1908, June, 1909, July, 1909, September, 1909, and January, 1910 respectively.

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no matter in how small a way, it has yielded gratifying results.

Just what has been accomplished along these lines and what is actually being attempted may be briefly indicated.

5.

About the only place where the authorities have, on a substantial scale, put into active operation the propaganda to refrain from branding merely mischievous men and petty offenders as criminals, is Cleveland, Ohio, one of the largest metropolises of the United States of America. Here, under the capable direction of Fred Kohler, Chief of the Police, ever since January, 1908, every policeman on the force has been working to save drunkards and pilferers from fine, workhouse or gaol sentence by reprimanding them for their delinquencies and helping them to be law-abiding citizens.

The basic principle of the Kohler plan, known as the "Golden Rule," or "Common Sense" policy, are :—

First :—Juveniles never are placed in the city prison. They are taken home, or the parents sent for and the little sinner turned over to them with a recommendation for parental correction.

Second :—Intoxicated persons are taken or sent, home, unless it be necessary, for the protection of their lives, or their property, to confine them until sober. And in that case they are allowed to plead guilty and, by signing a waiver of trial, go without appearing in court.

Third :—Apparent offenders on any misdemeanor charges are warned and released, by simply taking their names and addresses, unless it can be shown that the offence was committed with malice aforethought, with the intention to injure the person or property of another.

Fourth :—Any apparent violators who are not known to be of good character and reputation are accompanied to the precinct station, where the matter is fully inquired into by the officer in charge and the proper action, as specified by the "Golden Rule" policy, is taken.

Fifth :—Officers are required to have sufficient evidence of a competent character to secure coviction, before even considering the imprisonment of a person on any charge whatever.

All this summed up means :—

(1) No arrests for first offences, unless they are very grave.

(2) Avoidance of arrests wherever possible, such as in the case of "plain drunks" and juvenile delinquents.

In order to put this system into successful operation, the Cleveland policeman is instructed to bear in mind,

First, that some men fall through unfortunate circumstances and are not criminal at heart, and should be treated accordingly; in which case the best results may be accomplished with a well-applied reprimand.

Second, the members of the force are directed to use their kindly efforts in easing the friction and ill-temper between man and man, wherever and whenever it may make itself manifest.

Third, that the best policeman is the one who manages the offender with the least display of authority.

This system is in direct contrast to the one formerly in operation in Cleveland, and even now in other cities and countries. Heretofore the police have dealt in the time-honored manner with drunk and disorderly men and women, petty thieves, incorrigible boys and small offenders generally. That is to say, they arrested them.

These wholesale arrests, however, did absolutely no good. The number of arrests steadily increased instead of diminishing. Moreover, they had more than a mere negatively bad effect. They did positive harm, for they brought disgrace, humiliation and suffering to innocent people who were in no way responsible for the acts of the careless, mischievous or even malicious first offender. The relatives and friends of the prisoners daily gathered at the police station and tearfully sought the release of some person who, on investigation, proved to be anything but a desperate character. In the police court old and feeble parents and weeping wives with bawling babies in their arms and very often with other wailing little ones clinging to their skirts, witnessed the degradation of their loved ones.

The ultimate result of it all, as a rule, was a hasty trial and the discharge of the prisoner, since the offence was trivial. Thus all the sufferings had been in vain—sometimes

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worse than vain, for it gave the one who had been arrested and dragged before the police judge for trial—a sense of shame that tended to inspire a reckless disposition, which led to future more serious offences.

If the offender was fined, it was the weeping wife who paid it—and she and her children were robbed of the bare necessities of life in order that the City Treasury might be enriched by a few paltry rupees. Not one particle of good was done, but a great deal of evil was accomplished by this old-fashioned legal process, which still is in operation practically all over the world—for it is grounded on custom, and since habit is woven into the very fibre of a man's brain, it is hard to upset.

Years' study of the appalling situation led Chief of Police Fred Kohler to formulate the plan which he has now put into practice. He questioned the unfortunates who were arrested and found that, almost as a unit, their offence had been committed through thoughtlessness, natural passion or in a spirit of mischief or frolic. He concluded that it was the duty of the police to save these men and women, boys and girls, instead of helping the unfortunates on their downward course—to learn to know the difference between a thief and a merely mischievous person. He determined to instruct his policemen to use their best humane instincts in dealing with delinquents, exercising that discretion which the Judge did not at all times display.

As a result of putting his ideals into practical operation, there has been a considerable decrease in the number of arrests, as shown by the following table:—

	Under the Old and General Custom.		Under the Kohler Plan.	
	1906	1907	1908	1909
Total arrests January ...	2285	2158	911	591
" " February ...	2016	2257	829	391
" " March ...	2430	2711	939	483
" " April ...	2801	2434	907	427
" " May ...	2675	2731	880	366*
" " June ...	2766	2503	882	.....
" " July ...	2843	2900	1010	.....
" " August ...	2749	2898	1015	.....
" " September	2919	2510	707	.....
" " October ...	2770	2351	704	.....
" " November	2700	2530	618	.....
" " December	2782	2435	674	.....
	31733	30418	10085	2258

As a natural consequence of the working of the Kohler plan, the police and magistracy have been saved a great deal of time and labour. The saving to the State of money alone is an appreciable item. During the year 1908, 10,085 arrests were made, which cost the city and county, in witness, and juror fees alone, approximately Rs. 156,000. Figuring that under the old custom of making arrests there would have been at least as many arrests as during the previous year (30,418), it is easy to realize just what was saved the administration in actual money, in witness and juror fees alone, which, after all, is only a small item when the money paid out by the persons in jeopardy to "professional bondsmen,"* pleaders, loss of time from work of the principals and witnesses, etc., are taken into consideration.

That the "Common Sense" policy is scientific in its conception is proved by the fact that since its adoption crime has steadily decreased in Cleveland. Less property has been stolen and the number of real criminals apprehended and punished has been greater than under the old regime. Crimeless days and days in which not a single arrest is made are coming to be quite common in the Ohio city. The police officers themselves have been affected for good by the new order of things. A general toning up of the atmosphere in the police station and court room has been

* In this total of 366 arrests for the month of May, there is included 57 for felonies. That in itself is conclusive evidence that this policy is not applied to criminals.

* In America.

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noticed by those who have made a close study of the reform that is being carried on, and many undesirable characters who used to haunt the station have been entirely done away with. A great amount of needless suffering has been saved, second offenders have almost entirely disappeared and weeping wives and anxious relatives and friends no longer throng the court room and the precinct stations. The court dockets are not so glutted with petty cases that there is no time for the proper consideration of weightier matters, and the police are able to do more effective work because they have more time, and therefore are able to be more careful in the steps they take.

ABOUT PICTURES

II.

THE student of painting will have achieved much when he realises that the significance of art lies not in imitative dexterity, but in the expression of emotion, and in the power of awakening a mood. He may gain assistance in clearness of thought by applying to pictures that theory of *rasa*, [an aesthetic of perfectly general application], which he is familiar with in relation to the art of drama. He will see that Leonardo da Vinci's great saying supplies a true test of art, and one in perfect accord with the already familiar principles of Indian Aesthetic—"That drawing is best which by its action best expresses the passion that animates the figure". The passion of a Dhyani Buddha will be Shanti: of a love scene, Sringara, and so on, with all possible combinations and variations (for the *rasas* must not be treated as pigeonholes for formally classifying different kinds of pictures in a hard and fast manner). True painting is in itself a passionate experience—it is the relaxation of a tension, the expression of feeling, abstracted and transmitted into art. Now we cannot receive to the full the message of a painting unless we are capable of feeling what the painter felt. We can, without this, only criticise externally. And this, as in the case of perspective, already spoken of, is a great temptation. Durer somewhere says that painters should show their works to men of small mind, because these readily pick out the faults. I have constantly remarked the great difference between the way in which an artist, and a person who knows nothing of drawing, criticises a picture. The former is sensitive to the feeling expressed in it. The latter proceeds to use his intellect to detect faults of drawing, which a true draftsman would not observe. Pictures are great tests of persons: there are few who are wise enough to approach them with passivity and reverence. In many cases those who readily detect some minor inaccuracies of drawing, are quite unaware of the particular merits of the work before them—they will pass over the most magnificent composition, the most clear evidences of knowledge, experience and insight, to express an opinion on some error of technique, concerning which their opinion may be valueless.

A further complaint often made is that a picture is 'not natural', 'true to nature', or the like. To this it must be replied that learning to see is as difficult a thing as any other kind of culture. Oscar Wilde very pertinently remarks in one of his essays on art, that the reason for the worthlessness of most modern popular art, is that the painters paint what the public sees, and what the public sees is—nothing. What is needed is for the public to learn to see what the painters paint. Thus a man may come not only to 'love things best first when he sees them painted', but even to see them first when he sees them painted. Probably none of us is aware of the extent to which our visual concepts are modified by art—to carry on the above idea, we not only see things first when we see them painted, but we see things *as* we see them painted. There is no beauty and no ugliness in nature—it is we who create these conceptions and transfer them to nature.

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Only that part of nature appears to us beautiful, with which we are in sympathy, or with which we can identify ourselves. The artist is here in advance of us—he is more sensitive, more sympathetic than ordinary men. The greatness of Shakespear lies in his interpretation of different sorts of character: anyone could write of his own ideal hero, but only the genius makes us feel the common humanity of all. So the painter, painting men or animals or mountains makes us one with them. The more objective, the more photographic his art, the less he can do this: but the more he has identified himself* with these things, the more also he enables us to be conscious of our unity with them.

It is not then so easy to look at pictures. It is no more easy than it is to acquire a love for real literature. In each case, the artist can not really speak to us, unless we answer him, unless we too learn to be artists.† For this effort we shall be well repaid in a new vision of the world, and an initiation into a new brotherhood transcending race and time. The spirit of all great art is one and the same, and all true artists understand each other. In seeing the world as the Egyptian and the Greek, the Italian, the Persian or the Japanese have seen it, we become one with them. If, on the other hand, we say that they saw wrong because they have not seen as we see, then are we divided from them. Those things which unite men are right: those which divide them wrong.

There are several kinds of incorrect drawing—some of which are not incorrect at all: the first is due to a lack of scientific vision, this belongs to all art which in the technical sense is more or less 'primitive'. It in no way affects or reduces the nobility and grandeur of the art, but does at first form some hindrance to our complete comprehension of it. Another kind of incorrect drawing should more properly be described as a convention: the high horizon of oriental art may be instanced, and this is an admirable device for facilitating the representation of various planes of action, which would otherwise be lost one behind the other. To the same class of conventions belongs the device of increasing or decreasing the relative scale of different objects represented, in accordance with their importance, or the amount or nature of the space available.

Lastly we have the kind of drawing properly described as 'bad' or 'out of drawing' where insufficient skill or devotion on the part of the painter results in an effect different from that intended. This is particularly apparent in the work of modern students who wish to paint in the objective or realistic manner, but have not devoted the necessary years of study to technique. Bad drawing of this sort, unredeemed by the expression of sincere feeling, cannot be too severely criticised.

In looking at pictures we must learn to distinguish between these different kinds of drawing, and to recognize that kind which is good because it expresses real experience and real feeling. This reality is not the same thing as realism, but something very much greater.

A common error, easy to fall into, is that of supposing that beauty in painting or sculpture depends in any way upon the good looks of the persons represented. To suppose this leads us into the most fatal error of popular art, the striving at all costs to be pretty. A beautiful model is not the first requisite for a great picture, neither can any amount of beautiful scenery make an artist out of one who lacks the essentials of the artist nature.

I shall not attempt the dangerous task of defining beauty. But we may take it that for each of us, that with which we can identify ourselves, is beautiful. And, as we have seen, the true painter helps us to this identification of ourselves with humanity and nature. When he also brings before us in some mystic religious art like that of Mediæval Europe or Japan, or in classic Indian sculpture, an unearthly and divine beauty that we do not know, a beauty with which the artist has identified himself before he could make it visible, then at first it may not seem beautiful to us, because the power of self-indentification with a beauty so remote has yet to grow within us. But when this power has grown, then we may learn what service has been done for us by one who has seen, and represented to us, a form of

* On this point the chapter on Art and Yoga, in my *Essays in National Idealism*, may be referred to.

† See the section on 'Reproduction' in Benedetto Croce's 'Aesthetic'. I do not, of course, here mean that we should necessarily learn to paint or draw, but that we must have the capacity for finding our own self expressed in another's art.

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more than human peace and stillness, more than human love, or more than human power.

Modern art must express itself, its vision of the world. No old art however magnificent or noble can be brought to life and made *our* art though we may need after countless false turnings to retrace our steps to it again and again, as a starting point for new endeavour. A purely imitative art, however beautiful, we might rightly criticise as archaistic. But even this is better than to confuse originality with novelty.

No great art has ever been novel, sudden, or sensational. The greatness of great periods of art is made, like the flowering of a tree, out of all that has gone before. Great art comes not to destroy, but to fulfil. How profound then the error of supposing that it can be learnt or borrowed, or arise in any way but from its root in life. Art and life are root and branch. So then to understand and love the one, you must understand and love the other.

Modern art, we have said, must express its own vision of the world. Its subject matter may be infinitely old, and indeed must be so, for the great things that matter, birth and love and death are always with us: but the vision must be our own. Archæological art is an intellectual invention of modern times. I do not think its value is very great: at best we learn how ancient heroes and kings may have dressed, and what sort of houses they may have lived in. The older painters, East or West, painted their heroes in what was to them modern dress, and this had at least the advantage of making them seem very real, of bringing them home to the people. We see the same thing in Indian pictures of scenes from the Ramayana or Bhagavata Purana; life itself is used to make a living art. Yet there is an even greater way, that of imaginative art, creating a new world in which its heroes live and move and have their being, a world of such convincing reality, that though we have not seen it, yet instinctively we shape our world towards it. The highest work of art is to create, or rather, perhaps, to discover—to announce, as it were, the coming type before it is visible to every man, to hasten evolution towards the ideal.

If then, we would learn to know great painting, we must seek for it on the one hand in that humanistic art which makes us one with other men, and on the other in that imaginative, perhaps I should say occult art, which makes of us new men, and of this world a new world continually.

The use of the distinction 'fine' and 'decorative' art has little value for the student of pictures. At best, it has but a classificatory value for the writer of books. All great art has decorative qualities: all art is fine which shows true feeling and devoted workmanship. In looking at pictures especially, one should avoid the notion that 'fineness' has anything to do with the size of the work, or the materials employed (as oil or water colour). The work is fine if it expresses nobly, some real intention of the soul: it is not fine if it merely flatters our own vanity or confirms our prejudices, or if it awakens in us desire. This awakening of desire is one means of testing art, and of testing our attitude towards art. If we find that any picture, as of a beautiful woman, or a beautiful place awakens in us desire, then we may be sure the art is not of the greatest. For the greatest art awakens no desire, it evokes a mood of disinterested contemplation that raises us above our most ordinary empirical self: 'he who perceives beauty is from himself set free.'

In some measure we may regard this liberation as a test of greatness in art. Yet this is no empirical test which can save us from the necessity for self-development—only self-development can make its application possible. If we ourselves are great, and take pains to understand the language of art, then we shall come to know 'without reasoning', as Plato says, the difference between good and bad workmanship: and this is true education.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

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TWO OLD CAPITALS OF JAPAN

IT was sometime past evening when we were approaching Kyoto in one of those Lilliputian, absurdly slow-moving Japanese trains, scarcely covering 8 miles an hour. The evening was rather chilly for the first days of April, when people throughout Japan were talking of the approaching, long-waited-for cherry blossom. Being tired of the cart-like slowness of the train, I confess I was dozing in a corner of the compartment dimly lighted by kerosene lamps.

The picture of Nara, where we had been only a few hours ago, was before my eyes, haunting my imagination like a sweet dream. There are some places, things and persons we meet with in life, which or whom we can never forget. And Nara is one such. No other place which I visited during my long sojourn in Dai Nippon, appealed to my mind more strongly than did Nara, the old city, I almost wanted to say,—the hermitage.

For verily it is a hermitage. Of the indecent hurry and bustle of a modern city, there were none. Hundreds of deer grazed on the green meadows and on the hills, unmolested. Here and there a maiden was offering them a few cakes, and then flocks of them would come and stand round her. Some in their impatience would seize her by her flowing *kimono*, and mutely appeal for a share of the feast.

The streets were smooth and without dust, a mystic calm pervaded the place, the atmosphere was fragrant with unknown perfumes. Instinctively the vision of a by-gone day rose in my mind when, in fair Bharatabarsha, in a secluded spot, away from the noisy world, surrounded by beautiful hills and forests, the *Rishis* would sit before their homely but clean *Kuteers* when the afternoon was on the wane; the deer would lie down and ruminate leisurely, while perhaps a Sakuntala, clad in the holy yellow, engaged in watering the plant of the jasmine or the rose, would add color and charm to the picturesque surroundings! As we passed through the avenue of tall, stately pine trees, I almost expected to light upon a *tapoban* where a *Rishi* was chanting the Vedic hymns, seated before a *homagni*, redolent with the perfume of incense and *ghee*!

Undoubtedly the chief sight of the place is the colossal statue of the Great Buddha, measuring 53 feet from bottom to top. "I have on this 15th day of October, in the 15th year of Sempio determined to construct and dedicate a statue of Buddha cast in gold and copper. The copper of the country shall be exhausted for the casting, and the high mountains levelled for the building of the temple," so ran the rescript of the pious emperor Seimu. Begun on the 27th September, 747 A.D. the casting had to be done eight times before it was completed in 749 A.D. The main temple that contained, and the minor temples shrines and pagodas that surrounded, the statue, were built, as it is said, by experts from China, Korea and India. The head of the statue was destroyed three times. The first time was in 851 A.D., when the cause of the mishap was a seismic disturbance; the second time in 1180, it was a Japanese warrior who, perhaps unconscious of the great harm he was doing to the progress of civilisation, set fire to the temple, and the head of the statue melted with the intense heat; the third and last time, in 1567, a Japanese Kalapaharh, Matsuyama by name, again burnt the temple with the insolence of a conqueror, and thus once more the head was lost. Nearly a century and a half elapsed before the head was recast.

At the time of our visit the temple was being rebuilt. Through the openings in the huge network of wooden pillars and beams, we could see the statue seated in the posture of teaching or benediction on an immense lotus. The comparative darkness of the place added to the mystery and awe of the whole scene. As many as five hundred small images

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surround the halo of the image. The right hand was raised, as if to soothe and console suffering humanity. As we came out of the temple, my mind swelled with reverence for the Great Teacher before whom "—half the world still kneel worshipping in fervent love!"

But to come back to our story. After the dull railway journey it was rather refreshing to alight on the well-lighted platform of the Kyoto Station. Many people were shouting for porters, but no *akabo** was visible, and as I was unwilling to strain my not very strong lungs, off I started like a full-fledged Yankee with the small suit-case of my friend, who was, therefore, under the obligation to carry my comparatively heavier portmanteau. And it was not at all hard for my friend, for "a mighty man was he, with large and sinewy hands."

As our *kurumaya* dragged us through the unmethodically lighted streets and lanes, we were soon alive to the fact that Kyoto was a veritable woman's world. The people seemed to be bent on pleasure. Unlike Tokio, two-seated *kurumayas* were much *en évidence*, on which could be seen gaily dressed *geishas* in pairs, or sometimes a gay dog with his sweetheart enjoying the cool breeze of the evening. After about an hour's ride when our *kurumayas* pulled up before our friend's house, who, we were told, was absent, it was already somewhere near 10 o'clock. Eaten we had nothing for a long time past, so, in right earnest we fell to our respective works,—I warming my cold hands on the *hibachi*, and my big friend cooking the meal with the servant girl. Over and above his strength of muscles, it must be said to his honour, my friend had the further distinction of being a good cook.

Next morning, when we stood in front of our house after a refreshing sleep, the atmosphere was already enveloped in the soft rays of the morning sun, while away yonder rose the green hills wet yet with the dew of the dawn. The city was so different from Tokio that it almost seemed a revelation of the Old Japan that was.

We got into a toy-like tram car which rattled and creaked and shook like a third class *gharry* of Calcutta. And yet of all places in Japan, Kyoto was the city where street cars were first introduced. Perhaps in its love for antiquity Kyoto has desisted from making any improvements on its street cars!

The first thing we went to see was the Imperial Palace, where the coronation of the present Emperor took place in 1868. Round the palace were extensive grounds much like those round the palace in Tokio, whose very barrenness was refreshing. As we approached the palace, lightly the zephyr touched us, soft as a mother's caress, making us feel as one with nature on that exuberant spring morning.

Inside, things were different. The corridors, big waiting-halls, audience chambers,—all were empty. Only a few decades back, these halls had witnessed many a gorgeous pageant; royal ladies, fair and soft as visions, with noiseless steps had passed on the corridors on which we walked; many a *Samurai*, the two-sworded gentlemen of Old Japan, who cut down the heads of laymen at the least provocation, albeit with a fine sense of honour, had squatted on the mattress of the waiting halls, where grave-like silence reigned to-day.

But for some rich paintings on the screens and sliding doors, and the hugeness of the structure, one could hardly distinguish this palace from an ordinary Japanese dwelling house. We were told that the palace had been several times burnt down, the fate that overtakes almost all Japanese houses. Consequently the paintings and the wood carvings could not claim much antiquity. But they were pretty as they were. There were mostly paintings of birds and animals; peacocks and storks and tigers were in abundance, a few of them only depicted old village scenes, the gathering of the harvest and so forth.

But the Nijo castle which was built by the Shogun Jeyasu as far back as 1603, where the Shoguns lived, is much superior to the palace in its rich paintings, which have retained their color through many centuries, and wood carvings. We saw the big halls where the Shoguns used to hold court surrounded by warriors and councillors. The upper part of the hall where the Shoguns sat, was a little raised above the lower where the other people sat. Behind the

* Lit. means Red Cap. The Railway porters all wear red caps, and so are called by this name.

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seat of the Shogun were the *tokonoma* or recess for hanging the picture and keeping the flower, and the book-shelf done in rich lacquer. On the left hand side was a small dark room, separated from the main hall by heavy, sliding lacquered screens, where the guards lay in waiting, ready to be by the side of their master in a moment should an emergency occur. On the handles of doors, on pillars, everywhere was inscribed the hollyhock, the crest of the Shogun, some of which we found displaced by the Imperial Chrysanthemum. The Shoguns who ruled the country, while the imbecile emperors lived in effeminate luxury from day to day, were as great lovers of art as of war, as can be seen from the noble art that decorate the Shogun's castle.

Of the many temples and shrines that Kyoto can boast of, *Ginkakuji* or the silver temple, and *Kinkakuji* or the gold temple are two of the most famous. The former is not made of silver as one is apt to suppose from the name. But why call it the silver temple? you ask. Because the man who built this temple wished to have it made of silver! Funny, isn't it? why, then I might as well call myself a prince simply because I like to be one!

A fat, young boy took us round the temple. In doing so, he stopped before every room and explained to us the contents of the room, their history, etc. in a very lugubrious, monotonous way. Attached to the temple was a small Japanese garden, in which every bit of stone and every plant seemed to have a history! The young fellow who led us had evidently got by heart the descriptions of the stones and plants and drawled them out like a machine.

Kinkakuji is a three-storeyed temple. The ceiling of the topmost storey is covered with thin gold foils. Here too we had a fat boy for a guide, who enumerated to us the history of the rooms and the pictures. Now, will anybody explain to me why it is that priests, whether in Japanese shinto shrines, or Hindoo temples, or Christian churches, have an excess of fat and flesh?

Prettier than the temple itself is the pond by its side, abounding in gold fish.

Maruyama park, or Maruyama Koen as they call it, is the place where everybody, rich or poor, goes for merry-making. What Asakusa is to Tokio, Hyde Park to London, Coney Island to New York City, Maruyama is to Kyoto. In and around the Park are innumerable eating houses, beef-houses, macaroni-houses, beer-halls, and restaurants, where the people indulge in convivialities. There are many who go in for the baser sort of pleasure, but the more sober-minded enjoy themselves by making small purchases, or going in for one of the many moving-picture shows, and acrobatic or theatrical performances.

Such is Kyoto, the old capital of Japan, famous for its beautiful women, rich in natural beauty, gay and easy-going, conservative beyond a doubt, and above all attractive and entertaining.

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI.

COTTON

BY S. N. BOSE, M. A. S. (JAPAN).

IN view of the persistent attempts being made to grow cotton in India and the growing demand for more cotton in the market, India seems to have a very bright prospect in cotton production. The United States of America is at present the leading cotton-growing country in the world and it has kept its supremacy in this field for a very long time, but the recent appearance of the boll weevil in the United States and the rapid advance it is making in infesting new localities, gives India some importance in the future development of the cotton-growing industry. The following quotations from the Farmer's Bulletin No. 189 of the United States Department of Agriculture, issued in 1904, will give an idea of the future cotton prospects of that country:—

"The work of the Division of Entomology for several years has demonstrated that there is not even a remote

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probability that the boll weevil will ever be exterminated." And further on, it says:—"The steady extension of the territory affected by the weevil from year to year, until the northern boundary is far north of the centre of the cotton production in the United States, has convinced all observers that it will eventually be distributed all over the cotton belt. In ten years it has gradually advanced a distance of about 500 miles and it will undoubtedly invade new territory at about the same rate. It is not at all likely that legal restrictions of any kind would prevent or materially hinder this spread."

In face of these observations, nothing seems to be more discouraging than cotton cultivation in the United States. This fact offers India a good chance to resume once again her ancient position as the greatest cotton-producing country in the world. The capabilities of this country for growing cotton are really very great but unfortunately they are not properly utilised. In consequence of the recent deputation, to the Secretary of State for India, of the International Cotton Federation urging on him the desirability of assisting in the utmost increase in the production of cotton in India and the improvement in its quality, Government are soon expected to take an adequate interest in this regard and let us hope this immediate impetus will go a great way in helping the birthplace of the cotton industry to regain its position in the cotton market of the world.

Early History of Cotton.

India being one of the earliest civilised countries and having an ancient literature still in existence, it is interesting to trace the origin of the plant through it. The earliest notice which we find of this substance is in that most ancient digest of law, the institutes of Manu, written some 1000 years before the Christian era. There we can find the words "Karpas, Karpasam" for cotton and "Karpas asthi" for seeds. In Book II of Manu, the estimation accorded to Karpas is evident from the language, which says, "the sacrificial thread of a Brahmin must be made of cotton, so as to be put on over his head, in three strings; that of a Kshatria of Sunn (Crotalari juncea of Hibiscus cannabis) thread only; that of a Vaisya of woolen thread."

Another instance from Manu's Book VIII shows the minute attention paid by the Hindus to the mechanical arts and the process of starching:—

"Let a weaver who has received ten 'palas' of cotton thread, give them back increased of eleven by rice water, and the like used in weaving; he who does otherwise shall pay a fine of 12 'panas'".

In Bible, Book of Esther, the word Karpas occurs in Chapter II, V. 6. Karpas in Hebrew means "green". It seems to mean cotton-cloth, or Calico, formed into curtains.

Herodotus was acquainted with the wool from trees and mentions that the cuirass sent by Amasis, King of Egypt, to Sparta, was "adorned with gold and with fleeces from trees."

Arrian, the author of the "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea," himself a merchant, and who probably lived in the 1st and 2nd century, is the first who mentions cotton goods as articles of commerce. He describes Arab traders as bringing such to Aduli, a port in the Red Sea coast and that a trade was established with Patiala, Arake, and Barygaza (Broach). Goods were brought from Tagora across the Ghauts and Masalia (Masalipatan) which places are still famous for the manufacture of cotton goods. The Muslin of Dacca was called by the Greeks "Ganjitiki."

Distribution.

From India cotton appears to have spread into China, for it does not seem to have been used in the 9th century, as the two Arabian travellers, who then visited China, observed that the Chinese dressed not in cotton as the Arabians did, but in silk. Cotton grows in China but we can not exactly determine whether it is indigenous, or introduced from India. There is no doubt that cotton spread into Persia from India and a little into Arabia and Egypt and from thence, probably to Central and Western Africa. From Persia, the culture spread to Syria and Asia Minor, also into Turkey in Europe and from there into other parts of the south of Europe; so that we may find varieties of the Indian plant in all these localities.

Equally satisfactory evidence can be found in respect of the existence of cotton in America at its first discovery. But this may belong to one or more species, quite different from those in India.

Structure of the fibre of Cotton.

The filamentous substance which constitutes cotton, in point of structure entirely corresponds with the hair found on other parts of the plant and is, in fact, a mass of

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vegetative hairs, of considerable lengths, arising from the surface of the seeds, enveloping them and assisting to fill up the cavity of the seed-vessel. It would be interesting, and at the same time helpful, to ascertain the natural function of the fibre with respect to the seed. But at present nothing more can be said about the point than what is applicable in general. Hairs are formed of cellular tissue, usually of one or more filiform elongated cells, joined end to end. When composed of one cell it appears continuous, but if of more, it is necessarily partitioned. Hairs appear to consist of only a simple delicate membrane, within which, especially when young, can be seen a regular circulation of fluid, in which are suspended a number of fine granules. Some of these cells are composed of two membranes; one within the other.

DISTINCTION OF COTTON AND LINEN FIBRES.

The only trustworthy way of distinguishing these two is microscopic examination. The great difference in specific gravity as well as in the conducting power of linen and cotton is sufficient to enable us to discriminate between them. But it requires large pieces and accurate experiment. The microscope will show the fibres of both raw and unravelled cotton as flattened cylinders, twisted like a corkscrew, whilst the fibre of linen and various mummy cloths were straight and cylindrical. The filament of cotton, when viewed through a powerful microscope, appears to be like transparent and glassy tubes, flattened and twisted round their own axes. A section of the filament resembles in some degree, the figure of 8, the tube originally cylindrical, having collapsed most in the middle, forming semitubes on each side, which give to the fibre, when viewed in certain lights, the appearance of a flat ribbon, with a hem or border on each edge. The uniform transparency of the filament is impaired by small irregular figures, in all probability wrinkles or creases, arising from the desiccation of the tube. The corkscrew and twisted form of the filament of cotton distinguishes it from all other vegetable fibres and is characteristic of the fully ripe and mature boll; the fibres of the unripe seed are simple, untwisted cylindrical tubes which never twist afterwards if separated from the plant: but when the seed ripens, even before the capsule bursts, the cylindrical tubes collapse in the middle and assume the form already described. This form of character the fibres retain ever after and undergo no change through the operation of spinning, weaving, bleaching, printing and dyeing, etc., till the stuff is worn to rags.

Indian cotton, under the microscope, appears less spiry; a few flattened cylinders, with many flimsy ribbons and warty excrescences varying in diameter from $\frac{1}{600}$th to $\frac{1}{1000}$th of an inch; some are $\frac{1}{1500}$th to $\frac{1}{200}$th of an inch. In length differing from $\frac{17}{20}$th to $\frac{11}{10}$th of an inch.

THE GENUS GOSSYPUM.

The genus is distinguished by having a double calyx, or in other words, a simple calyx supported externally by 3 leaf-like bracts forming an involucel, a three-celled capsule with seeds immersed in the wool-like substance, so well-known by the name of cotton.

The species of the genus are either annual or perennial, often shrubby, one of them is arboreous. The leaves are alternate, with long foot-stalks, cordate at the base, three to five lobed, sometimes undivided at the end of the branches as well as the bracts and young branches, covered with blackish gland-like spots and hairs; often with glands near the base of the nerves on the under surface; stipules 2, lanceolate or cordate at the base of the petiole; flower-stalk terminal, axillary or opposite to the leaves.

There are 5 petals; anthers are kidney-shaped; ovary is sessil, superior, three to five celled; the ovules are numerous; the capsules are roundish or ovoid, often pointed.

THE SPECIES OF GOSSYPUM.

1.—G. Indicum, Lamb. (G. Herbaceum, of Linn.) both annual or bi-triennial. Varieties:—

(*a*) Dacca cottons.

(*b*) The Biratty or Bairathy Kapas. Mymensing and localities. Staple extremely fine, silky and strong but short.

(*c*) Bhoga—in the hills near Chilmary, east of Dacca, Manbhum, and north of the Brahmaputra. Fibre is coarse.

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2.—G. Punctatum—Banks of Senegal.
3.—G. Obtusifolium, Roxb.—Shrubby, very rameous. Native of Ceylon.
4.—G. Barbadense—Bourbon cotton. (G. Fuscum, Roxb.)
(*a*) Sea-island.
(*b*) Upland varieties.
(*c*) Bourbon cotton.
6.—G. Peruvianum—perennial, sub-arbeceous.
7.—G. Religiosum, Linn.
8.—G. Vilifolium (G. barbadense.)
9.—G. Racemosum.
10.—G. Acuminatum, Roxb.

On the whole there seems to be only four species:—

1.—G. Indicum lamb.
2.—G. Arboreum.
3.—G. Barbadense.
4.—G. Peruvianum, Roxb.

Climate.

The cotton plant requires a warm moist climate; it will not luxuriate in hot winds alone, nor will it live in a low swampy situation. It will bear a great deal of rain if the land is high, so that the water will run off; it will also bear a considerable drought, if in good land and properly cultivated and the atmosphere is humid only during the night.

Principles of culture.

Cotton, as we can see, is cultivated in the rich alluvial soil of the Mississippi, and in the sandy plains of Georgia, in the hilly tracts on the background in the islands near it; it is also produced in different parts of Africa and even the same species are found in such widely separated countries as Egypt and the coast of Natal. In every part of India we find some kind of cotton, both near the coast and far in the interior; on the tableland of the peninsula and in the mountains of the frontier, at elevations of 4000 and 5000 ft.

From the fact of such a wide field of distribution, the first thing that suggests itself is whether temparature is of so little consequence as to allow of its production in such very different places. But from a minute study of the climatic conditions of the localities we can see that temperature is modified in many of the places by the moisture of the atmosphere, either from vicinity to the sea, or from the presence of water from some other source. Next to this is the question of soil. No doubt, the soils are very different in the various localities. But it has been proved that cotton can be grown in widely varying soils, if care be taken to modify the culture so as to suit the climates. From this we can understand that the principles or the reasons why changes are made in the details of culture are the most important subject of study in regard to cotton culture. For practice must differ if it is to suit the pecularities of the soils and of climates in different localities.

Cotton being naturally a plant of warm climates, it suffers more from cold than from excessive heat. When heat occurs with dryness, plants, being unable to obtain materials for growth, necessarily become dwarfed. In this case the evaporation will be increased without a sufficient supply of moisture to recoup the loss. On the contrary, if high temperature co-exists with moisture either of the soil or of the atmosphere or of both, the phenomenon is quite different. Then a certain degree of moisture in the soil is essential. But again if the soil be overloaded with water, the temperature will remain low and air will not have access to the roots; the quantity absorbed by the radicles may be larger than is necessary and in consequence the plant becomes more succulent than healthy. Leaves will appear in abundance, and shoots weak and wandlike, and instead of flowering and preparing fruit it will be apt to rot off.

Excessive moisture and richness of the soil with a moist state of the atmosphere and suitable temperature will produce a rapid growth of leaves and other harbeceous parts with a diminution of fruits and flowers.

A damp soil and moist atmosphere with cold and frost, either late in spring or in autumn, does great injury to cotton. The theory is that when a plant is frozen, the fluids contained within the cells of tissue are congealed, their sides are lacerated, the air they contain is expelled and cold air admitted; the interior of the tubes which convey fluids becomes obstructed by the thickening of their sides while the different secretions are decomposed and destroyed. Hence a crop of cotton may be completely destroyed by early frost in autumn in the U. S.

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Excess of light also has great influence upon the growth of plants. So as open planting is essential in moist situations, a closer approximation and shade may be needful in a poorer soil and drier atmosphere, by covering the surface and enabling the soil to retain much of the moisture which would otherwise evaporate.

Dr. Write says :—

"Moisture in moderation is required to excite germination in somewhat greater excess to promote assimilation and growth, and dry and warm weather properly to mature seeds."

Generally speaking as cotton is an appendage of the seed the principles which should guide us in its cultivation, are those which favours the production of the parts of fructification instead of those of vegetation. Of course, the healthy growth of the stem, branches and leaves is necessary for the fair production of fruit, yet vegetation should be somewhat checked; because during a particular period of growth of a plant, the parts of vegetation and those of fructification may be considered as antagonistic.

In America the culture of cotton in the best localities consists especially in deep ploughing in careful selection of seed, in sowing in lines on ridges keeping the plants wide apart, throwing the earth up about the lower parts of their stems, extreme care in the destruction of weeds by frequent ploughing, and hoeing between the ridges. With these, is sometimes combined topping or prunning. The cotton as it ripens is at once carefully picked, dried and freed of its seeds.

THE PEOPLE OF THE CELESTIAL EMPIRE AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

I.

NOW about the people of this celestial empire. It is not a very easy task to determine when China was first peopled, but according to Sir William Jones it was originally peopled partly from India.

The Chinese are very industrious and true to the allotted work. When they are given some work to do, the employer does not require to keep an eye on them to see it done, but after a specified time he can come and see that it is complete in each detail. Such is not the case with the labourers of our country. John Chinaman is always sober, and sympathetic to his countrymen. They hate foreign people but they are not altogether inhospitable. They are given to cheating in their bargains. When a foreigner goes to purchase anything from a Chinese shop, the shop-keeper will never tell the exact price as a matter of course, but will always ask three or four times more than the actual value. It must be understood that what he has asked for should be less by halves at least and priced as such. Mr. Hayton, an American, has given an account of China. According to him, "the Chinese consider the rest of the world as seeing only with one eye, while they alone are blessed with a perfect vision". The great industry and ingenuity of the Chinese causes them to turn almost all raw materials to good account. Raw produce finds a good market among them, whereas the people of our country can not do much out of it to serve their purpose. The Chinese do not much hanker after service but are trades-people in its literal sense. In fine they are far superior to us in business capacity, industry and hard work. The Chinese are much more superstitious than our countrymen. With the Chinese "the heart is the seat of the mind". "They are on the whole," says Montesquieu, "among the most good-humoured people in the world and the most peaceable." They are a nation of conservatives, so to say.

Parental authority is paramount in China. Disobedience of any sort towards parents is punishable like treason and in consequence

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implicit obedience to the Emperor's Edict is the rule. What do the youths who go astray from filial duty in our country say to this? A man is punished with death if he ill-treats his father or mother. The Emperor exerts his full authority to render the empire filial. "By such principles," says Sir George Staunton, "the Chinese have been distinguished ever since their first existence as a nation." It is specially to be remarked that the general prosperity and peace of China have been much increased by the spread of education among the lower classes. Among the countless millions of its inhabitants almost every man can read and write sufficiently for the ordinary purposes of life.

All real talent is determined by competitive examination. These examinations are open to the poorest of persons. The main spring of rank and consideration lies in cultivated talents. Age and learning are much respected in China but the former is secondary in respect to the latter. But alas! many young men of our country look upon the grey-haired people as "old fools." Dr. Morrison, a somewhat fair critic, has observed that "Education is made as general as possible and the moral instruction is ranked above physical, and in consequence tranquility, industry and contentment prevail amongst the bulk of the population." The Chinese may be called bad political economists. The Imperial Government instead of allowing the grain trade to have its own course, constructs its own granaries; so that there are some abuses as an inevitable result. In time of distress people look to the public granaries for help and relief. Notwithstanding the absolute power of the Emperor, he always tries to show that his conduct is based on reason and benevolence.

Mr. Barrow in remarking on the cheerful character and willing industry of the Chinese says that :—

"This is in fact a most invaluable trait. The superior character of the Chinese as colonists, in regard to intelligence, industry and general sobriety, must be derived from their education, and from the influence of something good in their national system. Their government very justly regards education as all-powerful and some share of it nearly every Chinese obtains. Their domestic discipline is all on the side of social order and universal industry."

In spite of extreme poverty and destitution in the country, the distribution of wealth is far more equal here than in any other country. Among them poverty is no reproach. As we have already said, they hold two things as most respectable above all, *viz.*, the claims of venerable old age, and the position derived from personal merit. The Emperor Kaug-hy used to honor the former more than the latter. It is said that a very old man of inferior rank of the imperial service, was once introduced to the august presence of the Emperor and was received cordially and forbidden to do any customary homage. The Emperor rose from his seat remarking "this is owing to his venerable old age." It is now the usage of the nation to address an old man with "Laon-yay" or "Venerable Father." Truly it is said that 'docility, subordination and peacefulness are excellently maintained amongst the people owing to the respect for old age.' On account of this very reason no rupture is made in a family from generation to generation, and rashness and follies are easily restrained. For want of this veneration our youths have gone beyond the control of their guardians. The imperturbable coolness and gravity of the Chinese are worth noticing during conversation. They are in the habit of checking their violent passions. This habit they acquire from a strict discipline from their earliest childhood and so render any crimes of violence almost unfrequent among them. The joint family system is another thing to be noticed, which may be attributed to the sacred regard for kindred. They value their birthplace above all, even they sometimes quit high office and honors and retire to their native village to pass the rest of their life peacefully there, in contradistinction to the taste of many of our country people, who do not like even to go to their birthplace or feel ashamed to name it, far from trying to improve its condition. I am really astonished how long this false delicacy will remain with them. The Chinese have a popular saying, "If any one attaining high honors or wealth, never returns to his native place, he is a finely dressed person walking in the dark."

The community of China is divided into four ranks, *viz.*, 1st the learned, 2nd husbandmen, 3rd manufacturers and 4th merchants.

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Hereditary rank without merit is of little value in China.

Infanticide of female children, in some cases, exists among them. The punishment for this crime has not even been mentioned in their penal code. As a general rule the Chinese are peculiarly fond of their children. The birth of a son is welcomed with much rejoicing as in our country. Sometimes a male child is purchased by the midwife at the inducement of parents to substitute it for a new-born girl. A man is able to sell his children as slaves, as he has full power over his family. On the birth of a child, the family name or surname is first given and then the milk-name.



CHINESE WOMEN WITH MUTILATED FEET.

MUTILATION OF WOMEN'S FEET.

The Cramping of women's feet from their early childhood is another cruel and shocking practice prevalent amongst the Chinese. This, it is said, was imitated from a Lily-foot Queen of the Tang Dynasty in the 9th century of the Christian era, who used



CHINESE WOMAN HOLDING TOBACCO PIPE IN HER HAND.

to dance on a lotus owing to her small feet and her subjects took that as a part of physical grace and beauty. It is always the custom among the common people of all nations to imitate the higher class. The helpless state of the women on account of mutilation, though extremely admired by some Chinese, is condemned by others. Their tottering gait as they walk upon their heels is really pitiful and can be compared to a branch of a tree waving in a gentle breeze, or the gait of a child first learning to walk. As to the mutilation of the feet, Mr. Francis Davis in "The Chinese," has compared this system with the peculiar tastes and practices of other races. He says,—

"While one race of people crushes the feet of its children, another flattens their heads between two boards, and while in Europe we admire the natural whiteness of the teeth, the Malays file off the enamel and dye them black, for the all-sufficient reason that dog's teeth are white. A New Zealand chief has his distinctive

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impossible had it not been for the submarine cable and telegraph. In 1877 when Pope Pius IX died, his death was reported in many New York papers in a ten-line article, but when his successor died the "foremost American paper" printed a whole page of telegram direct from Rome*. The telegraph and telephone are important adjuncts to modern newspapers. Realizing the value of a large telegraph service Mr. Hearst has leased wires connecting all his papers located at such widely scattered points as New York, Los Angeles, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco. Most newspapers, however, have 'uninterrupted connections' with the telegraph companies that are close to their office.

(c) *Mechanical Progress.*—It is never enough merely to collect the news. The great problem that confronted the publishers in the middle of the last century was how to print enough of newspapers to meet the demand. During 1835 newspapers were printed in America, as they are still done in some parts of India, by slow, tedious hand-presses, one side at a time. Five hundred was regarded as a large circulation. No paper could afford to have a circulation larger than one thousand; they could not print more. As late as 1860 a press that could print 4,000 papers an hour was regarded a great wonder. Today a New york paper issues half a million copies daily and the city of New York produces three million papers every twenty-four hours.

Among the great mechanical inventions which have revolutionized the newspaper busines are the multiple press, the stereotyping press, and the type-setting machines. In 1871 R. Hoe & Co. invented the rotary press that printed on both sides 12,000 copies an hour. In 1889 the New York Herald built a sextuple press that could print, cut, paste, fold 72,000 papers of 8 pages each during every hour of its operation. In 1900 the Herald machine was again surpassed by three octuple presses that were installed for the New York Journal. "The running speed of this press is 96,000 papers an hour, four, six, eight, ten, twelve, fourteen or sixteen pages, all divided, folded to half-page size, pasted and counted." All up-to-date newspapers are now equipped with some kind of large printing machines that can turn out thousands of papers every hour. But the out-put of a printing machine could hardly be so large if it were not for the type-setting machine. It furnishes the printing press with "composed types in solid lines". It has been estimated by one that a lino-type 'can produce as much composed type in an hour as was done in a day by the compositors.'

It must be noted here that the Sunday newspapers which issue colored supplements need extra equipment. Those, therefore, that run these supplements have generally a separate five or six Cylinder Color Press combined with a full black press. This affords them great facilities for printing colored pictures with their texts.

In this connection, while we are considering some of the causes that have tended to the enormous growth of the newspapers we must bear in mind the low price of the white paper. It is a great element in reducing the cost of the newspaper. Fifty years ago the newspapers used to pay a rupee a pound, now they get huge blank paper rolls weighing about half a ton at four pice a pound. Had there been no cheap paper the price of the newspapers would have increased at least three or four times, or else the size would not have increased. It is this low price of the white paper, among other things, which makes it possible for newspaper publishers to sell for ten pice a Sunday newspaper that weighs about a pound.

In old days the paper in America was made out of rags. And as the supply of rags was limited, the price of the paper was high. The improvements in paper-making were set on foot in 1860 by Henry Voetner, who invented a method for grinding soft woods into paper pulp. Now all the newspapers in the United States are printed on wood-pulp paper.

(d) *Advertisements.*—A vast enterprise, such as the modern newspaper, involves an enormous outlay. The mere subscriptions to the newspaper do not pay more than the postage and for the white paper; the publisher in order to finance a paper successfully is compelled to solicit advertising patronage. It is estimated that the people of the United States spend more than one hundred millions dollars a year for news-

* "Making a Newspaper"—J. L. Given.

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paper and magazine advertising.* The advertisers are the patron saints of American art and literature. Without their aid no newspaper can be run in this country except at a dead loss to the publishers. As the newspapers depend on the advertisers, so do the advertisers depend on the newspapers to get them returns. The first thing necessary for a paper to secure a large number of advertisements, is to have a large circulation. But who reads the advertisements? Men or women? "Man," the publisher of a large Boston newspaper said the other day, "man is a poor inconsequential creature at best. I am printing a newspaper for women." The newspaper must interest women to get advertisements. This accounts for column after column of reports on society, dress, music, and beauty of person; and this accounts for the fact that the Los Angeles Times, which prints "more advertising than any other paper in the world"† gives more space to women and her affairs than any other paper on this continent.

The women, however, are not the only readers of advertisements. The American people in general have a habit of reading advertisements. Hundreds of people will sooner turn to the "classified advertisements" than they will to the news index. The advertisements themselves are sources of news to many. There is scarcely anything under the sun that a person cannot get through advertising. We see in Sunday newspaper advertisements about schools, colleges, theatres, situations, clairvoyants, opium, whisky, cats, dogs, husbands, false teeth and what not. It is impossible to resist the temptation to read some of these advertisements. Here are a few from "personal" columns:—

"Boys, write. Have red hair, blue eyes, fair skin, well-formed and called very handsome. Have 2,000 and will inherit. Object, marriage."

ANOTHER—

"Hallo, boys! why not write to me? Every one was meant for some one and may be I was meant for you. I am a handsome blonde and desire to correspond for matrimony; am a school teacher by trade; Baptist, height 5 ft. 6, weight 136, dark hair and blue eyes, neat form, good house-keeper and cook."

ANOTHER—

"Do not pass me by, but write, one and all. Widow, Methodist, age 46, height 5 ft. 11, weight 125, auburn hair and grey eyes, have good education, neat form, neat house-keeper. I am thoroughly domesticated. I desire to correspond with some kind and loving gentleman for matrimony."

ANOTHER—

"Grass-widow, age 50, desires to correspond with gentlemen for amusement and matrimony. Am 5 ft. 7 tall, plump form, blue-grey eyes and dark hair, good education. I have 11,200. Do not object to a worthy poor man. See photo above."

There are four times as much advertising done in the Sunday papers as in the week day. Two reasons, at least, may be given for this. First, the people have more time to read advertisements on Sunday; second, because they wish to post themselves on market prices for the next day, which is known in the newspaper office as "Bargain Monday." In many instances the big advertisers, by withholding their advertisements from Saturday issues for Sunday editions, have forced the publishers of the daily papers to put out a Sunday paper regularly.

URBANA, ILL. SUDHINDRA BOSE.
U. S. A.

* "Practical Journalism"—E. L. Shuman, pp. 202.

† Mr. H. Craig Dan, editor of the "Newspaperdom," in a private letter to the writer.

EDUCATION IN LONDON*

I.

THE County of London covers an area of 699 square miles and the population numbers about 4536451, of which about two-thirds are permanent residents within the country and the rest represent the floating mass of humanity that keep coming in and going out from other parts of Great Britain or the world. The London County Council is the

* This article is based on the official publications of the county council and the account is generally given in the words of the publications. The object is to draw the attention of those engaged in the work of education in India including the non-official agencies—L. R.

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local authority responsible for all grades of education within the County of London. Practically the whole of the elementary education in London is under the Council's control. In the various branches of higher education the council is associated with several other authorities, such as the University of London, the city companies, the governing bodies of endowed secondary schools and the governing bodies of polytechnics and technical institutes.

The council spends annually five and a half million sterling (round figures), equivalent to eight crores and 25 lakhs of Indian silver coin (Rupee) on education, six crores and 75 lakhs on elementary and one crore and 50 lakhs on higher education. Let the reader compare this with the total expenditure on education from all sources in India* and he will notice the appalling difference between India and England. According to the statistics of Public Education, published by the authority of the English Government, the total expenditure on education in England and Wales alone (excluding Scotland and Ireland), in the year 1908-9, amounted to 13,484,117£ sterling *i.e.* twenty crores twenty-two lakhs sixty one thousand seven hundred and fifty five Rs. (20,22,61,755, Rs.) This does not include about 40 thousand £ (40,780£) paid in the shape of annuities, allowances, and pensions to certificated teachers, *i.e.*, another 6 lakhs of Rupees.

London County Council Education Department.

The administrative staff of the London County Council Education Department consists of about 1,000 officers, including 86 inspectors; and there are about 20,000 teachers engaged in some 3,000 schools or departments of schools of all kinds. For purposes of higher education London is divided into four divisions, a divisional inspector being attached to each. For other purposes of educational administration London is divided into 12 districts, a district inspector being attached to each. With the district inspector is associated a divisional correspondent, who is mainly concerned with the meetings of school managers, and a divisional superintendent, who deals with the question of school attendance, and also with the employment of children.

How Attendance is Enforced.

The attendance of children at school is enforced by the aid of personal visits paid to the homes of the children by 350 attendance officers. These officers work in close co-operation with the Council's teachers, and obtain from them, week by week, slips on which the attendances of each child are recorded. Whenever a child's record shows less than the full number of attendances (*viz.* ten) the case is investigated. All doubtful cases are at once visited and the visits usually produce the desired effect. Difficult cases are, however, brought before the local attendance committee, and, if necessary, dealt with by prosecution before a magistrate, who is authorized to impose a fine not exceeding 15 Rs. The attendance officers, being in close touch with the homes of the children, are able to obtain valuable information with regard to their over-employment or under-feeding, and to report cases where action requires to be taken.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

(a) Schools and Scholars.

In London there are at present 548 L.C.C. schools, with an accomodation for 600,737 children, and an average attendance of 513,916; and 368 private schools, with accommodation for 159,561 and an average attendance of 136,825. In addition there are a few elementary schools which are not in receipt of Government grants and are outside the municipal administration. In a city so large as London there are naturally vast divergences between the special requirements of the different districts and the class and type of school vary accordingly.

The age of compulsory attendance at an ordinary elementary school in London is from 5 to 14. Children under 5, but over

* According to the fifth official quinquennial review of the "Progress of Education in India 1902-1907," by Mr. H. W. Orange, C. I. E., Vol. I, p. 4, "the expenditure on education from public funds in the year 1907 was 296 lakhs of rupees, as compared with 177 lakhs in the year 1902. With additions from sources other than public funds the total expenditure on education in India amounted to 559 lakhs of rupees in the year 1907, as compared with 401 lakhs in the year 1902." This is for a population of nearly 300 millions.—Ed., M. R.

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three may be admitted to schools; children who are over 14 are allowed to stay on at school until the close of the school year in which they attain the age of 15, but not beyond. With the large staff engaged in the enforcement of school attendance, the Council succeeds in securing a high percentage of attendance without having frequent recourse to prosecution. During the past year the average attendance was 89·4 per cent. of the average roll. The 10·6 per cent. absent, included scholars absent through illness or other unavoidable causes.

On first attending school a child is enrolled in the infants' department, and is drafted at about the age of 7 to the senior department. Senior departments are organised for boys and girls, or else as mixed departments. Sometimes there is a junior mixed department, with senior boys' and girls' departments. As a rule, a department of a school does not accomodate more than 350 children. There are, however, important exceptions. Non-provided schools are generally smaller than L. C. C. schools, but in Spitalfields there is an exceptionally large Jewish school, of which the boys' department alone has an average attendance of 1948, the girls' department has an average attendance of 1,158 girls, and the two infants' departments, which are contributory to the school, have an average attendance of 660 and 581 respectively. The size of rooms varies considerably, especially in the older schools, but arrangements are being made whereby no room will be allowed to have more than 60 on the roll. Moreover, in all new buildings that are being erected no room in senior departments is constructed to accomodate more than 40 children and no room in infants' departments more than 48. The average number of children per class teacher throughout the service has been steadily decreasing of late years, and is now 39·8 for L. C. C. and 33·0 for private schools.

(b) Subjects of Instruction.

The subjects of instruction, in addition to those usually found in public elementary schools, include elementary science, nature study, domestic economy, manual training, physical training, organised games, swimming, and in certain cases, modern languages.

Instruction in domestic economy and handicraft is provided at "centres". A "centre" is a specially constructed building, usually on the site of the elementary schools, where instruction is given to pupils of that school and of neighbouring schools. In the case of domestic economy, accommodation for each of the three divisions (cookery, laundry, and housewifery) is, as far as possible, grouped, so that many centres consist of rooms for each of the three subjects, and instruction in the three subjects is, in these cases, made part of one organic whole domestic economy. The regulations of the Board of Education allow 18 as the maximum number for a class. In the practical lessons girls are required to carry out the work themselves, and they do not work in pairs or groups. Girls are eligible for admission as soon as they are in Standard V and it is intended that every girl during the last three years of her school life should spend one-half day per week at instruction in domestic economy. The existing accommodation, however, only provides for about 60 per cent. of the total number of eligible girls. The syllabus of instruction varies with the needs of the district and is designed to bring the instruction in each case within the limits of the homes and the incomes of the parents of the children attending the schools. As regards handicraft, all boys in Standard VI are eligible with the exception of those who are under 11 or too small to handle the tools. Boys over 12 but below Standard VI are also eligible. Over 83 per cent. of the necessary accommodation has already been provided. In the course of instruction, which follows a set of exercises in wood common to all centres, drawing and bench work are suitably combined. There are a few metal centres.

Nature study occupies a special position in the school curriculum. It differs from the object lesson in the exclusion of all but natural objects, and from such sciences as botany and zoology in the rejection, as far as possible, of technical terms, and in a less rigid adherence to logical arrangement and scientific method. Briefly expressed, the aim of Nature study is to evoke in the child a sympathetic interest in his natural surroundings. As the direct observation of animals, plants, and rocks in their natural environment is an essential feature of the

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subject so regarded, London schools are necessarily placed at a considerable disadvantage; but efforts of various kinds have been made to minimise this disadvantage and to encourage the introduction of Nature study into the schools. For instance, head teachers are allowed small sums of money for purchasing material to illustrate science and object lessons, and much of this money is devoted to the cultivation of plants in the schools, the maintenance of small aquaria, and the keeping of pet animals. Again a scheme has been organised under which surplus leaves, flowers and cuttings and also growing plants from the Council's parks are sent in boxes to the schools. During the year 1909 nearly 9,000 boxes, containing about 7½ million specimens, were despatched to the schools. The demand for boxes however, is far in excess of the supply at present available, and the extension of the scheme is under consideration.

The tendency of the last few years has been to diminish the number of examinations imposed on the schools, and to give more freedom to teachers in framing their curricula.

Increasing attention is now being given in the schools to physical exercises and organised games and also to visits to museums and places of educational interest, school journeys and other subjects tending to improve the physique or stimulate a wider range of interest in the pupils.

(c) Children's Welfare.

The school is the focus of much social activity. Play centres, vacation schools and happy evenings are provided by voluntary agencies and assistance is given by the Council to these agencies under certain conditions.

An Association of Voluntary Workers, known as the Children's Country Holiday Fund Committee, sends into country homes annually about 40,000 of the children attending the elementary schools of London. The holiday extends over a fortnight, and usually falls within the period of the summer holidays granted to the elementary schools. Special arrangements are made by the Council, however, if so desired, whereby this fortnight's holiday may be taken immediately following the school holidays. The parents of the children are expected to contribute, if possible, towards the cost of the holiday.

Medical Inspection:—Much attention is given in the schools to medical inspection. A comprehensive system had already been established before the passing of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, which imposes such inspection as a *statutory duty upon local authorities*; the system has been further extended since the passing of this Act. Whenever the children are found to require medical attention, the parents are informed of the fact, and the Council has entered into arrangements with many of the London hospitals for providing medical treatment for school children who are suffering from ailments of the eyes, ears, nose and throat and from ringworm. The Council is under statutory obligation to make a charge to the parents of any children for whom medical treatment is provided, but this charge may be remitted in necessitous cases. The work of medical inspection is under the supervision of the council's medical officer (Education), assisted by a staff of 2 full-time doctors, 2 half-time doctors and 64 quarter-time doctors, together with 64 school nurses. The arrangements for securing the attendance of the children at hospital are made by the Education Officer. In connection with this work the Council relies upon the active co-operation of the Children's Care (School) Committees to influence the parents to attend to the ailments of their children.

Free meals.—Under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, *the Council provides meals for those who are found to be necessitous.* Before the passing of this Act a certain number of meals were provided for school children by voluntary agencies. Since the Act came into force, however, it has been found impossible to provide sufficient meals from voluntary sources *and the Council now spends about £70,000 (Rs. 10,50,000) a year in the provision of meals.* The maximum number of children fed *in any one week* during the session 1909-10 has been about 55,000. The number is considerably less during the spring, summer and autumn. Children who appear to the teacher to be necessitous are provided with meals as a matter of urgency, but careful

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enquiry is made into the home circumstances of the children before they are placed permanently on the list for the receipt of free meals. These enquiries are conducted by the Children's Care (School) Committees, one of which has been formed in connection with each school. These care committees are also required to keep a general supervision over the welfare of the children in the schools to which they are attached.

Clothing and boots :—The names of those children in attendance at the schools who are not provided with boots or are insufficiently clothed are included in the list of "necessitous" children submitted to the Children's Care School Committees. The Committees, if satisfied as to the circumstances of the parents, endeavour to arrange for the provision of boots or clothing, either from articles supplied by charitable persons to the schools or from funds supplied locally. The Ragged School Union supplies boots to the Children's Care School Committees at half price.

Apprenticeship Associations assist the children to find skilled employment on leaving school, and After-Care Committees assist parents in finding careers for defective children. Juvenile Labour Exchanges are also being established to provide means for bringing children into touch with employers.

(d) Supply of Books, Apparatus and Stationery.

The books, apparatus, and stationery required for use in the schools and institutions of the Council are supplied from a central store. Requisition lists of suitable books, apparatus and materials are issued and teachers have a free choice in their selections from these lists. There are lists of science apparatus and material and of framed pictures. *Every thing is supplied to the teachers free.*

(e) Central Schools.

In addition to the ordinary elementary schools which supply the normal type of education, the Council has decided to organise a certain number of central schools, with the view of providing for those boys who are able to stay at school till over 15 an education which, while being general, will have a commercial or industrial bias. It is proposed that there should be about 60 departments organised on this basis and that they should be distributed uniformly throughout London. The pupils are to be selected from the ordinary schools when between the ages of 11 and 12 and they are to be chosen partly on the results of the competition for Junior County Scholarships and partly on the results of interviews with the head teacher and managers. A limited number of bursaries tenable from the age of 14 to the age of about $15\frac{1}{2}$ are to be awarded to those pupils who need financial assistance to enable them to stay at school beyond 14.

These schools will replace the higher grade and higher elementary schools which were established by the late authority. They will be distinguished from the ordinary elementary schools by the fact that the pupils will be selected and will go through a complete 4 years' course with a special curriculum. They will be distinguished from the secondary schools by the fact that they will be public elementary schools providing free education and that the curriculum will be framed with a view to the pupils leaving at the age of $15\frac{1}{2}$ in order to earn their living.

(f) Open-Air Schools.

The Council has for the past few years conducted a few open-air schools in different districts of London. **The cause of Primary education in India would very much advance if the Government of India were to recognise open air schools in India subject to climatic requirements. There are many parts of the country where it would be extremely healthy to give open air education for several hours a day right through the year. A large amount of money which is now required to be invested in buildings would thus be free to be used in paying teachers.**

(g) The Teaching Staff.

The teaching staff for all kinds of schools numbers 20,000. In the elementary schools of London there are about 16,400 permanent certificated teachers, of whom about 5,200 are men and about 11,200 women. Of these about 13,000 (4500 men and 8,500

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women) have been trained. *i.e.*, have been through a course at a training college. There are some 1,000 teachers in non-provided schools who are not certificated.

The annual salaries are :—Ordinary Elementary Schools—head masters, Rs. 2250 to 6000, head mistresses, Rs. 1875 to 4500, according to size of school; assistant masters, fully certificated rise from 1500 to 3000, and assistant mistresses from 1350 to 2250. Central School Head Masters, Rs. 3000 rising by increments of Rs. 150 to 6000; head mistresses, 2250 Rs., rising by increment of 120 to 4500 Rs.; assistants, if required to produce special qualifications for teaching the subjects in the school course, receive Rs. 150 a year above the salary paid in ordinary schools, but with the same maximum. Teachers in schools situated in difficult neighbourhoods receive a special allowance of Rs 120 a year.

The salaries bill for teachers in elementary schools alone amounts to about Rs. 36600000 per annum. In the council's own elementary schools there is one assistant teacher for every 39·8 children. Every decimal point by which this average is reduced means an increased annual expenditure of between Rs. 45000 and 60000.

(h.) The Schools for Defective Children.

The London County Council makes special arrangements for the education of afflicted sub-normal children.

(1.) Schools for the Blind and Deaf.

With regard to the blind and deaf there is a special Act of Parliament which requires a school authority to provide instruction up to the age of 16 and, if necessary, to maintain these children in schools or institutions. The education is free, but a charge for maintenance is made to the parents according to their means.

There are, it is estimated, 365 blind and 643 deaf children of the elementary school class in London between the ages of 5 and 16. In a few instances the Council sends blind and deaf children to schools or institutions not under its own control. The Council provides for the rest of the children in its own schools as follows :—6 day schools for the blind, 7 day schools for the deaf, 3 residential and day blind schools, and 3 residential and day deaf schools, having a total accomodation of 325 for the blind and 635 for the deaf.

Between the age of 5 and 13 blind or deaf children attend mixed day schools where the classes for the blind are organised for 15 pupils and those for the deaf for 10 pupils. A few blind or deaf children who live too far to attend as day pupils, or whose home circumstances are undesirable, are boarded out by the Council with foster parents in the neighbourhood of the schools. The defective deaf, although they are encouraged to learn to speak, are also taught by means of finger alphabet, writing and simple signs. The elder pupils, those from 13 to 16 are taught in schools which are partly day and partly residential; the children who can conveniently attend from their own homes and who have suitable homes, are day pupils, while those who come from a distance or from unsuitable homes are residential pupils. The instruction of the elder children, both blind and deaf, includes a large amount of manual work.

The manual and industrial teaching provided for these elder children has a strong trade bias, and it is found that many of them on leaving school are able to obtain employment at the trades which they have been taught in the schools. The gross annual average cost per head of children in the day schools for the blind and deaf for 1908-9, including the cost of the children boarded out, was Rs. 385-14 and Rs. 369-2 respectively, while the corresponding figures for the residential schools were Rs. 876-4 and Rs. 877-3.

(2) Schools for the Mentally and Physically Defective.

The Council has also provided separate instruction for both mentally and physically defective children. There are under instruction about 6500 mentally defective children, who are provided for in 85 day special schools, and about 2,500 physically defective and invalid children accommodated in 31 day special schools. The number of children taught by each teacher averages about 20.

Children are admitted to these schools on being medically certified as being not imbecile on the one hand nor merely dull or backward on the other, but being by

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reason of mental or physical defect, incapable of receiving proper benefit from the instruction in the special schools. The school curriculum is an adaption of that in the ordinary elementary schools with a much larger proportion of manual work, nearly half the time being given to manual occupation. An art class is carried on by a special art teacher of the invalid schools and some of the pupils have proved very successful at this work.

Separate schools have been provided in 12 cases for elder mentally defective boys, where, in addition to the ordinary subjects of instruction handicraft (wood work and mental work), shoemaking and tailoring are also taught. The Council has a home for mentally defective boys which is also certified under the Children Act, and to this school are sent some 32 of the most difficult cases. Three of the schools for physically defective children are carried on in hospitals for children, the Council providing the apparatus and teachers. Two separate schools have been provided for elder physically defective girls, in which, in addition to the ordinary subjects, trade needlework is taught with a view to providing the children with a means of livelihood on leaving school.

The Council deals specially with a few mentally defective children who on account of moral difficulties are found to be unfit for mixed schools, or who require custodial care. Twenty-seven such children have so far been sent by the Council to the Sandwell Hall Institution for the mentally defective, near Birmingham, established especially for such cases.

Voluntary Committees and Children's Care Committees, constituted under the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, arrange mid-day meals for children in the day schools for the physically defective and in the schools for the blind, deaf, and mentally defective respectively, and in connection with the after-care of the children in all the special schools the local managers have formed local after-care committees under central organisations. These Committees assist in finding work for the children when they leave and in supervising them afterwards.

Public opinion has been much exercised regarding the education of mentally defective children; and important changes may follow the report of the Royal Commission on the care and control of the feeble-minded, which was issued in July, 1908.

(i) Industrial Schools.

Industrial schools are intended for the reception of children under 14 years of age who by reason of their surroundings or of personal moral weakness are in danger of falling into crime. They are distinctly preventive, and not punitive in their character. The schools were formerly established under an Act passed in 1866, which described them as being schools "in which industrial training is provided and in which children are lodged, clothed and fed as well as taught." Children must be committed by a magistrate and may be retained until they reach the age of 16 years, after which time the managers have powers of supervision for a further period of two years, with power of recall if necessary. Children are, however, usually licensed out at about the age of 15 years.

On leaving the schools boys are usually placed in an occupation or trade for which they have been trained. A large number go to Army Bands, and many others to skilled trades or farm service. Girls are trained in all branches of domestic work, and on leaving are usually placed in good situations as servants. Boys and girls are also sent out to Canada under the care of one of the recognised emigration societies, which places them in situations and supervises them until they reach the age of 18. The after-careers of industrial school children are in the great majority of cases satisfactory, and in some instances these children do exceptionally well, attaining such positions as Army Bandmasters, officers in the Mercantile Marine, farmers, managers of shops, skilled mechanics, etc. Out of 2,096 cases discharged during the three years ended 1907, 1,862 are known to be doing well in permanent employment.

Day industrial schools are schools in which the children are fed, taught and trained, but are not clothed or provided with lodging; they attend from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m. daily, except Sunday, and during this time the routine is similar to that of the residential schools. They cannot be

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retained at the day industrial schools after 14, and when children attain that age no difficulty is experienced in getting situation for them.

The Council has 8 institutions of its own, 6 residential industrial schools (including one in which places are reserved for truants) and 2 day industrial schools. It also had contracts with about 60 industrial schools throughout the country to which it sends children. The total number of London cases dealt with since 1871 is 39,843, and the approximate yearly number sent during recent years has been 1,200.

The parents are required to contribute when possible towards the cost of maintenance.

Of the secondary education, the University education and the technical education, imparted by the Council, we shall speak in the next article.

LAJPAT RAI

THE NORTHERN TIRTHA: A PILGRIM'S DIARY

IV.

RETURN:

Place.	Distance.	Accommodation.
Badri Narayan to Chamoli or Lall Sanghao	32 miles	4 days.
Kuvera Chatty	2 miles	
Nanda Prayag	7 miles	Town, with Dharmsalas.
Sounla	3 miles	Dak bungalow and Chatties.
Karna Prayag.	13 miles	Town: Dak bungalow; and Dharmsalas.

Here roads divide: ordinary pilgrim route leads to RANI NUGGUR, near Kathgodam, *via* Adh-Badri and Mehal Chauri, where the coolies are changed. About 9 days journey. Alternative route for return, by Srinagar, thence leaving for Hardwar or Kotdwara. If Kotdwara be chosen, the traveller proceeds from Karna Prayag as follows:—

Nagrasso	10 miles	A Dak bungalow only.
Rudra Prayag	10 miles	Town: dak bungalow and Dharmsalas.
Chantikal	10 miles	Dak bungalow.
Baltisera	1½ miles	Chhappars.
Srinagar	8 miles	City.
Pauri	8 miles	Town.
Adoani	10 miles	Dak bungalow and small village.
Kaleth	10 miles	Dak bungalow only, and no water.
Banghat	2 miles	Dak bungalow and Dharmsalas.
Dwarikal	7 miles	Dak bungalow and village.
Daramundi	6½ miles	Dak bungalow and village.
Dagoda	5 miles	Dak bungalow and village.
KOTDWARA	10 miles	Railway to Najibabad.

NANDA PRAYAG is a place that ought to be famous for its beauty and order. For a mile or two before reaching it, we had noticed the superior character of the agriculture, and even some careful gardening of fruits and vegetables. The peasantry also, suddenly grew handsome, not unlike the Kashmiris! The town itself is new, rebuilt since the Gohonna flood, and its temple stands far out across the fields, on the shore of the *Prayag*. But in this short time, a wonderful energy has been at work, on architectural carvings, and the little place is full of gem-like beauties. Its temple is dedicated to Nag Takshaka and as the road crosses the river, I noticed two or three old Pathan tombs, absolutely the only trace of Mohammedanism that we had seen, north of Srinagar.

All this part of the road is embowered in pine-forests. But never did we see anything more beautiful than GOUNLA DAK BUNGALOW. In the midst of springs and streams and pines, it would have been a joy to have lived there for months. KARNA PRAYAG, where the return-routes divide, we reached by moonlight. It was a wonderful combination of rocks, pines, and boo trees. There is an old temple here, restored since the flood, which is a perfect little museum of beautiful statues. The people call some fragments by the name of Karna, which we felt sure, from the gravity and nobility of the faces, must have been Buddhas or Bodhisattvas.

We passed many interesting temples on

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the road next morning,—though none so imposing as that of Karna,—and one in especial, to Chandika Devi, at the village of Punnai. This was two-fold, a square rath-like cell, side by side and distinct from the more modern and ordinary tapering obelisk-shrine with the rectangular chamber attached to it in front. The village of this part was excellent, and on a height above, a magnificent stretch of grazing-land had been bought by a merchant, and given in perpetuity to the people, who call it their Gocharra Sorgama. This, enabling them to keep numerous oxen, may account for the fine ploughing.

Ten miles from Karna Prayag, we reached *Nagrasoo* Dak Bungalow. This was a lonely place, and inconvenient in many ways. But a bazaar was under construction. Late in the afternoon two hungry and belated pilgrims arrived, and made their meal ready under a tree close by.

Still another ten miles, and we reached *Rudra Prayag* once more, with its incomparable rocks. Henceforth, down to Srinagar, where we must change our coolies, the road would be familiar. We should meet with no surprises.

In choosing to return by Pauri to Kotdwara, from Srinagar, we were influenced by the fact that the road lies nigh, and that there were dak bungalows. Pauri, about 8000 ft. high, is the official station, instead of Srinagar, and is most pleasantly situated, as regards climate. Our luggage was carried up to that point by coolies, but there we were able to transfer it to mules, for those who have permits for the dak bungalows, nothing could be more pleasant than this road to Kotdwara, and we passed small parties of pilgrims from time to time, who were using it. But it is a long and lonely road, sparsely populated, and for those who may not avail themselves of the bungalows, there must be only scanty accomodation. Kaleth, owing to want of water, is utterly unpracticable for a night's stay; and Banghat, in the valley of the Vyasagunga (or Pindar?) is low-lying and malarious, none but boiled water should be drunk there. Dwarikal is on the summit of a mountain pass, and Daramundi and Dagoda, though of wonderful beauty, are low and warm. Kotdwara is the terminus of a narrow gauge railway, by which we reach the E. I. R. at Najibabad.

The historic route for the return of the pilgrims used to be that from Adh Badri and Mehal Chauri to Kathgodam. That road has now been absorbed for military purposes, and a new pilgrim-route opened, which ends at Ram Nuggur, a station from which Moradabad is easily reached. This new road is splendidly made, but it is still low and unassimilated. The chatties are small, and few and far between. Water is difficult to get. Food is scarce and dear. And the accommodation is very insufficient. Doubtless each year that passes will tend to rectify this state of things. More *bunneas* will settle along it, and its facilities will be improved. In the mean time, the pilgrim's road is one of austerity, and he is sustained in the toils requisite to reach his distant home, by the thought of how welcome and sweet it will be to rest.

NIVEDITA OF RK, V.

THE AGRARIAN DISCONTENT AND THE PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN CHOTANAGPUR

ALL the time that the various forms of administration described in our last article were being successively tried in the land of the Mundas and Uraons, the Jagirdars and Thikadars were actively engaged in reducing these original "holders of villages to holders of the Plough." Mr. Ricketts, in his Report (para. 47) tells us that he was informed by the local officers "that the class of indigenous village Zamindars is gradually, or rather quickly, disappearing in that character, though still existing as discontented ryots brooding over their wrongs." But,

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if for a while, the Mundas and the Uraons lay stunned and stupefied by the constant blows inflicted on their ancient rights, they were not long in gathering new strength to offer fresh resistance to the aggressions of their alien landlords. This fresh accession of strength was imparted by a strong ally which now came to them as a God-send. This new ally was the religion of the Cross. With the Christian Missionary came the Christian School-master. And with the dawn of education came a vivid realisation of their present position as well as of their lawful rights and privileges. "With Christianity", as Captain Davies the then Senior Assistant Commissioner wrote in 1859,—

"With Christianity has naturally come an appreciation of their rights as original clearers of the soil which rights in many instances they have asserted and established;—this, independent of other causes which induce the higher castes of natives to view with displeasure the spread of Christianity, caused great alarm amongst the land-holders and farmers, who were not slow to use against these converts every means of persecution they could safely venture on, but with no other effect than the spread of conversion."

Though conversions of the Mundas and Uraons into Christianity, when once commenced, went on multiplying with wonderful rapidity,—it took some time before any converts could be made. The four pioneer Missionaries, Pastors E. Schatz, F. Batsch, A. Brandt and H. Janke, who arrived at Ranchi in November, 1845, preached and prayed, amongst the Uraons and Mundas for about five years before they could bring any one into the fold of Christ. These first German Missionaries were attracted to Ranchi by the docility and light-heartedness of a few Kol *coolies* they came across in the streets of Calcutta. The historic spot on which they pitched their first tents in Ranchi now forms part of the Lutheran Mission grounds and is marked by a memorial cross inscribed with the names of the four pioneer Missionaries.

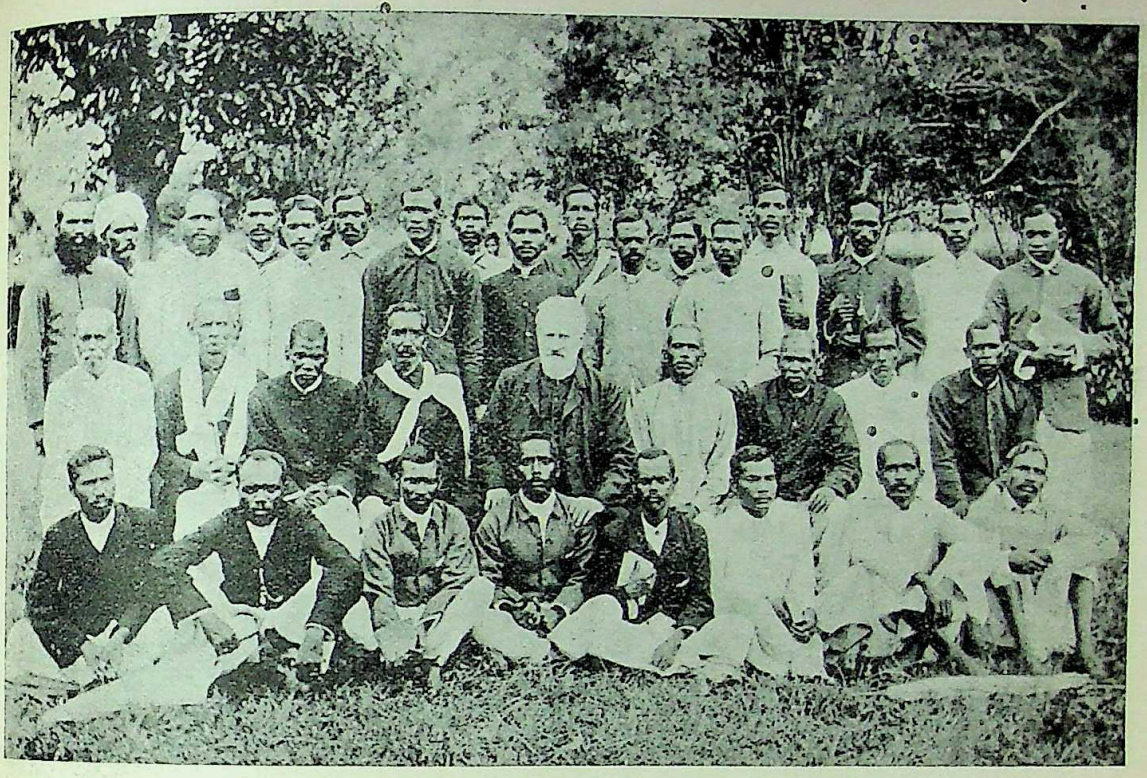
Although Mission Stations were established at Ranchi (1845), at Domba—9 miles south-west of Ranchi (1846), at Lohardaga—48 miles west of Ranchi (1848) and at Govindapur—30 miles south-west of Ranchi (Domba having been abandoned in 1850), it was not till the 9th of June, 1850, that the only four Uraons named Kasu, Bandhu, Gurha and Nawin Porin, received baptism. These were the first converts made in Chotanagpur, by the German Evangelical Mission sent out to India by Pastor John Evangelist Gossner of Berlin. It was several months later, on the 26th of October, 1851, that Sadho Munda, and Chuinhar of village Bandhea and Mangta Munda of village Balatry were baptized by the Rev. Mr. Schatz. These were the first Munda converts to Christianity. It was on the 18th of November, 1851, that the foundation-stone of the picturesque Gothic Building popularly known as the German Church on the Ranchi Chaibassa Road was laid. This Church consecrated at Christmas 1855 and called the Christ Church is the first Christian Church built in Chotanagpur. By this time the congregation swelled to about eight hundred inquirers and over four hundred baptized members. The Report of April, 1857, shows an enormous increase of converts which then amounted to 900 baptized members and 2000 inquirers. And this, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Jagirdars and Thikadars. As we learn from a Report of the German Evangelical Mission of Chotanagpur,—

The Kols were a thorn in their (*i.e.* of the Jagirdars' and Thikadars') eyes. In 1855, a Hindu Thikadar with a large crowd of armed men had made a sudden attack upon the Missionary Hertzog and beaten him so dreadfully that he fell down unconscious and was dying. Though the Thakur was fined and threatened to be executed if he would repeat such an act of cruelty, on the whole things did not change. The Hindu Zamindars and Thikadars had the crops of the Christians cut, their cattle taken away, set fire to their houses and properties, and instigated false law suits against them. Once it occurred that in more than thirty villages, the Christians were assaulted at one and the same time, oppressed and abused in various ways: conferences were held by the Zamindars to consult how to stop the growth of Christianity, and it was resolved, "out with the Christians and the Missionaries, out with them."

When therefore the Sepoy Mutiny broke out in 1857, the Christians had to fear the worst. At first it seemed as if Chotanagpur would be spared, for when the news of the fall of the old Mahomedan capital Delhi came, all had been quiet in Chotanagpur. But the Sepoy regiment at Hazaribagh began to join the mutineers, and after four days it was reported to Ranchi that the town had been plundered and burnt down. All Europeans fled to Calcutta and the Missionaries had to leave their stations and their congregations to save their own lives and those of their wives and children. It was on July 31, that the missionaries assembled all Christians then present at Ranchi and having prayed with them and explained how things stood, bade them farewell and let them and the school

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REV. DR. A. NOLTROTT AND HIS MUNDA AND URAON PASTORS.

By the Courtesy of Dr. A. Noltrott.

children retire to the villages. It was in the worst time of the rainy season, and anybody acquainted with the trouble of travellers in the rains can imagine what hardships the Missionaries with their families had to unergo before they reached Calcutta (August 17). In the meanwhile Ranchi was plundered by the Sepoys. Above all they sought to destroy the Ranchi Church. Cannons were put up before the building, but of the four cannon balls that were fired on it only one, without doing any damage, hit on the tower wall, where it is still visible. The interior of the church was all plundered, benches, chairs, candlesticks taken away, the beautiful organ valued at Rs. 3000, and all windows dashed to pieces, much damage done to the Christening font and the pulpit, but the building itself was not destroyed. The canon shots on the church were for the mob the signal to seize upon the other mission buildings. All furniture, stores, utensils, windows, doors, even the nails out of the walls and the fences round the garden were taken away and the empties rooms served first as quarters to the soldiers, then as stables for cows and oxen. In a similar way fared the other mission stations. The Christians were persecuted and ill-treated. The Christians' houses and villages to which the mutineers could proceed were plundered, the inhabitants had to flee and to spend six weeks in the jungles, mountains and caves without any other food than roots and leaves; many of the fugitives died or got ill."

By the close of 1857, the mutiny was at an end, and the German missionaries returned to Ranchi. As Sir Willam Hunter tells us,—

"During the Mutiny the native Christian community was broken up, but their dispersion over the district seems to have given a considerable impulse to Christianity, as the number of converts largely increased after the restoration of order."*

Here is the accouut given in the Mission Report :—

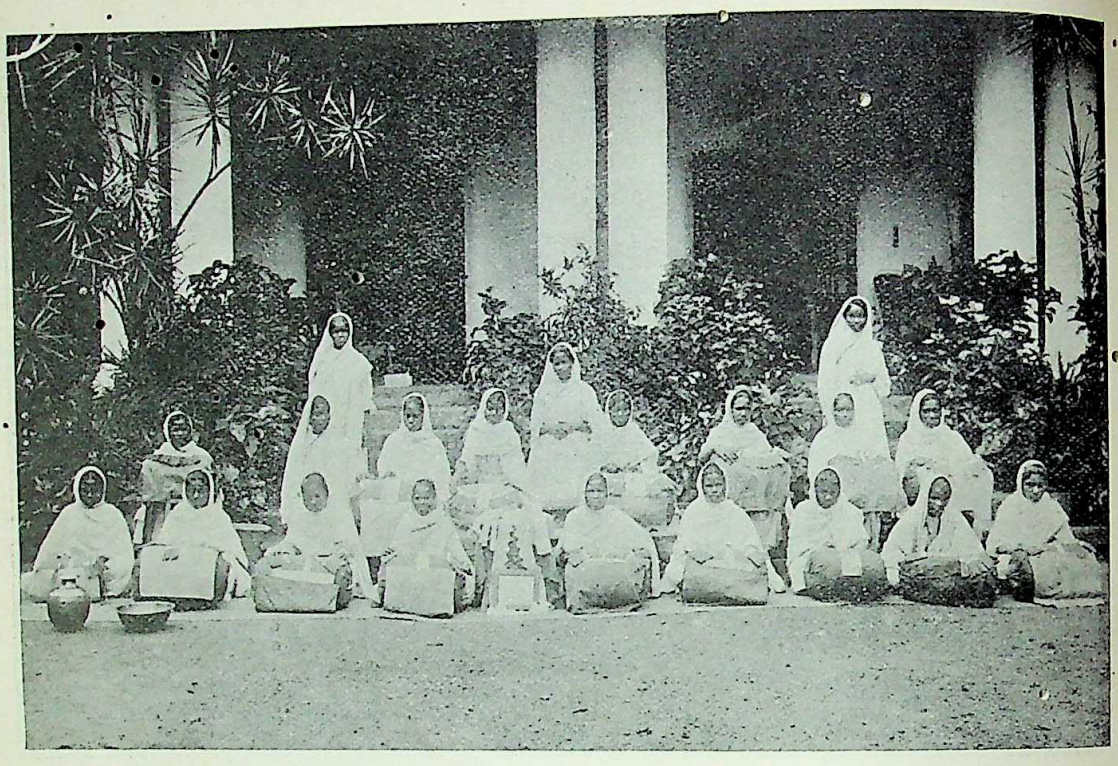
"The next ten years after Gossner's death†, or after the Mutiny, were a period of rapid progress in Chotanagpur. People came in crowds to get enlisted as inquirers and many who had been instructed were desirous of being baptized. The fifty Christian villages that were counted before the Mutiny had grown in November 1858 to 205, and at Christmas about 1500 Christians had come to Ranchi and more than 150 families manifested by breaking the caste their willingness to give up heathenism. These were followed by sixty families who came on New Year's Day 1859. And it was said that the whole tribe of the Mundas would turn at once and altogether to Christianity. The movement against the heathen was so mighty that the aborigines feared lest their landlords, the Hindoo Zemindars, also should become Christians and that then things would be worse than ever, since they never would give up the habit of depriving poor people of their land."

* Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. XVI. P. 424.

† Gossner died on March 30, 1858.

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MUNDA AND URAON CHRISTIAN WOMEN MAKING LACE AT THE LACE SCHOOL, S. P. G. MISSION.

By the Courtesy of the Rev. Mr. E. H. Whitley.

Making the utmost allowance for the optimistic zeal of the Missionary writer, the Report, we may take it, gives us a substantially correct account. For, we find some official corroboration of these statements. Thus, in a letter dated the 15th March, 1859 (already referred to), from the then Senior Assistant Commissioner of Lohardaga to the Commissioner of Chotanagpur, we read :—

"During the disturbances which followed the Mutiny of the Ramghur Battalion in August, 1857, the Zemindars, &c, taking advantage of the absence of the authorities, oppressed and plundered the whole of the native converts, many of whom preserved their lives only by seeking with their families, the protection of the jungles. On the restoration of order, the Zemindars, apparently afraid of what they had done, ceased to molest them for a time; and as they received assistance from the Relief Fund to enable them to cultivate their lands, they assumed an independence which irritated the landholders; and when the time came for cutting the rice-crops for the past year, they again came into collision.

"In the meantime the number of new converts in this and the adjoining Pergunnahs of Bussea, Belcuddee, and Doessa, all unbaptized, had greatly increased."

The German Mission Report from which we have already quoted gives the following Statistics of the converts :—

"At the end of 1860 there were 1700 baptized converts, to whom were added in the following seven years on an average 1225 every year, *viz.*, 522, 809, 1296, 2100, 1994, 829, 1024."

The Same Report candidly informs us :—

"It must be admitted that most of the new inquirers looked to the secular benefit the Christians enjoyed, rather than to the spiritual side of the new religion. 'Let us give up demon-worship, become Christians and be instructed, that assisted by the Padris, we may be saved from the unjust oppression of the Hindus and regain the land that we have been deprived of.' Such-like thoughts were almost common and were specially expressed by the leaders of the people. But the more the Christians increased in numbers the more violent grew the hatred of the landlords, for they were afraid that the aborigines, getting out of their stupidness, would no longer patiently bear whatever the Hindus pleased to do to them. So they began to oppress and persecute the Christians in various ways. These, it must be admitted, did not suffer the wrong in a Christian spirit but showed themselves disobedient and obstinate against their masters and openly opposed them."

Contemporary official reports show that in these conflicts the aborigines were as much to blame as their landlords. In some instances, the former attempted to take

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A Kol Christian Marriage.
By the Courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Whitley.

forcible possession of lands which they claimed as their ancestral property since wrested from them by the Thikadars. And the latter in their turn retaliated by instituting false cases of dacoity and plunder against the aboriginal tenants and subjecting them to illegal confinements and duress. Towards the end of 1858, the conflict assumed a serious aspect, and a detachment of native infantry had to be sent from Ranchi to Govindapur for the preservation of order in Parganas Bussea and Somepur largely inhabited by Mundas.

The origin of the disturbances is thus related by the Senior Assistant Commissioner in his letter of the 15th March, from which we have given more than one quotation:—

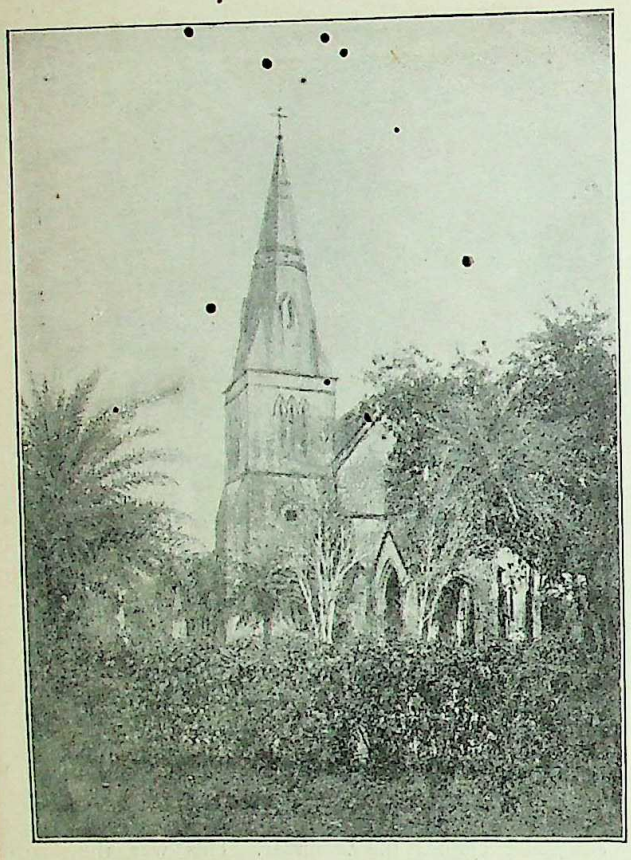
"In the month of October last, Baboo Seebnarain Sae, a Zemindar of this Pergannah, proceeded to the village of Jhapra, in which and several adjoining villages a great number of the recent converts reside, ostensibly to collect his rent. The Christians assert that he seized and oppressed several of them, demanding dues he was not entitled to; on which the Christians of all the surrounding villages assembled to resist these proceedings, and there was an affray, in which the zemindar and his people were driven out of the village, the Christians capturing his horses, &c., and two men brought them to me at Ranchi, lodging a complaint against the Zemindar. This was the commencement of all the recent disturbances. I treated the cases as one of ordinary affray, intending to proceed against both parties. Immediately after this I made over my office to Mr. George, Sub-Assistant Commissioner, and proceeded to Palamow.

"That Sub-Assistant Commissioner, who was new to the office and unacquainted with the people, owing to the absence of the parties in the case struck it off his file. Of this I was not aware till my return the other day from Palamow. Emboldened apparently by this, other Zemindars appear to have attempted to coerce the Christians, which was successfully resisted by the latter and their relatives amongst the Kols, and thus disorder prevailed more or less throughout the Pergannah, and in many instances the nominal Christians of this and Pergannahs Bussea, Belcuddee, and Dooesa, taking advantage of this confusion forcibly re-possessed themselves of lands claimed as their Bhoonearee, of which they undoubtedly had been out of possession for periods varying from ten years up to one or two generations and extorted refunds of the value of property of which they alleged the Thicadars and Zemindars plundered them during the disturbances or of which they asserted that merchants and others had defrauded them. Many of these claims I believe to have had some foundation, though others were doubtless fictitious.

"Besides the affray above noticed, the only serious one which has occurred in this Pergannah was in November last. In this case, Anund Sing, Jagirdar of Bala, assisted by others, amongst them some servants of Thakoor Judunath Sea Illaquadar of Police, attempted to coerce his ryots of that village many of whom are nominally Christians. They,

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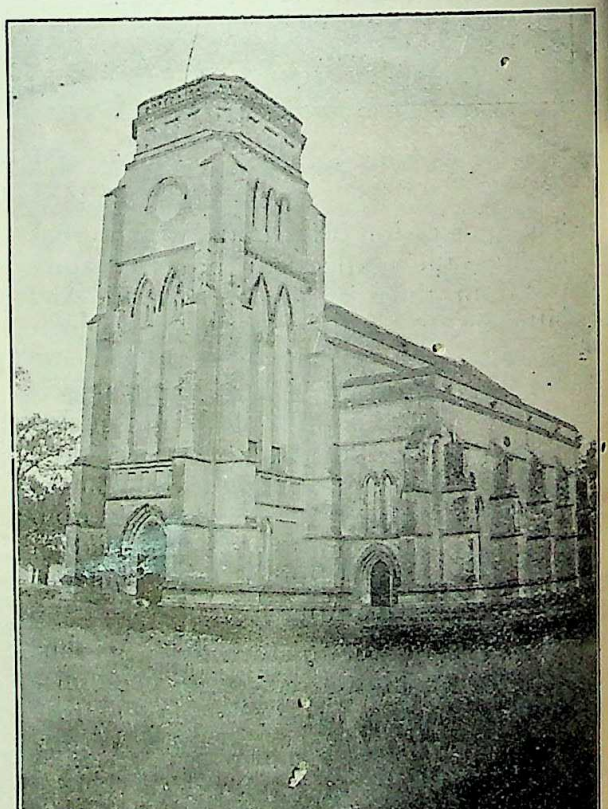
ANGLICAN CHURCH, RANCHI.
From a photo by Mr. P. Kumar.

assisted by those of adjacent villages, opposed force to force; an affray ensued, and two men were killed on the side of the Jagirdar; three men, one a servant of the Thakoor, and a horse belonging to another one besides some arms, were captured and taken by the Christians to the Sub-Assistant Commissioner at Ranchi, together with the body of one of the men slain in the affray, and there lodged their complaints."

Of another Zemindar who was also a Magistrate, the Senior Assistant Commissioner writes:—

"Acting on a Perwannah received from the Sub-Assistant Commissioner, he assembled his Jagirdars with their followers, numbering not less than 200 people, ostensibly to assist the Police. These with his subordinate Police officers, proceeded to several villages apprehended the whole of the Christians and their relatives, and carried them off to the Thakoor's house, where some, against whom false accusations of dacoity and plunder had been prepared, were thrown into stocks, and the houses of many of the Christians were plundered by the village of Jhabra. The Christians, seeing the approach of this force, all fled, so the party contented themselves with setting fire to the house of one of the Christians, containing a quantity of grain, &c. I myself visited the spot, and found the blackened ruins and burnt grain.

"In more than one instance the Illaquadar of Police has been guilty of detaining prisoners in his own custody for a most unwarrantable time. On my arrival I found at his house, which is in fact the Thannah, a man who had been in confinement for one month, and this man, a Christian, is the owner of the house at Jhabra which had been burnt, as noticed in the preceding paragraph; probably he would not have been then sent to me, had I not issued a peremptory order for all prisoners under trial being forwarded without delay. To make matters worse, a false entry was made in the calendar, to the effect that the man had been apprehended only three days before he was sent to me. It is not difficult to guess why this poor man was detained so long; and when I came to enquiry into the charge against him, I found there is no evidence whatever tending to implicate him. Immediately on my arrival at Govindpur, a complaint was made against the Illaquadar of Police, that he had allowed a prisoner to be so maltreated while in confinement that he died under it. The fact of the case I find to be that the unfortunate man did die whilst in confinement in the stocks and with handcuffs on. I caused the body to be exhumed and found the latter still on it. The Illaquadar



Christ Church (German Mission Church), Ranchi; constructed by the first Missionaries with their own hands.

The hole towards the top of the tower shows a half-embedded cannon-ball still existing which was shot by the Sepoy Mutineers in 1857.

From a photo by Mr. P. Kumar.

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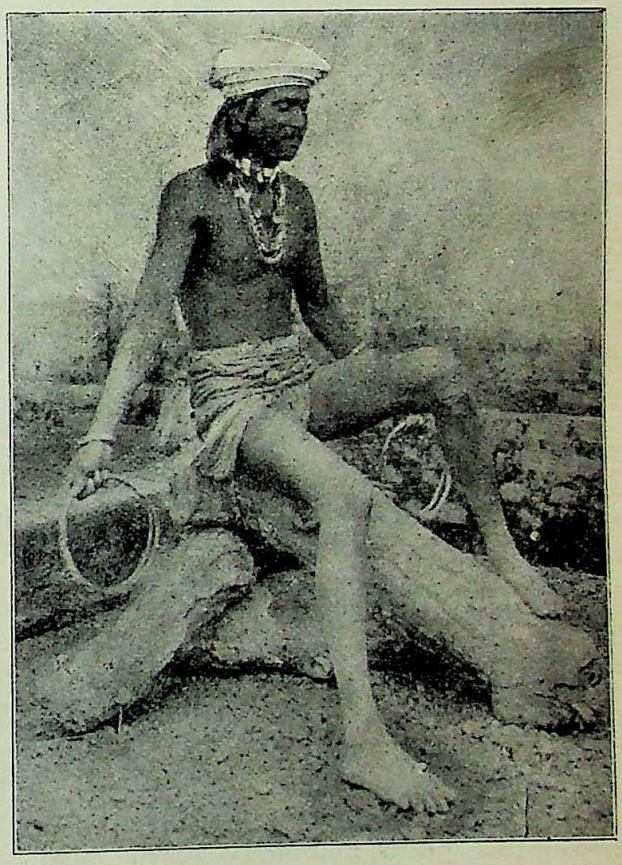
NON-CHRISTIAN KOL WOMEN.
From a photo by Mr. P. Kumar.

reported the death to have occurred from natural causes, and of course had plenty of witnesses to prove it. On the other hand, the companions of the deceased all declare that he died from ill-usage and want of food. One thing, however, is clear; the deceased and his companions were illegally detained in the stocks for six days, and if the Illaquadar's report be true, the poor creature was laid up for five days with fever and a bad cough, and yet he was left to die hand-cuffed and with his feet in the stocks; and it would appear that the charge on which he was confined was a false one. This man was also a Christian."

It was not against the Zemindari Police alone that the Mundas and Uraons had serious grievances. The native judiciary of that time, in many instances, betrayed an undue partiality to the Hindu landlords. Here is an instance that was published in November 1856 in a Berlin periodical of the name of "Biene": -

"The other day a poor tenant lodged a complaint against a Brahmin Zemindar in his court, on account of cruel treatment and oppression. The Medical Officer being called in as a witness, gave us a description of the transaction. As soon as the guilty Brahmin robber came into the court of his judge to be heard, the honest judge rose from his seat, and in the most humble position, crouching on all fours before the accused Brahmin Zemindar, touched and kissed his feet, saying "Thy blessing, my father", and after having received his blessing, he put a chair for the accused close to his own, whilst the accuser, the Christian tenant, with his witnesses, had to stand far off at a distance, being treated as if they were the criminals. The crime in this instance was too glaring, the medical man gave evidence as to the dangerous nature of the wounds inflicted, others as to the robbery committed, and the Brahmin Zemindar was fined five rupees.* * * * Our native Christians had frequently to complain before this Native Judge against Brahmin Zemindars, but invariably they lost their cases, as was to be expected, and this happens in the very same court where the English Judges sit, but they do not seem able to remedy the evil."*

Another source of irritation to the Mundas and Uraons was the system of Begari or forced labour which they were made to render to their landlords. Of this, the



A NON-CHRISTIAN KOL YOUTH.
From a photo by Mr. P. Kumar.

Senior Assistant Commissioner in his letter of the 15th March, 1859, writes:—

"If the owners of villages would content themselves with merely what they are entitled to, there would be

* The translation of the letter is from the Calcutta Review, Vol. XIIX, p. 131. In a footnote in the article in the Calcutta Review (July 1869), several instances of oppression are quoted from a journal kept by a Missionary in 1856. The possibility of such a state of things as is revealed in the quotation above is, of course, not to be dreamt of in our days.

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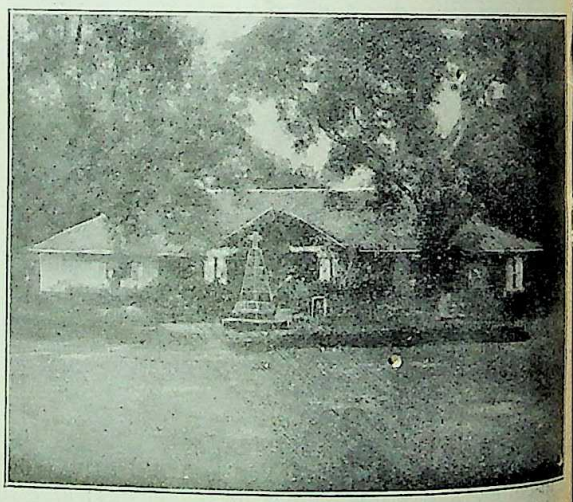
A Kol Christian Village Hockey Team.
By the Courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Whitley.

no discontent, but the instances are rare in which they do so, and the refusal of the Christians to render more than they are bound to do, is another cause of their being persecuted by the landholders. In some villages I have found that the *bhetkeyta*, given nominally as payment for their labour, has been resumed by the owner, who still, however, continues to exact the labour from his ryots. This difficulty there will be no trouble in adjusting, though it is quite impossible effectually to control the proceedings of the landowners, where, as in the case here, their ryots are generally so much in their power, that they dare not complain against them, but as Christianity spreads and spread it inevitably will, these the ryots will be able to assert their own rights. And indeed conversions to Christianity, as this official tells us, must in many instances, be attributed to motives other than conscientious—in fact, to an expectation of being freed from the rapacious aggressions of their landlords."

That such aggressions at this period led to several serious riots, we have already seen. A serious case took place in 1859 at a village called Ghagari.

It is refreshing to turn from these dismal accounts of riots and affrays to the philanthropic efforts of the first two Christian Missions to educate and civilize the aborigines of Chotonagpur. We speak of two missions instead of one, for in the year 1868, there occurred a split in the German Mission in consequence of a disagreement between the senior German M ssionaries at Ranchi and the Home Committee at Berlin, regarding the constitution and organisation of the Mission. The Home Committee sent out a band of younger missionaries from Germany; and the then senior missionaries Messrs. F. Batsch, H. Batsch, H. Bohn, and Wilhelm Luther Daud Sing* along with a large number of Christian converts petitioned Bishop Milman of Calcutta to receive them into the Church of England. The Bishop, after due enquiry, granted their request and on Sunday, April 19, ordained Messers. F. Batsch, H. Batsch, H. Bohn, and Wilhelm Luther as Deacons in the presence of a congregation of 1,100 persons of whom about 600 received the Holy Communion. At the same time 41 Indians were baptized and 633 were confirmed. The four newly ordained Deacons were made priests a few years later.

On the 21st of June, 1869, the Rev. (afterwards The Right Rev.) J. C. Whitley, M. A., arrived at Ranchi from Delhi, where he had been working for seven years.



The memorial pillar and cross marking the spot where the first missionaries pitched there tents in 1845.
(Photo by Mr. Christopher Kumar.)

He came here by the orders of the Bishop, "to comfort and sustain the German Clergy," as the S. P. G. Report for 1869 tells us. In 1890, Chotanagpur was formed into a separate Diocese under the Right

* This was an Indian Rajput Missionary. Originally of Bondelkhand district, his father Ganeshi Sing settled at village Kotari, 16 miles west of Ranchi. When about 11 years old, William Luther Daud Sing (then known as Maninath Sing) joined the Ranchi English school and was baptized three years later in 1854 by Rev. E. Schatch who treated him as a son and brought him up. He was married seven years later to an Uraon girl named Mariam. His ministerial life was passed mainly in Chaibassa where he was loved and respected by all. He died on the day of Pentecost in the year 1909.

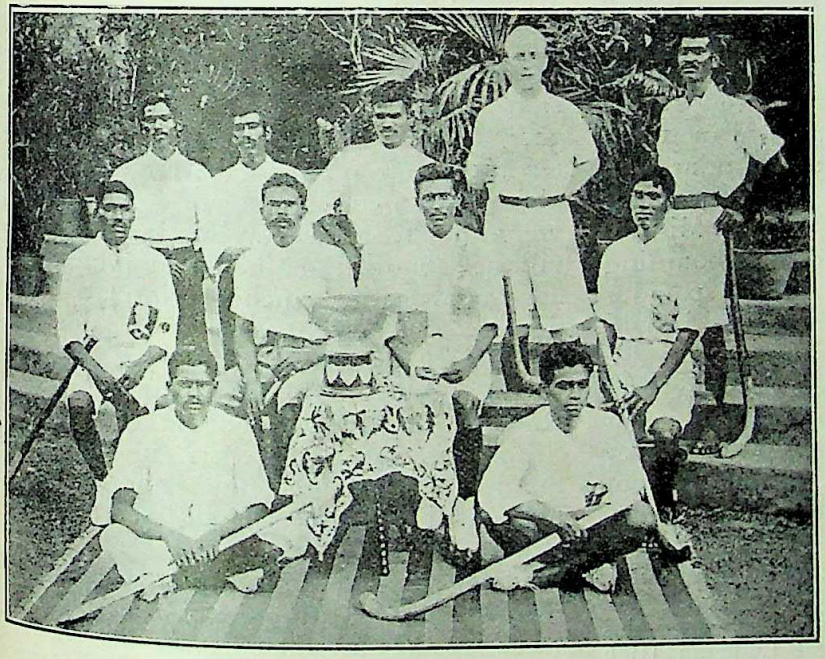
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Rev. J. C. Whitley, the first Bishop of Chotanagpur, and his Family.

By the courtesy of the Rev. E. H. Whitley.



Rev. Mr. Whitley and his Hockey Team.

By the courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Whitley.

Rev. J. C. Whitley as its first Bishop. From his arrival in 1869 till his sudden death in October, 1904, the late Bishop Whitley remained the life and soul of the S. P. G. Mission in Chotanagpur. He learnt the language of the Mundas, compiled the first Mundari Grammar written in English, and translated portion of the New Testament and Prayer Book into the Mundari tongue. These works as also the translations of portions of the Gospels and the Apostles by Rev. A. Noltrott of the German Mission were amongst the earliest books published in the Mundari tongue. But the first document ever written in the Mundari tongue appears to have been a Mundari Primer written by the Rev. Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Noltrott as a first step towards the education of the Mundas. This book was printed at Benares about the year 1871.

It is mainly to the indefatigable exertions and wise guidance of the Rev. Dr. Noltrott who arrived at Ranchi from Germany in the year 1867, that the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission—to give it its full name—is the great success amongst the aborigines of Chotanagpur that it is at present. And similarly the Anglican (S. P. G.) Mission owes its success amongst the same people in a great measure to the untiring zeal and fatherly guidance of the late Bishop Whitley. By a curious coincidence both these reverend gentlemen were born in the year 1837, the year which saw the accession to the throne of England of our late beloved and revered Queen Victoria.

We shall now proceed to give a short account of the splendid work done by the two Missions amongst the Mundas, Uraons and Kharias of Chotanagpur. From the very beginning of their existence, schools were established by the Missions to educate boys and girls. The German Mission

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Mundas and Uraon Girls of the English Mission School practising drill.
By the courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Whitley.

School at Ranchi, which originally taught up to the Primary Standard, was raised to the Middle Vernacular Standard in 1884, and to the Matriculation Standard in January, 1896. From their commencement this School as well as the German Mission Girls' School have been entirely boarding schools. The substantial and spacious building in which the Boys' School is held was built forty-three years ago—"a solid testimony," as Mr. J. A. Cunningham, Inspector of schools in Chotanagpur writes,—"to the wise fore-thought of those pioneers in education". Of this School Mr. Cunningham writes:—

"Since coming to Chotanagpur I have been in search of a helpful standard by which I might test the quality of work being done in its schools and I think I have found such a standard-guage this morning at the German Evangelical Lutheran High School. (In name only would it seem capable of profitable pruning). In almost every really essential respect I am satisfied that it may serve as an excellent 'model' school towards which others may with advantage aspire.....All the boys* seemed to be the very picture of health and happiness. Their choir entertained me in a way that I have not been entertained for a very long time and which I shall not easily forget. Altogether I am impressed with the school as a master-piece of educational organisation, and only those who have attempted such organisation in India can appreciate in some small degree, what that means—in India. In such a work as this, the German Mission School at Ranchi, the civilisation of the West really justifies itself in the East."

* Refers to Uraon and Munda boys in the Boarding House of the School.

Besides the High English School with its 179 pupils, the German Mission has within Chotanagpur 26 boarding schools with 1974 pupils including 626 girls. Of these boarding schools, four, namely those at Lohardaga, Govindpur, Koronjo and Takarma, teach up to the Middle Vernacular English Standard. Besides these, the Mission has twelve Kindergarten Schools with 423 children. Of village schools in the Chotanagpur Mission there are at present 175 with 3229 pupils including 462 girls. The teaching-staff of these village schools are all Christian converts of the Mission. For preparing teachers for this large number of village schools, the Mission maintains at its head-quarters in Ranchi, a Normal Training School. To qualify aboriginal students for Missionary work, the Mission opened as early as 1867 a Theological Seminary at Ranchi. In the year 1907, a Girls' Training School was opened in which aboriginal girls qualify themselves for employment as teachers in the girls' schools at the various mission stations and elsewhere. In the year 1905 two aboriginal girls were sent by the Mission to Kalimpong for learning lace-work, and on their return in 1906, the German Mission Lace School was opened at Ranchi. In this school about thirty aboriginal Christian girls are now receiving practical instruction in lace-making. Besides the large number of village churches, the Mission has 36 associations for Young Christian Men and two for Young Christian Women, and known respectively as Y. C. M.'s and Y. C. W.'s. Ever since 1873, the German Mission has a stone Lithographic Press of its own at Ranchi. In the year 1882, however, a Printing Press was established, and this is at present the best of its kind in

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Ranchi. There is also a Book-binding establishment attached to the Press. As early as the year 1877, a fortnightly journal in Hindi, styled the *Ghar-Bandhu*, was started which still continues to supply Mission news and general information and instruction to the Christian converts of the Mission. Numerous religious and educational books in Mundari, Uraon, and Hindi have been published by the Mission since its establishment. In the year 1908, 45, 135 copies of religious books in the Hindi, Mundari and Uraon languages were printed by the Ranchi German Mission Press, and as many as 11,564 copies of books bound in the Mission Book-bindery. Under the auspices of the Calcutta Bible and Tract Society, Dr. Noltrott brought out several years ago a translation of the New Testament, and his voluminous translation of the Old Testament has just been published by the same Society.

Amidst all its multifarious activities, the German Mission has not neglected the sacred work of relieving the sick. The German Mission Hospital and Dispensary at Ranchi was built about the year 1890. Here medicines are distributed *gratis* to Christians as well as non-Christians. At this hospital alone 4,220 cases were treated during the year 1908, and at the German Mission Hospital at Lohardaga 1918 cases during the same year. The total number of men, women and children who received medicines during 1908 from the different hospitals appertaining to the Chotanagpur German Mission amounted to 19,004. An asylum for Lepers was started at Purulia in the year 1887 by the Rev. Mr. Wuffmann, and, three years later, in the year 1890, another Leper Asylum was opened at Lohardaga in the Ranchi District by the Rev. F. Hahn. The former is the biggest institution of its kind in India, and maintains about 600 lepers as indoor patients. Both of these Leper Asylums are mainly supported by the Edinburgh Society for Lepers in the East. In September 1907, the Rev. E. Muller started Co-operative Credit Banks in the Ranchi District for the amelioration of the material condition of the Christian converts of the Mission, and under the able supervision of the Rev. P. Wagner, a Co-operative Bank has been since organised at every mission station in the Division.

Besides the three old Mission stations at Ranchi, Lohardaga, and Govindpur, there are now Mission stations at Burju (established in 1869), at Govindpur (1870), Takarma (1873), Chainpur (1892), Khuntitoli (1895), Gumla (1895), Kinkel (1899), Tamar (1901), Koronjo (1903),—all within the Ranchi District. Outside the District, the German Mission has stations at Hazaribagh (1853), Purulia (1863), Chaibassa (1865), Porahat (1867), Chakradhurpur (1893), Rajgangpur (1900) Karimatti (1902), and Jharsaguda (1904). Of the European working staff of the Mission, there are in the Ranchi District alone, 22 ordained missionaries and 3 unordained missionaries, 4 single-women missionaries, besides 18 married ladies (wives of missionaries) who are all engaged in mission-work of some kind or other. Besides these, as many as 797 native converts, mostly Mundas and Uraons, were employed in Mission work during the year 1909. An idea of the results of the educational efforts of the German Mission may be gathered from the following statistics for the year 1909. During that year Christian converts of the Chotanagpur German Mission educated in the mission schools were employed as follows:—Native Pastors 34, catechists 447, colporteurs and Bible women 36, Pandits and Boarding School Masters 87, Female Teachers and Kindergarten Teachers 24, Doctors and Compounders 7, Trained Nurses 2, Government Servants 209 (including one Uraon Sub-Deputy Collector and one Munda Sub-Registrar), Clerks and Sub-overseers in Municipal offices 9, Railway employees 37, and skilled artisans 110. Besides these, there were, in the year 1909, fifteen aboriginal candidates for the Ministry. The total number of baptized converts of the Mission was 74,626 at the end of the year 1909. Of this number, as many as 55,650 belonged to the Ranchi District, besides a large number of Uraon and Munda Christians working in the Duars and in Assam as coolies. It is quite a remarkable fact that in a single year (1909), the contributions made by the Indian converts of the Mission towards mission expenses amounted to Rs. 24,440.

We now come to the good work done and doing by the English Mission of Chotanagpur under the auspices of the Society

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for the Propagation of the Gospels. The construction of the fine cathedral known as the St. Paul's Cathedral (popularly called the English Church) was taken in hand in the year 1869, but it was not completed and consecrated till the year 1873. The same year witnessed the ordination of three Mundas—the first of their race—as Deacons. They were named Markas Hembo, Prabhu Sahay Bodra, and Amanasius Tuti. At the same time M. Kachchap, the first Uraon Deacon, was also ordained. One after another School-houses and other Mission buildings were erected in the town of Ranchi and in the interior of the District, till at the present moment the Mission has altogether 15 *pucca* masonry churches and 101 *kachcha* chapels within the Diocese. The number of clergy now amount to 35, of whom 14 are Europeans and 21 Indians—mostly Mundas and Uraons. Of the 21 Indian clergy, 14 are priests and 7 deacons. It is worthy of note that the Indian Ministry are remunerated partly from the Native Pastorate Endowment Fund and partly from the offerings of the congregations, no contribution whatsoever being received for the purpose from Mission Funds. During the year 1909 alone, a sum of Rs. 3,642 was raised by the Indian (mostly aboriginal) congregation alone for Church purposes, including Rs. 1577 towards the support of their clergy. The Pastors are assisted in their work by preachers (*pracharaks*). At the end of the year 1909, there were 132 Christian and 26 non-Christian teachers, 56 Christian mistresses of schools, 108 Readers, and 9 Bible women, working in this Mission amongst aboriginal Christians scattered over no less than seven hundred villages in the Division. The Anglican (S. P. G.) Mission Schools of all sorts number 118 with 4248 pupils, about 2,000 of whom are non-Christians, and 979 are girls of whom 300 are non-Christians.* At the head of the Anglican Mission Schools stands the St. Paul's High School at Ranchi with its 400 pupils including 184 boarders. This institution was raised from a Middle Vernacular School to the Matriculation Standard only two years ago. In the very first year of its affiliation to the Calcutta University, this school sent up for the University Examination six candidates all of whom successfully matriculated. As early as 1878, a Theological class was added to the school, with the Rev. Oscar Flex and the Rev. Roger Dutt as tutors. The Boys' Middle Vernacular School at Murhu with its 74 boarders and 58 day-scholars is doing excellent work amongst the Mundas. Nor has female education been without its due share of attention. The English Mission Girls' School at Ranchi, with its 282 pupils including 125 boarders, is an excellent institution and is under the able management of an European Lady Missionary. It prepares girls, Christian as well as non-Christian, for the upper and lower Primary Scholarship Examinations. Towards the end of the year 1908, a Lace school was opened for young women and girls who number over twenty at present. A Female Normal Training Class was opened in the year 1909 to prepare female Teachers for girls' schools. A nice masonry building has been recently constructed at Ranchi to house the Lace School and the Female Normal Training Class. Besides secular and religious training physical training is imparted to the girls and young women by regular drills and by various games, notably the "Basket Ball". It is worthy of note that there is a girl's Debating Society in connection with the Female Normal Class. Besides the Ranchi schools, the English Mission maintains fourteen day schools for girls within the Diocese, the majority of them being however within the Hazaribag District. Besides these there are 64 mixed schools in which boys as well as girls receive education. Of these over 50 are in the Ranchi District alone. In the matter of female education, it may be noted, the Munda is extremely conservative. "What is the use of a girl learning to read and write,"—Says he, "when she will only have to mind her husband's hearth?" And thus out of some 2500 Christian Munda girls of the Mission hardly more than 160 are attending the English Mission Schools. Within a mile of the Ranchi Railway Station, Miss F. E. Whipham a Zenana Missionary of the Anglican Mission, who is well known to the Ranchi Bengali Community for her former excellent educational labours in the zenanas, opened a few years

* The number of pupils in the English Mission Schools was 865 in the year 1880, 1209 in 1890, and 2153 in 1900.

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ago a day school which has now developed into two, one for boys and another for girls. These schools are doing excellent work among the non-Christian boys and girls of the essentially Hindu village of Chutia. As in the Ranchi and Chaibassa Boarding Schools, the pupils of the village Boarding Schools too have regular daily services in Church and live amid healthy Christian surroundings. Side by side with intellectual culture and religious training, physical development is encouraged by regular games of football and hockey. More than once the Ranchi English Boy's Hockey Team won Hockey Challenge Cups at Ranchi as well as at Calcutta. In the year 1895, a Blind School was started in connection with the English Missions by Mrs. O'Connor. In this school blind men are trained in industrial work in cane and bamboo, and blind women are taught mat-making. Reading and writing are also taught on the Braillle system. A quarterly journal called the Chotanagpur Diocesan Paper is regularly published in English. The English Mission, like the German Mission, has a Hospital and Dispensary whose ministrations are extended not only to Christians but to non-Christians as well. The English Mission Hospital and Dispensary at Murhu under the Rev. Dr. Kennedy, in the very heart of the Munda country, is numerously resorted to not only by the mission converts but by non-Christian Mundas as well as by Hindus and Mahomedans all around. In 1909, as many as 3,960 patients were treated and 99 surgical operations made.

And in this connection we must not omit to mention Miss Ingle's Home for Orphans at Ranchi. Although a Mission Institution, it is now supported mainly, if not solely, by Miss Ingle from her own private funds. Last, but not least, is the good work that is being done by the Village Co-operative Banks opened by the Mission chiefly amongst the Uraons. Of the many philanthrophic activities of the Christian Missions of Chotanagpur, there is none which is more highly appreciated by the people than these Banks, which, besides their great educative value, are calculated to save an unthrifty people from the unrelenting clutches of the notoriously usurious Chotanagpur Sahu. In the matter of Co-operative Credit Banks, the extensive organisation of the Chotanagpur Roman Catholic Mission is unique in India. We shall describe that noble institution in detail in our account of that Mission in a subsequent article.

The English (S.P.G.) Mission Stations in Chotanagpur at present number 23, and are located at Ranchi, Maranghada, Murhu, Ramtoliya, Kander, Biru, Bargari, Phatayaloli, Dorma,, Soparom, Jargo, Chaibassa, Katbari, Purulia, Hazaribagh and Chitarpur. The number of Christians of the Mission rose from 5733 baptized converts and 1900 communicants in 1870, to 11,000 baptised converts and 4,700 communicants in 1880. The number rose to 12500 baptized converts and 6,000 communicants in 1890, and to 14,000 baptized converts and 6,564 communicants in 1900. At the end of the year 1909, the number of baptized converts of the Anglican Mission was 18,117 and of communicants 8349.

The month of January 1892 witnessed the arrival in Chotanagpur of another mission known as the Dublin University Mission. Its centre has been from the very beginning in the picturesque town of Hazaribagh and to that District they confined their ministrations up till the year 1900. In 1901, at the invitation of the late Bishop Whitley, the work of the Dublin University Mission was extended to Ranchi, the English (S. P. G.) Mission having placed the Dublin missionaries chiefly in charge of the medical and educational work of the Ranchi centre. About two years ago, however, the Dublin Mission found it necessary to withdraw their missionaries back to Hazaribagh. The Bishop of Chotanagpur is the ecclesiastical head of the Dublin University Mission of Hazaribagh as of the S. P. G. Mission, which has its chief centre at Ranchi. The present Bishop of Chotanagpur is the Right Rev. Foss Westcott, M.A.

We have now finished our brief account of the work of the Protestant Missions of the Ranchi District. In Mundari and Uraon villages of the Ranchi District, the most careless observer can tell the house of a Christian convert from that of his non-Christian fellow tribesmen by the much better cleanliness of the Christian's house and the general neatness and orderliness of everything about it. The contrast

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illustrated by the various pictures given in this and previous numbers of this Review, of Munda and Uraon Christian men and women, aboriginal Christian boys and girls on the one hand, and, on the other, of non-Christian Mundas and Uraons at their feasts and elsewhere, will, we hope, help the reader towards an appreciation of the brilliant achievements of the Christian Missions in their noble work of civilising and educating the aborigines of Chotanagpur.

SARAT CHANDRA RAY.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF INDIAN HISTORY

(*From the Bengali of Ravindra Nath Tagore.*)

THE history of India that we read and commit to the memory for our examinations is only the story of a nightmare that troubled us in India's dark night. Diverse races coming from diverse regions, fight and slaughter, strife for the throne between father and son, brother and brother, one race retiring and another lifting up its head we know not whence,—Pathans and Mughals, Portuguese, French and English,—all these have combined to make the dream more and more complex.

But we shall fail to see the *true* India if we look at her through this blood-red shifting scene of dreamland The current histories do not tell us where the *people* of India were all this time. Indeed, they leave the impression that there was no Indian people, and that the only human beings in the country were those who fought and slew each other.

No, not even in those dark days was this strife and bloodshed the sole event of Indian life. The storm may roar its loudest, but we cannot admit that on a stormy day the tempest is the chief event. Even on such a day the course of birth and death, joy and sorrow, that moves through each home of the village under the dust-veiled sky *is* the chief incident for man, however much it may be concealed by the weather. But to a foreign traveller this storm is the most noticeable affair, everything else is hidden from him by the clouds of dust, because he is not *within* our house but outside it. Hence it is that the histories of India written by foreigners tell us only of this dust, this storm, and not of our *home*. They make the reader imagine that no such thing as India existed in those days; only the loud-roaring whirlwind of Pathans and Mughals was sweeping round and round from north to south and west to east, lifting up a streamer of dry leaves in the sky!

But there was a real India in those days, just as there were foreign countries. For if it were not so, who gave birth to Kabir and Nanak, Chaitanya and Tukaram, amidst all this tumult? In those days we had Delhi and Agra no doubt, but we had Benares and Navadwip too. History has not recorded the stream of life that was then coursing through the true India, the activity that was surging up, the social changes that were establishing themselves. But it is with this India, ignored by the modern school histories, that we are concerned. Our hearts become homeless when we lose the historical thread of that continuity stretching through long centuries. We are not exotics, we are not useless weeds in India; through many hundred centuries we have twined our roots round her vital core. But, alas! such are the histories taught in our schools that it is this very fact that our children forget. They think as if they were nobodies in India, and that the fighting immigrants were her only people!

Whence can we draw our vital spirit if we consider our connection with our country as so very slight? In such circumstances we feel no hesitation in placing any foreign land in the seat of our Home, we cannot feel a deadly shame in any disgrace done to India. We admit complacently that we had nothing before, and that we must

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borrow from foreign lands all our food and garment, manners and customs.

In happier lands, the people can find the eternal spirit of their country in its history; from boyhood they come to know their country through its history. Our case is just the other way. Indian history has concealed the true India. The narrative of our history from the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni to Lord Curzon's outbursts of Imperialistic pride, is only a variegated mist so far as India is concerned. It does not help us to realise our true country, it only veils our gaze. It throws its false light in such a way that the side which truly represents our country is darkened to us. Amidst that darkness the jewels of dancing girls glitter under the candelabra of the Nawab's pleasure-pavillion, the ruddy froth mantling the Badshah's wine cup suggests the flashing sleepless red eyes of Intoxication; amidst that darkness our ancient temples hide their heads, while the richly carved marble domes of the mausoleums of favourite Sultanas aspire to kiss the starry vault. Amidst that darkness the tramp of cavalry, the bellowing of elephants, the clash of arms, the white billows of long rows of tents, the sheen of cloth of gold, the bubble-like stone domes of mosques, the mystery and silence of harems guarded by eunuchs,—all these, with their varied sounds, colours and sentiments, create a magic world, which we miscall the history of India. This history has, as it were, slipped the true holy book of India within a volume of the marvellous Arabian Nights' Tales. Our boys learn by rote every line of this *Arabian Nights*, but none opens the sacred volume of India's inner history.

Later, in the night of cataclysm when the Mughal Empire was in its death gasp, the vultures assembled from afar in the funeral heath, began their mutual squabble, deception and intrigue. Can we call *that* the history of India? In the next age we have the British administration regularly divided into periods of five years each, like the squares of a chess-board. Here the true India grows even smaller. Nay more, the India of this period differs from a chess-board in this that while the ordinary chequers are alternately black and white, on this historical chess-board fully fifteen parts out of sixteen are coloured white. It is as if we were bartering away our food-stuffs for good government, good justice, good education, in some gigantic Whiteaway Laidlaw & Co.'s firm, while all other shops were closed. In this huge administrative workshop everything from justice to commerce may be 'good'; but *our* India occupies only an insignificant corner of its clerical department.

We must, at the outset, discard the false notion that history must be cast in the same mould in all countries. One who has read the life of Rothschild will, on coming to the life of Christ, call for His account books and office diary, and if these are not forthcoming he will turn up his nose and say, "A biography forsooth! of a man who was not worth a penny in the world!" Similarly, most critics, when they fail to get from India's political archives any genealogical tree or despatches of battle, despair of being able to construct India's history, and complain, "How could a country have a history when it had no politics?" But we must liken such critics to the man who looks out for brinjals in a rice-field and when he fails to get them, in disgust despises the rice as no grain at all! He is truly wise who knows that all fields do not grow the same crop, but looks out for a grain in its proper soil.

If we examine Christ's account books we may despise Him, but when we look at another side of His life, all documents and account books sink into nothingness. Similarly, India's lack of political development becomes a negligible matter when she is regarded from another and special point of view. It is because we have never looked at India in her own special aspect, that we have from our very boyhood made her small, and dwarfed ourselves in consequence. An English boy knows that his forefathers won many victories, annexed many lands, and established a world-wide commerce; so, he too longs to win glory in war, trade, and empire. We, on the other hand, know that our ancestors did *not* conquer lands nor extend their commerce,—and the object of the current Indian histories is to teach this lesson only! We are not told what our ancestors *did* and so we have no ideal of what we ourselves should do. The necessary consequence of this teaching is that we ape other nations.

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Who is to blame for this state of things? The method in which we are taught from our childhood dissociates us every day from our country, till at last we cherish a feeling of repulsion from her.

At times our educated men ask in a sort of utter perplexity, "What is it that you call our country? What is its peculiar spirit? Wherein lies that spirit? And wherein did it lie in the past?" We have no ready answer to the question, because the matter is so delicate and yet so comprehensive that it cannot be explained by a mere appeal to reason.

The English and the French, in fact every nation, fail to express in one word what the peculiar spirit of their country is, or where the true heart of their homeland resides. Like the life that animates our body, this national spirit is a manifest reality and yet inexpressible in terms and concepts. From our very childhood it enters into our knowledge, our love, our imagination, by a hundred unseen paths, in a hundred different forms. Its marvellous power moulds us secretly, keeps up the continuity between our past and present;—it is the link that ties us together in a community and prevents us from becoming unconnected atoms. How can we express to the sceptic inquirer this marvellous, active, secret and primeval force, by means of a few terms of language?

We can give a clear answer to the question, '*What is India's chief mission in the world?*' and the history of India will bear out that answer. We see that throughout the ages India's only endeavour has been to establish harmony amidst differences, to incline various roads to the same goal, to make us realise the One in the midst of the many with an undoubting inner conviction; not to do away with outward differences, and yet to attain to the deeper oneness that underlies all such differences.

It is quite natural for India to realise this inner harmony and to try to spread it to the uttermost. This spirit has in all ages made her indifferent to political greatness, because the root of such greatness is discord. Unless we keenly feel foreign nations to be absolutely alien to us, we cannot regard extension of empire as the supreme end of our life. The endeavour to assert ourselves against others is the basis of political progress, while the attempt to unite ourselves socially with others, and to establish harmony amidst the diverse and conflicting interests of our people, is the foundation of moral and social advancement. The union that European civilisation has sought is based on conflict, while the union adopted by India is founded on reconciliation. The real element of conflict lying hidden in the political union of a European nation can, no doubt, keep that nation apart from other nations, but it cannot create harmony among its own members. Therefore, a spirit of separation and conflict between man and man, between king and subject, the rich and the poor, is ever kept alive there. It is not the case in Europe that all classes do their respective legitimate functions and thus by their collective efforts maintain the social organisation. On the contrary, they are mutually antagonistic; every class is always on the alert to prevent others from growing stronger. In such a society, where the members are incessantly jostling one another, the social forces cannot be harmonised. In such a society mere majority by count of head comes in time to be considered as a higher principle than merit, the piled up riches of traders overpowers the treasure of householders. Thus the social harmony is destroyed and the State is driven to make law after law to hold together, somehow or other, all these discordant elements of society. Such a result is inevitable, because if you sow conflict you must reap conflict, never mind how luxuriant and many-leaved your plant may look.

India has tried to reconcile things that are naturally alien to each other. Where there is true diversity, each member must be assigned its proper place, each must be restrained, before harmony among them is possible. It is not by a stroke of legislation that we can create unity amidst diversity. The only way to establish a connection between things that are naturally foreign to each other is to assign a separate place to each. If two foreign elements are united by force, they are sure to be one day parted by force and to produce a convulsion in the course of parting. India knew this secret of the art of harmonising. The French Revolution presumptuously tried to wash out

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all human differences with blood, *i.e.*, by force; but the result has been just the reverse. In Europe the conflict between king and people, capital and labour, is daily growing bitterer. India, too, aimed at drawing together all classes by one string, but she followed a different method. She set limits to and fenced off all the rival conflicting forces of society and thus made the social organism one and capable of doing its complex functions. She prevented these forces from constantly trying to go beyond their respective spheres and thereby keeping alive discord and disorder. Europe has directed all her social forces to the path of mutual competition, and thus made them ever militant, but at the same time she has rendered her religion, business and home ever-revolving, turbid and wild. Not so India. Her aim was to find out the real points of union, to effect harmony, to give to each the opportunity of achieving full development and self-realisation in an atmosphere of peace and repose.

God has attracted diverse races to India from a very remote past. India has had opportunities of developing that peculiar force with which the Indo-Aryans were endowed. She has ever been building, out of diverse materials, the foundations of that civilisation of harmony which is the highest type of human civilisation. She has expelled none as an alien, none as a non-Aryan, none as heterogeneous to the body social. She has admitted all and assimilated all. For preserving her individuality after the admission of so many elements from outside, she had to impose on them her own laws, her own system; she could not leave them to prey upon one another like wild beasts, let loose in the arena of a Roman amphitheatre. After making each of them a separate entity by means of proper regulation, she united them by means of a root principle. These elements came from various countries, but the system and root principle imposed on them were India's and India's alone. Europe tries to secure social safety by shutting out or exterminating aliens, as is proved today by the policy of America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The reason of it is that the spirit of a properly regulated order is wanting in European society;—it has not yet learnt how to assign to its different members their proper places, so that the limbs of the body social have become burdensome outgrowths on it. How, then, can such a society harbour within itself aliens? A household in which the very kinsmen are ready to disturb its peace, does not wish to give shelter to strangers. Foreign elements can be most easily assimilated by a society that has order, rules of harmony, and a separate sphere and function for each class. There are only two ways of dealing with aliens: either you must expel and exterminate them and so preserve your own society and civilisation; or you must control them by your own laws and thus plant them in a world of well-regulated order. Europe, by adopting the former policy, is ever in conflict with the rest of the universe. India, by following the latter course, is gradually attempting to make all aliens her own people. If we believe in spiritual laws, if we accept spirituality as the highest ideal of human civilisation, then we must give the palm to the Indian method.

Genius is needed in assimilating alien peoples. Genius alone knows the spell by which to enter into the hearts of others and to make others fully one with ourselves. India has displayed this genius. She has freely spread her influence over the hearts of alien races and as freely borrowed institutions and beliefs from them. What foreigners call polytheism had no terror or disgust for India. She has accepted hideous looking deities from the non-Aryan savage tribes, but infused them with her own spirit. Even through such gods she has given expression to her spiritual ideas. She has rejected nothing, while everything that she has accepted she has made her own.

This establishment of harmony and order is manifest not only in our social structure but also in our religious system. The attempt of the *Gita* to perfectly reconcile Knowledge, Faith and Deed, is peculiarly Indian. The word 'Religion' as used by Europe cannot be translated into any Indian tongue, because the spirit of India opposes any analysis of *Dharma* into its intellectual components. Our *Dharma* is a totality,—the totality of our reasoned convictions, our beliefs and our practices, this world and the next, all summed together. India has not split up her *Dharma*

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by setting apart one side of it for practical and the other for ornamental purposes. The life that pervades our arm or leg, head or stomach, is one and not many; similarly, India has not allowed any resolution of our *Dharma* into 'the religion of belief', 'the religion of conduct', 'the religion of Sunday', 'the religion of week days', 'the religion of the Church,' and 'the religion of the home'! *Dharma* in India is religion for the *whole* of society,—its roots reach deep under ground, but its top touches the heavens; and India has not contemplated the top apart from the root,—she has looked on religion as embracing the earth and heaven alike. overspreading the *whole* life of man, like a gigantic Banyan tree.

Indian history proves this fact that in the civilised world India stands forth as the example of how the many can be harmonised into one. To realise the One in the universe and also in our own inner nature, to set up that One amidst diversity, to discover it by means of knowledge, to establish it by means of action, to perceive it by means of love, and to preach it by means of conduct,—*this* is the work that India has been doing in spite of many obstacles and calamities, in ill success and good fortune alike. When our historical studies will make us realise this eternal SPIRIT OF INDIA, then and then only will the severance between our past and our present cease to be.

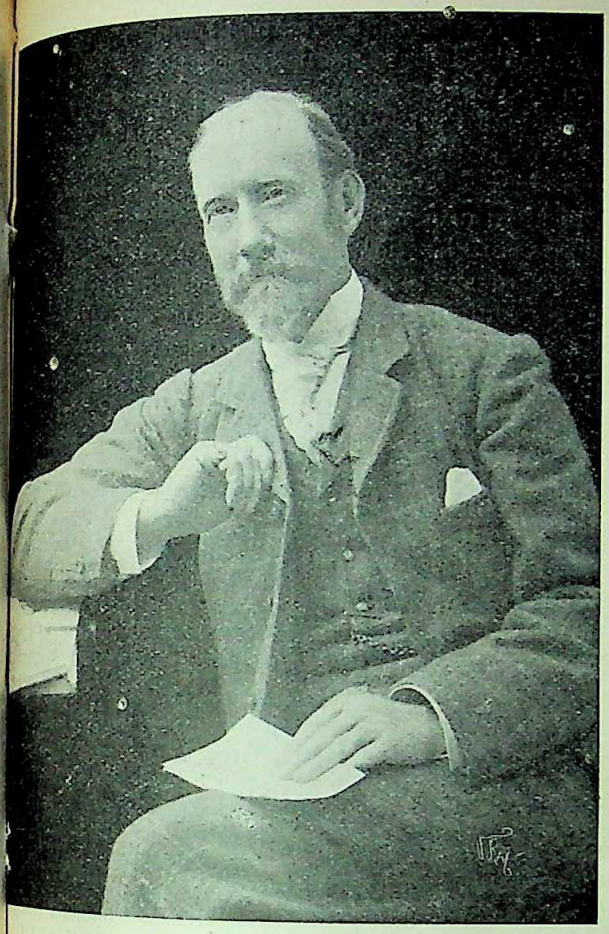
S. D. VARMA.

ALLAHABAD

THE holy city of Prayag, better known by its later name of Allahabad, comes into unusual prominence before the Indian public during this month and the following month on account of the numerous public functions of which it will be the scene during the next few weeks. First amongst these is the opening of the great Industrial Exhibition which is being widely advertised as the first show of the century and which is expected to attract to the city of the confluence of two of the greatest of the Himalayan streams, many distinguished visitors from all parts of the civilized world. The varied functions in connection with the Exhibition would keep Allahabad prominently in evidence before the Indian public for many weeks to come but the one event on which public interest will be centred and for which all classes of the people are entertaining highly-raised expectations is the first aviation meeting of the East which is to come off between the 28th December and the third of January and where there will be a display of aeroplanes in actual working order, engaged in navigating the subtle element that envelopes the earth on all sides, under the guidance of experienced masters of that art. The sittings of the Indian National Congress under the presidency of that accomplished politician and that tried friend of India, Sir Willian Wedderburn, on the historic plain facing Akbar's fort are likely to form a great attraction to the educated community all over India who are not employed in government service. The All-India Moslem league has decided to have its meetings at Allahabad in supercession of its previous plans and the Industrial Conference, the Social Conference, the All-India Temperance Conference as well as other bodies have fixed their annual sittings too in the city of Allahabad. It is therefore expected that Allahabad would be unusually crowded during the latter half of December and the first half of January and those who would not be able to come to that city for one reason or another would watch the proceedings of its many public functions and read the accounts of its many interesting events with attention. It would not therefore be out of place to place at the disposal of our readers an account of Allahabad as it is with some reference to its past history and traditions along with such information as is likely to be useful to the new-comer who will now set his foot for the first time on

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Sir William Wedderburn.

a site which has been the habitation of man ever since the dawn of human civilization.

The citizens of Allahabad are proud to belong to no mean city. The site on which their city stands has been in the occupation of a civilized race long before the first faint beginnings of authentic history. While its contemporaries in the pre-historic age are now gone for ever, while Antioch and Nineveh, Babylon and Carthage, Thebes and Memphis have perished to rise no more, the Prayag of the ancient Hindu books stands like the Indraprastha of the Mahabharat where it did five thousand years ago with the additional qualification that it is daily increasing in size, population and political importance and daily progressing in intellectual and material prosperity.

The first mention that we have of Prayag is in the Ramayana where we are told that it was here that Bharat followed his wandering brothers Rama and Lakshmana bound for the south at the hermitage of Rishi Bharadwaja which we are told then overlooked the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna and unsuccessfully tried to induce them to return to Ayodhya. Prayag figures largely in the Puranas which books give it for the first time its sacred and sacerdotal character. The meeting of the sacred waters at Prayag has been described by the immortal Kalidas, the greatest poet of the East, who sings of that irregular dividing line which always divides the clear blue stream of the Jumna from the turbid and muddy channel of the Ganges, in one of his popular dramas which begins with a scene in the palace at Prayag, which it appears was always the seat of a Hindu kingdom. There are no authentic accounts of the period when Prayag belonged to the kingdom of Panchala which at one time included the whole of the tract between the Jumna and the Sutlej. The kingdom of Kausambi which was founded by the branch of the Pandava dynasty is supposed to have had its capital in a small village of that name in the Allahabad District which still exists on the banks of the Jumna a few miles higher up from Allahabad. This kingdom passed into the hands of the Buddhists and the city of Kausambi occupies a prominent place in the accounts of their travels given by the Chinese travellers Fa Hian and Hiouen Tsang, who visited India in the fifth and seventh centuries of the Christian era respectively. It is generally believed that the pillar of Asoka which is now to be found within the fort at Allahabad was originally erected at Kausambi when Prayag and its neighbourhood belonged to the Buddhist kingdom of Pataliputra and removed from there in later times when that city was merely a mass of ruins. There is reason to believe that Prayag formed a part of the kingdom of Kanauj for some centuries and the Raja of Mandah who owns extensive estates in the southern portion of the Allahabad District claims his descent from the famous Jaichand of Kanauj who after his defeat by Mahomed Ghori is alleged to have taken up his residence in the hilly regions south of Allahabad. Hiouen Tsang describes Prayag as a great city of the idolatrous, thereby plainly implying that Brahminical ascendancy had been regained by the time of his visit. Prayag continued to be

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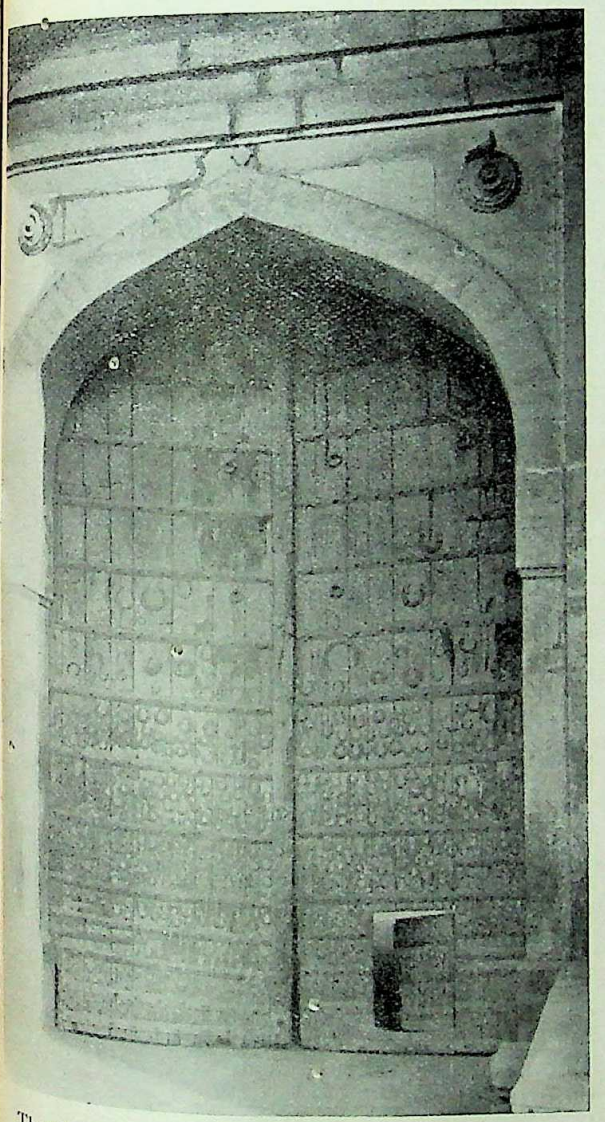
part of the dominions of the Pathan and the Mogul after the Mahomedan conquest of India but none of the sovereigns of Delhi paid any particular attention to Prayag prior to the days of Akbar the Great. That far-famed monarch built his sandstone fortress which still arrests the attention of the traveller as he makes his entrance to the holy city of Prayag by the bridge over the Jumna, on the site of the Patalpuri temple of old where the undying fig tree existed from long before his time and where the Saraswati which had lost itself in the sands of the Panjab plains near Thaneshar still oozed out in driblets from one of the masonry walls of a subterranean chamber as if ashamed of herself and afraid to come before the public. His son Jehangir and his grandson Khusru who was born of a Rajput princess, resided in Allahabad, the name conferred on the city by Akbar for a time, and the splendid garden known after the name of Khusru enshrine the mortal remains of that unlucky prince, his mother and his sisters. When Jehangir left the classic cities of Hindustan for his great northern capital of Lahore and for the valley of Cashmere, Allahabad was the seat of a Subah and it was the scene of the usual amount of intrigues and skirmishes till it passed into the hands of the English in the beginning of the last century. It was for a short time the headquarters of the provincial government in 1833 but they were removed to Agra in the following year. During the Mutiny, Allahabad was for a short time in the hands of the rebel leader Liakat Ali but he fled on the approach of the Madras Fusileers under their veteran Commander Colonel Neill who established peace and order in the district and exacted what is said in official records to be a stern revenge. The south-western parts of the district were well kept in hand by Babu Peary Mohan Banerji, the young Bengali Munsif of Manjhanpur who fought the mutineers with considerable success at the head of a gallant band raised by himself. After the Mutiny, Lord Canning visited Allahabad in state and held that durbar where on the 15th November 1858 the Proclamation of the great white Queen enthroned in her sea-girt isle in the far west was published to her Indian subjects. Lord Canning transferred the headquarters of the provincial government to Allahabad and from that date Allahabad has risen beyond the status of an ordinary provincial town and has acquired that beautiful civil station which with its broad streets and park-like residences stretching for many miles is the finest in upper India.

As might have been expected in the case of so ancient a city there are numerous monuments of architecture within the boundaries of the modern town as well as in all parts of the district. The object of the greatest interest is the Patalpuri temple in the fort which is now situated at a lower level than that of the surrounding country. In the open plains around this temple has been held from time immemorial the annual Magh Mela which is a great bathing festival to which pilgrims resorted from all parts of India. Every twelfth year the Magh Mela assumes an unusual importance, and ascetics from all over the country and even the distant Himalayas resort to this fair. The last Kumbha Mela was held in 1906 and the next one is not expected till 1918. Every sixth year the fair is larger than usual and is known as the Adh or half Kumbha fair. The pilgrim to Allahabad is guided through his ceremonies of bathing, seeing and paying homage to the presiding deities of the place by a peculiar sect of Brahmans known as Pragwals who have retained in their body the exclusive right of ministering to the spiritual wants of the pilgrims and whose privileges in this respect were recognized and confirmed by the great Mahomedan Emperor Akbar. The fort which was built by Akbar occasioned considerable alterations in the Patalpuri temple and the undying fig tree, the Akshaybat, which had always appertained to that temple. The route to the Akshaybat which has been considerably improved by providing sky lights and a new stair, lies underground and was until the improvements took place approached by a single narrow stair-case and a dark passage. The trunk of a tree is to be found there and it is asserted that this trunk sometimes shows signs of vitality by the growth of a new leaf. The other object of antiquarian interest within the Allahabad Fort is the sandstone pillar which is commonly believed to have been put up there by King Asoka. The height

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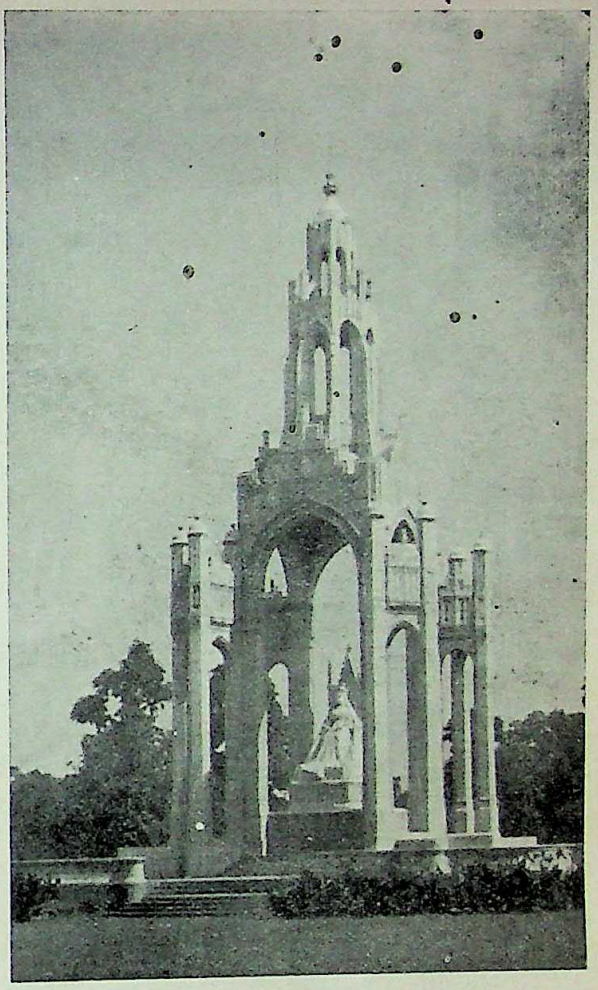
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of the pillar is between forty-two and forty-three feet and it has upon it several inscriptions in Sanskrit. The pillar appears to have had on its top the figure of some animal probably similar to the Buddhist pillar at Sarnath but this has now been removed. Once during the reign of Jehangir and again during the closing years of the eighteenth century the pillar fell down and was re-erected by the ruling power. The



The Gateway of Khusru Bagh with horseshoes nailed to the doors by the superstitions.

inscriptions have been deciphered by several learned scholars but no definite conclusions as to the age of this pillar have yet been arrived at, the most favored theory being that it was erected somewhere about 240 B. C.

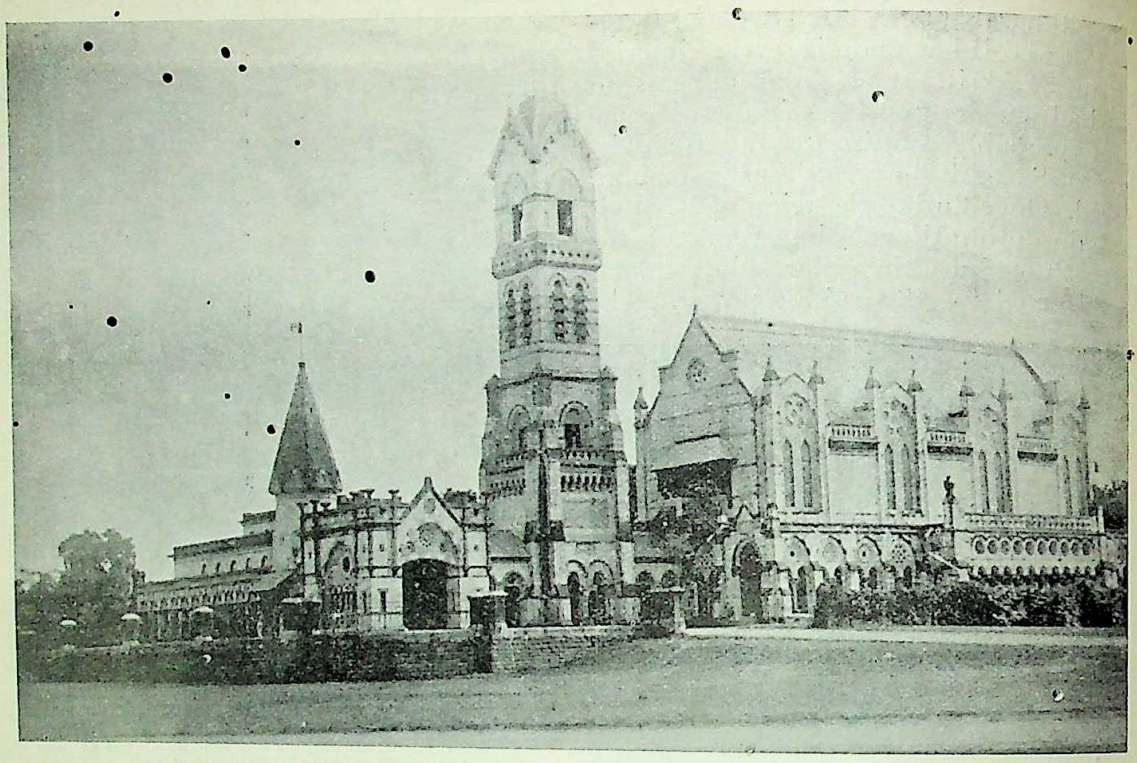


Statue of Queen Victoria, Alfred Park, Allahabad.

We have already alluded to the Khusru Bagh which dates from the reign of Akbar and which is still in a state of excellent preservation. It consists of a garden and a serai and surrounded by a high and massive wall of stone. It is pierced by gateways in the true Saracenic style but the materials employed are brick and mortar and such sandstone as is found in the hills in the southern portion of the district. The gateways are both imposing structures being more than sixty feet in height. The garden has been laid out with that taste which Mogul builders have always displayed in the scenic surroundings of their numerous buildings and the eye is refreshed by the delightful green of the lawns, the flower gardens and the vegetation around. In the winter and during a part of the rainy season when the flowering plants and shrubs are in full bloom one

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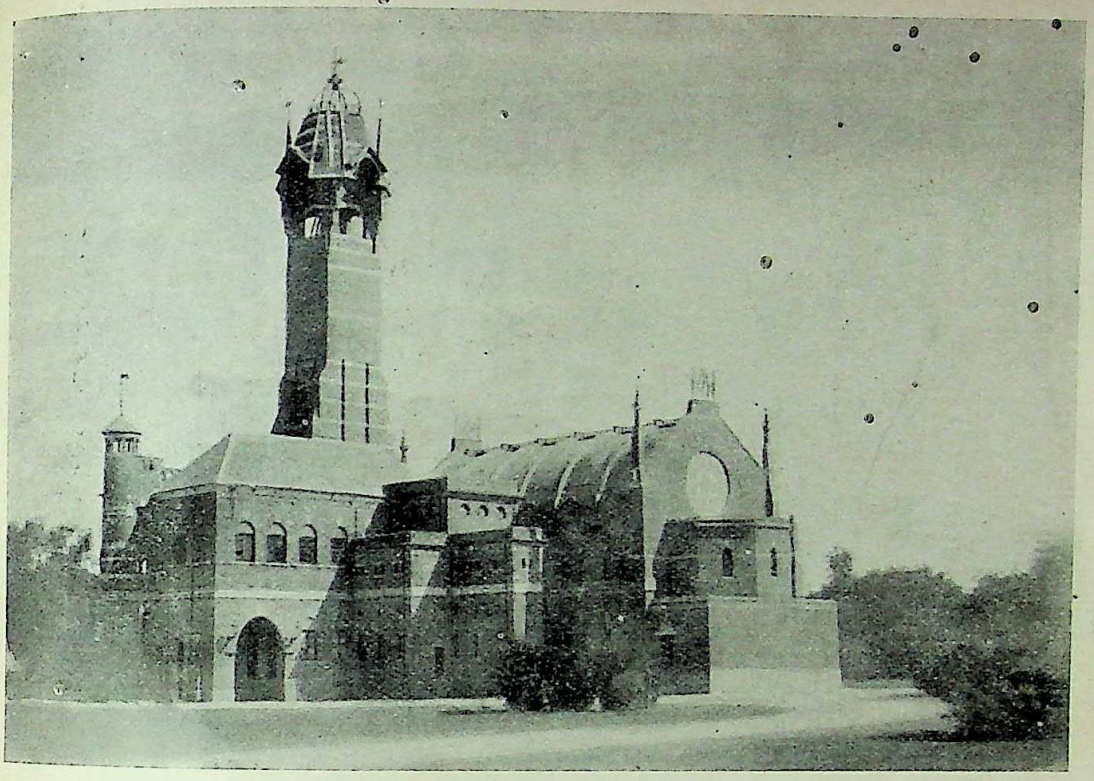
THORNHILL AND MAYNE MEMORIAL BUILDING, ALLAHABAD

finds a rich blaze of color all around which adds to the beauty and solemnity of the antique buildings standing in their midst. The three square mausoleums are solid structures of sandstone and though they cannot be compared with the priceless gems to be found at Agra and Delhi, they are objects of interest as models of Saracenic architecture of the best period. The tomb to the east is that of Sultan Khusru, that to the middle enshrined the relics of his mother, a Hindu Princess, and that to the west, of the other children of the family. One finds Persian couplets and texts of the Koran engraved and there are also paintings of flowers and shrubs. The engine-house and the filtering tanks of the municipal water-works are within this garden and it was here that Lord Lansdowne opened the system of water-works which has conferred such inestimable boons on the city by the supply of pure drinking water.

Allahabad being the winter headquarters of the Provincial Government has been adorned during the last half a century with many beautiful and costly buildings both public and private which are wellworth a visit. The chief ornament of the Civil Station is the Alfred Park which extends over nearly 133 acres. In its centre is a beautiful bandstand, the gift of a Bengali resident of Allahabad of the last generation, Rabu Nilcomul Mitter. It commemorates the visit of Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, to Allahabad in 1870 and is named after him. It was completed in 1878 and is now one of the most delightful places for communion with nature in upper India. Here fashionable Allahabad congregates on those evenings when the regimental bands discourse music. Around it there is always a large show of vehicles of all descriptions including motor-cars. Within the Alfred Park are situated the Thornhill and Mayne memorial and the statue of Queen Victoria. The Queen's statue is to the east of the bandstand and was opened by Sir James Latouche on the 24th March, 1906. The canopy over the statue is made of Italian limestone and the whole cost came up to nearly a lakh and a half. On the north of the bandstand is the Thornhill and Mayne memorial which was completed in 1878. It is a very tasteful building of stone and its shapely pillars of granite and sandstone of various descriptions add

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MAYO HALL, ALLAHABAD.

considerable beauty to the building itself. This building contains a small museum and a public library which is maintained by an annual grant from the Magh Mela Fund. To the east of the park is the Government House which has extensive grounds of its own and which is a modern building. Residences have now been built for the principal Secretaries to the Government in the immediate neighbourhood of the Government House.

The Muir Central College which is the chief educational institution of this city lies on the Thornhill Road to the north of the Alfred Park. It has for its local habitation a sandstone building whose foundation stone was laid by Lord Northbrook in 1874. It is named after Sir William Muir a Scholar of European reputation who was the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces in the early seventies of the last century. It is in the form of a quadrangle of which three sides only are occupied by buildings, on the south is a large hall which is used for all functions of the Allahabad University and the whole building is surmounted by a lofty tower, while there is a big dome with attempt at ornamentation over the southern Hall. The buildings were completed towards the close of 1885 and were formally opened by Lord Dufferin in April 1886. There have been extensive additions in later years during the administrations of Sir Antony MacDonnell and Sir James Latouche for class-rooms and laboratories in various branches of science and the Muir Central College is now thoroughly equipped for imparting knowledge in Physics and Chemistry up to the highest Standard.

The Muir Central College has attached to it hostels of its own but the energy and enterprise of the various Indian communities and of a Missionary body has provided it with magnificent and commodious hostels which can fairly compete with the best specimens of that class existing anywhere in India. The first in point of time was the Mahomedan Hostel established in 1892. It was followed by the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel and the MacDonnell Hindu Boarding House both of which accomodate a large number of students under careful supervision.

The Mayo Hall which is also situated

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ALL-SAINTS CATHEDRAL, ALLAHABAD.

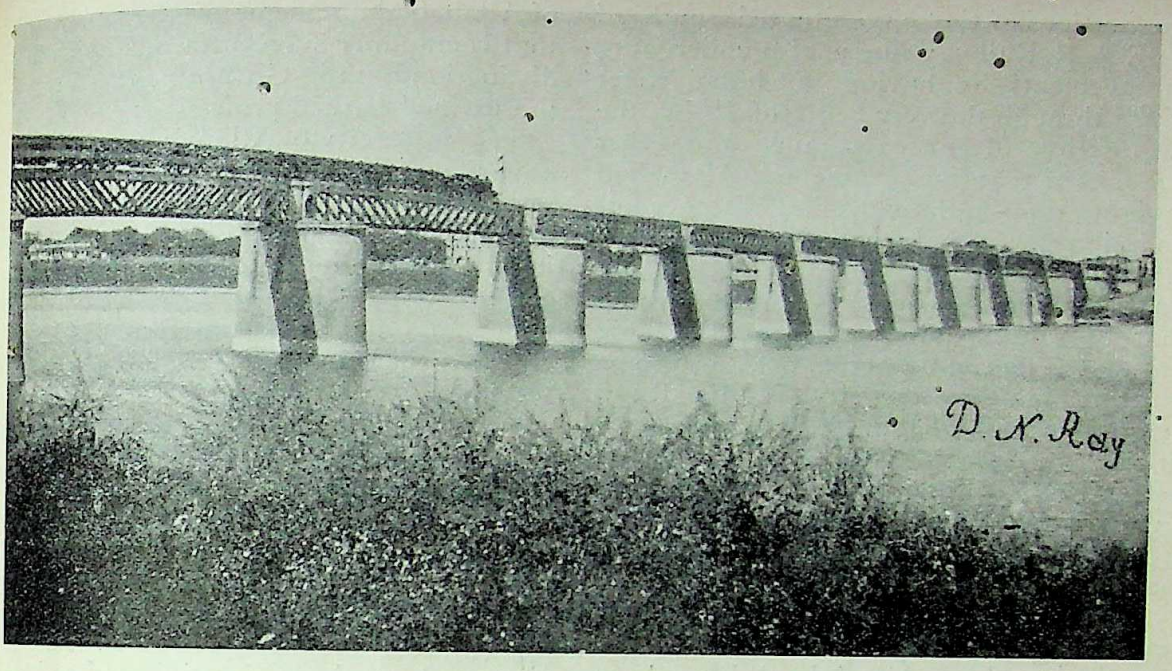
on the Thornhill Road further west was completed in 1879. It contains a spacious hall with several committee-rooms and is surmounted by a lofty tower. It is used for all public functions, for balls and entertainments and it contains a fine bust of the Earl of Mayo whose viceroyalty was so unexpectedly brought to an abrupt end and whom it commemorates.

At the junction of the Thornhill and the Queen's Roads are four massive blocks of buildings which accomodate the offices at the headquarters of the provincial government. One of these blocks is used for the High Court which has now outgrown the accomodation provided for it and for which a new and up-to-date building is a crying necessity. Another is used for the Secretariat offices, the third for the office of the Accountant-general and the fourth for the Board of Revenue and the office of the Examiner of Public Works Accounts which has under the recent scheme been amalgamated with the Accounts Department.

Allahabad is rich in cathedrals and churches. The All-Saints Cathedral, the chief place of worship for the protestants, is an imposing structure, while the Roman Catholic Cathedral with its attendant establishments occupy a large space of land between the Edmonstone and the Thornhill Roads. The Holy Trinity Church in the old Civil Station dates from 1826. The civil and criminal courts are situated on the Cutchery Road. Among recent additions are the Wanamaker Girls' School and the Princeton Hall of the Allahabad Christian College. The former owes its existence to the gift of an American millionaire and the latter forms a welcome feature of an institution that has been doing a good deal of useful education work under capable guidance. The Kayasth Patshala which is a second-grade college evidences the philanthropic benefactions of a member of the Kayasth community, Munshi Kali Prasad, a vakil of Lucknow, who left his whole fortune amounting to nearly five lakhs of rupees to the cause of education. The new Civil Hospital which is situated on the Stanley Road is an up-to-date building and is thoroughly equipped with all modern requirements. Allahabad maintains its communications with the outer world by two magnificent girder

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JUMNA BRIDGE, ALLAHABAD.

bridges, one over the Ganges at Phaphamau and the other over the Jumna near Muthiganj. Both these bridges are now free of tolls and a third bridge spanning the Ganges at Jhusi is under construction by the Bengal and North-Western Railway and is expected to be completed by the end of the next year.

The modern city of Allahabad is a city of magnificent distances. The old native city has been vastly expanding ever since Allahabad attained its status as the metropolis of the province of Agra and the civil station that has grown up is a large and prosperous residential and business quarter. The old civil station was where the Chatham lines now are. With the advent of the High Court and the various public offices the new civil station was laid out under the superintendence of Mr. Thornhill the then Commissioner. The streets were mapped out first and the building sites were allotted on a hundred years' lease with the reservation of an annual rent. The streets were named after the prominent officials of that generation which succeeded the suppression of the mutiny and they are well laid out and most of them beautifully shaded. At right angles to the main roads were other roads while the Cawnpur road ran diagonally through the heart of the civil station which is called Cannington after the name of the then Viceroy. The Katra and Colonelgunj quarters to the north of the Alfred Park, and the Kydgunj and Daragunj quarters abutting on the Jumna and the Ganges respectively, are integral parts of the city of Allahabad separated from the main city by waving corn-fields extending over nearly three miles. A part of the intervening green has now been appropriated as building sites for the extension of the civil station which can now hardly afford accomodation to the increasingly large numbers who have adapted themselves to living in bungalows built in the Anglo-Indian fashion peculiar to upper India. These sites have been allowed to Indian gentlemen who are bona fide residents of Allahabad on a ninety years' lease reserving an annual rent which the Secretary of State would have the option of enhancing at the end of each thirty years. Some of the bungalows are now in the process of construction and when these residences will have been built the beauty of the civil station as well as its accomodation would be considerably improved. The thatched bungalows with mud walls which were the order of the day in a former generation all over upper India are now giving place to substantial structures of brick and stone with iron girders supporting the roofs in place of wooden logs and country bamboos.

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The portions of the city situated south of the E. I. R. Railway line is also undergoing improvements by having a broad street driven through the very heart of it by the construction of pucca drains and other measures of a sanitary character. Allahabad has got an up-to-date hospital with accommodation for female patients in the wards constructed through the agency of Lady Dufferin's fund. There is one bathing ghat of substantial structure of any note and that is the Baruah ghat on the Jumna which is the gift to the city of Lala Ramcharan Das Rai Bahadur, one of its foremost citizens.

The United Provinces has always been singularly fortunate in the large number of capable officials who belonged to its cadre ever since the introduction of the competetive examination in the civil service. Some of its Lieutenant-Governors such as Sir William Muir and Sir Alfred Lyall have been accomplished men of letters while others have made their mark as efficient administrators. The most prominent member of the Indian Civil Service of that generation which is now about to pass away, Lord Macdonnell, ended his Indian career at Allahabad where one of his last acts was to preside over the meetings of the Council which passed the N. W. P. Tenany Act and Revenue Act. The present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Hewett, has evinced considerable interest in the material prosperity of the people and in introducing improvements in industries, in agriculture and those sanitary measures which promote the public health. He is also the organizer of the U. P. Exhibition, which is expected to leave behind lasting effects in more directions than one. The Allahabad High Court has always got attached to itself a well-trained English and Indian bar some of whose members attained considerable distinction in the profession and were selected for honors and judgships outside the United Provinces. We need only mention the names of Sir Walter Colvin, Sir Arthur Strachey, Mr. T. Conlan, Mr. Justice Hill, Pandit Ajudhiya Nath, Pandit Bishambar Nath, amongst the most eminent names of recent years. The Bengalis have always formed an appreciable portion of the population of Allahabad and some of the members of that community have attained considerable distinction both in Government service and the various learned professions.

Such is the city of Allahabad which would have the privilege to welcome many cultured and distinguished visitors who would be here in connection with its numerous public functions in the closing weeks of the current year. Our visitors would hardly find in its unpretentious buildings or its crowded thorough-fares anything that would specially appeal to their imagination or excite their admiration. But let us hope that its unrivalled natural situation, its antiquites, its modern institutions and its Exhibition for which immense pains had been taken, will make it an object of interest to them. Lord Minto has recently laid the foundation of the pillar which will stand on the spot where the Queen's Proclamation was read by Lord Canning and so long as that proclamation is recognized by our rulers as the rule of their conduct towards the people of India, Allahabad, the birth-place of that proclamation, cannot fail to have an interest for those who have the progress of India on constitutional lines at heart. Let us hope that our numerous visitors will carry away from our city nothing but pleasant recollections of agreeable experiences and that the citizens of Allahabad when they have emerged from the bustle of the ensuing months will proudly recall among their visitors this season men who by their intellectual worth, their moral qualities, their enterprise, their self-sacrifice, and their practical wisdom or by their ancestral acres or inherited wealth are considered to be in the front rank of their countrymen enjoining the confidence of their fellow-subjects in this great and glorious empire. To the present writer who has now adopted Allahabad as his home and where he has spent many happy years since the prime of his manhood, her reputation is dear and he fondly trusts that that reputation will never be on the wane during the remainder of his days which he hopes to be allowed to spend amidst the surroundings of his active years.

SATYA CHANDRA MUKERJI.

ALLAHABAD,
12th November, 1910.

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CURRENT LITERATURE: BRITISH AND AMERICAN

(1) The Rejuvenescence of Portugal.

THE recent revolution in Portugal is the subject of more than one interesting article in the November English Reviews. In the *Contemporary*, Dr. E. J. Dillon, the highest authority on European current politics, in the British press, gives the story of this Revolution, from Portuguese sources. Dr. Dillon was in Lisbon just a few weeks before the outbreak, and studied the trends of Portuguese politics at first hand, drawing his informations equally from monarchical and republican sources. Mr. Mackenzie Bell writes on the same subject in the *Fortnightly*. Mr. Bell, too, knows Portugal from the inside; and though not so introspective as Dr. Dillon, his portraiture of Portuguese politics is equally correct and he too shows the psychology of the Revolution as clearly, almost, as the latter. Early in September last Dr. Dillon wrote as follows:—

"Portugal might aptly be described as the simulacram of a State with a ghastly affectation of lingering vitality. Its constitution, code of laws, legislative chambers and parliamentary regime are but hollow mockeries, in which even the credulous have ceased to repose faith, and the misery-stricken to put hope. Nothing now separates that little kingdom from the chaos of anarchy but the squalid stagnancy of the masses, whom the plentiful harvests of two consecutive years have kept for a while from breaking the thin crust of order, and letting the fire-fountains of the abyss burst through. One bad harvest will suffice to weigh down the scale on the side of disorder and precipitate a revolution. A deliberate scheme, hatched by the Republicans, would be equally effective. I have good reason to believe that a plot of that kind is in progress, and that the life of the Monarchy may be measured by months."

The Character of the Republican Party.

Dr. Dillon wrote these lines from Madrid. He subsequently went to Lisbon, and obtained the views of the representative men of "each of the political groups, beginning with the Prime Minister, and ending with the Republicans." There had, for many years past, been two great political parties in Portugal, one called the "Regeneradores" or the Regenerators and the other the "Progressists." Both these had, of course, been monarchists. The Republicans as a political party stood, really, outside the arena of administrative activities. Like the two great parties, in British politics, these two Portuguese parties, the Regenerators and the Progressists alternately controlled the Government of the country; and both, as is universally admitted today, were equally corrupt; and both worked equally for private and personal ends, and exploited, with the same disregard of private morals and common weal, the favour and patronage of their Monarch for their own profit. The Government was being carried on for the benefit of the "privileged few, among whom were the King and the Royal Family, and the two groups of Monarchists, who divided the spoils of office between them." Altogether, as Dr. Dillon points out, there were—

Thirteen political parties (all Monarchists), forming two groups, which now fell asunder, now recombined with modifications, and thus went on succeeding each other in obtaining power, money, and influence for keeping the nation in misery and ignorance.

The Grievances of Portugal.

Under such a system, people suffer not only politically, but socially and morally as well. Their grievances are legion; and it would be misleading to classify them as political, social, or educational. The malady is deep-rooted and constitutional. For—

The relations between the governing and the governed are radically wrong. The State machinery is everywhere out of gear, and the people, in all its dealings with the State, is victimised. There is no soundness anywhere except in the horny-handed tillers of the soil and the working-men, who keep on tirelessly toiling and moiling for a wage that involves insufficiency of good food as well as insanitary housing. Portugal is an agricultural country. About four-fifths of the population eke out a precarious livelihood by tilling the soil or cultivating the vine and the olive. With proper direction and discriminating help they might

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export produce that would fetch high prices, render them well-to-do, and make their country the garden of Europe. But thanks to the suicidal legislation of the past few years, they continue to grow, mainly articles of prime necessity, and to live in squalor and misery.

And who profitted by all this excessive taxation? Not a penny was used for the good of the people. The politicians ate it all up themselves. Professing monarchical principles, they even persistently subordinated the interests of the Monarchy to the interests of their parties or their individual friends. When the Regenerators were in office, the Progressists not only waged war against them but against the Monarchy itself. The party in office, whether Progressists or Regenerators had to advance money to the needy king, of whom they expected a Royal favour; and these secret payments never remained secret; and the party out of office would make the most of these transactions, and would not only denounce their political rivals, but even publicly proclaim that "the King was bringing his dynasty into discredit, and the sooner he quitted the country the better." And thus the Monarchists themselves created the forces that have finally brought about this wonderful revolution. While these were abusing and exposing one another, and even dragging the throne through the mire, the Republicans were assiduously circulating these scandals broadcast all over the country.

"Regicide Monarchists."

But so corrupt were these politicians that some of them even did not hesitate to secretly conspire to murder the King in whose name and by whose authority they exploited the downtrodden populations of the country. The assassination of Don Carlos on February 1st, 1908 is a matter of history now. It is well-known that some of the leading politicians were implicated in the conspiracy that led to that tragedy. The Republicans, on the other hand, though desiring to get rid of the Monarchy, were too lofty in their aims and too pure in their morals, to adopt such dark and diabolical measures to secure their end. When young Manuel was proclaimed King, on the assassination of his father and elder brother, the Republican Journal *A Lucta* (the Struggle), which has always been characterised by dignity and moderation, said:—

"Being Republicans, we cannot feign sympathy with any king. But as Portuguese who desire the well-being of our country first, we are willing to give the new Monarch a chance. We will not judge him on any other evidence than that of his reign. If things become better under him the fact will be patent to all. If not, we shall be the first to proclaim his reign a failure."

But King Manuel's position was hopeless from the very first.—

"What could the young king do? He had no education, no training that would fit a youth for the profession of king. He was young and without experience He was terrified by the tragedy of which he had been a witness and to some extent, a victim, for he was wounded by the regicides. And if he knew enough to teach him that he lacked all knowledge of the kind that was needed for kingship, and wished to acquire information, to obtain advice and guidance, whither was he to turn? To one of the two groups of politicians who had discredited the *regime*, and killed his father, at least indirectly and unwittingly? That course would render the last state of things much worse than the former. Better far, he should leave the country. Yet if he stayed on there was nothing else that he could do, a builder can make a house only out of such materials as are available. And if he disposes of nothing more durable than mud, he must be prepared to see his edifice washed away by the first torrential shower. That is why I regarded the death of King Carlos as the end of the Monarchy. And I gave expression to this view more than once in my articles.

There could be no real reform in Portugal so long as the political system remained unchanged, and as the King's *role*, as Constitutional Monarch, was to accept and respect that political system, it became evident that the Monarchy would have to disappear before the Portuguese nation could hope for relief. How blindly the poor young King had to submit to this degrading yoke will appear from the following characteristic consideration. Most of the conspirators, —and they were many including the ringleaders, were still at large. Would they be brought to justice? If not, they would naturally feel that they might resort to regicide again in order to turn out an obnoxious Cabinet, and the King must feel correspondingly insecure. Besides, a self-respecting Government owed it to the country to wipe out the stain of blood that fouled the nation's scutcheon. But one Cabinet followed another, each one promising a full and impartial enquiry before it came into office, and foiling every attempt at investigation once it was in power.

I have no space to quote Dr. Dillon's narrative of the events that led to the downfall of King Manuel and the declaration of the Republic. These are generally known to the readers of the daily press. But I can not resist the temptation of quoting his summing up of the Revolution, and the candid testimony that he bears to

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The Humanity and Moderation of the Republicans.

It is these that are responsible for the peaceful character of the episode. But while expressing our admiration for the manners and morals of the Republican leaders, we can not refuse to acknowledge also the exceeding good sense displayed by the young King who so quietly abdicated his throne because he recognised that such an abdication was needed as much in the interests of his own personal safety as in those of the peace and progress of his fatherland. King Manuel has abandoned a throne to allow the making of a nation. Had he chose to remain in the country, Portugal would have been inevitably thrown into a civil war, that would have created endless complications. But while freely acknowledging the good services of the young monarch, one must admit that these would not have made the Revolution so peaceful unless the Republican leaders had been guided by considerations of humanity and moderation in their dealings with the remnants of the monarchists in their country. Says Dr. Dillon :—

Looking back now upon the Portuguese Monarchy under the late Don Carlos and his son Don Manuel, I am at a loss to understand how such an utterly rotten fabric maintained itself so long as it did, despite the corrosive solvents employed against it by its own friends and so-called champions. On the other hand, when I contemplate the Republican conspirators, their hopes and apprehensions, their aims and strivings, their means of attack and defence, and those of their enemies, their ultimate success fills me with wonder. I can only explain the final result of the Revolution by assuming that the Monarchists had lost all moral force and energy, conscious of their ethical worthlessness, and that they allowed judgment to go by default. However this may be, it is an established fact that the Republicans showed themselves to advantage throughout the Revolution. They were chary of shedding blood, paroling those officers whom they had arrested for refusing to join them, and employing suasion wherever they could substitute it for force. They made a rule—and kept it—that they would have no courtmartials, no executions in cold blood, no acts of vengeance, no looting of private property. The rabble broke into a few private houses owned or occupied by peculiarly obnoxious individuals like Luciano de Castro, the chief of the Progressists, and ex-governor of the Credito-Predial, but beyond telling him in vigorous, picturesque Portuguese, what they thought of him, they did none of these persons any harm, nor did they injure their property. It is a singular fact that crime diminished during the revolution and for the ten days that followed. The reason, I am told, is that the common Portuguese man is intensely patriotic, and that an appeal had been made to his patriotism by the Republican chiefs to abstain from lawless acts during a struggle that was to raise his country from the tomb.

One incident of all others has burned itself deep in the tablets of my memory, and will remain there indissolubly associated with the Portuguese Revolution. During those wild days when the Republicans gave arms to every man who undertook to use them against the Monarchy, and when among them were numerous representatives of urban rascality, the Bank of Lisbon and the Azores, with its deposits of millions, was guarded faithfully and successfully by poor ragamuffins without boots to their feet, who stood there patiently hour after hour, with loaded rifles, ready to fire upon any intruder. The Government of the Republic ought to offer a reward for the best painting of that memorable scene, which is creditable alike to the nation and the new regime.

A Moral Victory.

The story of this Portuguese Revolution is the story of a great moral victory. "History offers no other instance," as Dr. Dillon says, "of a political upheaval accomplished so rapidly and thoroughly with such meagre means against such tremendous odds.

In Brazil, it was the Government that conspired against the Emperor. In Turkey, whole armies, with their corps of officers, changed the regime. In Portugal, there was nothing of all this,—no general, no high military officers, no prominent men of the Civil Service, no big Parliamentary Party, no generous Maecenas. There was only a band of enthusiastic civilians, whose power of cohesion was limited, a contingent of marines and bluejackets, whose movements were known to their superiors, and a number of the privates and sergeants of a couple of regiments. Add to this the telegraphists who rendered services to the revolution by delaying, copying, and revealing the Government despatches, and you have the absurdly inadequate forces that sallied out against the Monarchy on that historic Monday night, lacking money, arms, ammunition, everything but audacity and assurance.

After the Republic was proclaimed, one of its chief organisers set the plans before me, and pointed out the ridiculously insufficient means they disposed of for carrying them out. "But it was sheer madness, I exclaimed, "and I am not surprised that Reis shot himself when the hopelessness of it all dawned upon him." "Well," he answered, "there is also a moral aspect to the matter. We had right on our side, and our adversaries felt it, and that gave us an enormous pull over them. Then we had an ideal to fight for, whereas they had no ideal, and not even an idea. By all the rules of tactics and strategy and numbers, we ought to have been "wiped out" in an hour or two. Yet we won. Why? Because there are also moral rules and moral standards, and there are cases when they alone are decisive. And this was one such case."

My friend was right. The Portuguese Revolution is a splendid example of the triumph of lofty aims and firm resolution over low motives and weak purpose.

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The Other Side of the Picture.

Dr. Dillon gives one side of the story; but, of course, there is another and quite a different side of it also. That is the monarchical side. It is also the priestly side. In Portugal, as in many other European countries, under Catholic influence, the King and the Pope are bound together by communities of secular and even *quasi* ethical interests. The Catholic clergy were the supporters of the old *regime* in Portugal, as they have been elsewhere. They have, politically, always worked on the side of the old, and against the new ideas and ideals. They do not like the Revolution. The leaders of the Revolution also do not like them. Already the Jesuits have been expelled from Lisbon and others of their class will not be permitted to undermine the new constitution by secret plotting among the populace. There are friends of these jesuits still in the country, and it is only natural that these should try to belittle, as far as possible, the worth and work of the authors of the present revolution. A writer in *the Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Francis MacCullogh, presents this reactionary side of the story. If Dr. Dillon writes with open sympathy and admiration for the new *regime*, this writer writes with utter distrust of it. He quotes, towards the close of his essay, from one Senhor Joao Chagas, whom he styles as a Republican leader, the following passages, and shows that it is too early to acclaim the success of the Revolution. The writer, whether a Republican or not, is clearly steeped in the priestly hatred of all free-thought. It is this that makes him so despondent of the future. But the world has found greater support in its march towards progress and freedom from Positivists and Comtists and others of their type than from the hidebound priesthood whose opinions, evidently, this so-called Republican leader, so deftly echoes. I give, however, his prognosis of the situation here for what it is worth :—

"Those who have corrupted the Monarchy will corrupt the Republic. Those who have debauched our troops will continue to debauch them until they reduce us to a state of complete disorganisation. Now disorganisation is fatal to all love of work. And, unfortunately, it is only a love for hard work that will save us...Everything good will disappear from the minds of the people. With the fear of the King they will lose the fear of God. Love of country, love of their superiors will vanish. Aristocracy, religion, family life, will disappear. And can we afford to lose all this just now, we with all our moral, intellectual, and racial defects?

The disorganisation of Portuguese society was very great. Is that disorganisation now going to end?

We are told that the Republic will bring us order. But can we affirm that the present disorder is the result of the corruption that set in under the Monarchy? Is it not, rather, the work of the Positivists, the Comtists, of Theophile Braga and his friends?

Indiscipline, the peculiar possession of this semi-African race, which we call Potuguese, has many and deep roots. It existed under Absolutism; it existed under Constitutionalism,; and it will exist under the Republic.....Constitutionalism, with its formulae, incomprehensible to the great majority of the people, did not diminish that indiscipline; it augmented it. And the Republic, continuing the work of Constitutionalism, will make that indiscipline degenerate into anarchy.

(2) The British Labour Party.

The struggles in which this infant political party are just now engaged here, have a very wide humanitarian interest. The Labour-Movement in the British Isles is part of a general movement of the working classes all over the Western world for the improvement of the economic and political condition of those who form the real backbone of modern democracy everywhere. Modern Industrialism, which means the exploitation of the means of production by a limited body of capitalists, in their own special interest, has called this Labour-Problem into being; and unless this problem is solved speedily and satisfactorily, it will lead to the total collapse of what is called modern civilisation. Europe has been engaged in a perpetual class war for the last hundred years and more. Formerly the war was between the men of land and the men of money or capital. The development of trade that followed the discoveries of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, called into beings a new class of men, the trader and the merchant, owning no land as a class, and therefore really no political power or position, but possessing money; and there arose, consequently a struggle for the possession of political power and privileges, between the old landed aristocracy and the new monied-class. In England this struggle lasted till 1832, when the Reform Act enfranchised the latter and made them co-partners in the work of the State. Since then, however, new conditions

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were created. First the keen rivalry between these two political parties led to the need of each to try and secure some advantage over the other by the manipulation of the "votes." But the representatives of the monied-class, generally Liberals, found it hard to evenly fight with those of the landed-class, generally Tories, unless the franchise was expanded and the vote given to new classes of men. So one class after another had to be enfranchised but this democratisation of the State went on under the pressure of what may be called class-necessity. The Liberals and the Tories both helped it, not out of altruistic motives, but through sheer necessity of maintaining or strengthening their own position or interest. But in this world no one, whether individual or class, can pursue even their own private and selfish ends without unconsciously and unwillingly furthering the general, humanitarian end. So it happened that though both the Liberals and the Tories worked always for their own class-ends, they also called into being at the same time, new forces that have gradually commenced to gather themselves against those very privileges for saving or securing which they had originally been created. The enfranchised working man, at first given political power, so that he might support his employer, has now assumed an independent position and is working no longer for somebody else's hand, but for his own. This, in brief, is the inner history and psychology of the present Labour movement in world-politics and more particularly in Great Britain. And Mr. Barnes, the Chairman of the Independent Labour Party, in the House of Commons, has in a short article, in the current *Fortnightly Review*, placed the issues before the party which he represents, with admirable clearness and precision. The Parliamentary Labour Party, Mr. Barnes does not hesitate to admit, represents the interests of a "class." But what harm is there in its being a class-representative? Are not the traditional parties also representatives of class-interests? "When the franchise was based on possession of real estate, the laws were framed by landlords in the interest of landlordism; when the Reform Act of 1832 admitted money to power, money shared with landlordism the domination of the political world. Labour having now got political power, the Labour Party seeks to educate the working classes into following the example of their social betters."

And in further answer to those who object to the Labour Party because it represents a class movement, it says with Frederic Harrison that "the working class is the only class which is not a class; it is the nation, of which other classes are the special organs." Nor does the Labour Party admit that it voices a mere selfish movement. Anything which improves the general standard of comfort of the masses of the people must necessarily benefit the whole community, because such an improvement must carry with it improvement in education, morals, physical and industrial efficiency, and, in short, in everything which tends to lighten public burdens and increase collective wealth and well-being.

This principle of the welfare of the community being dependent upon the welfare of the masses of the people, has always, been clearly enough recognised by all parties but the traditional parties of the past have rendered it but lip service, and in the nature of things, cannot do otherwise. Those parties are run and controlled by the possessing classes whose pocket interests are opposed, or who think that their pocket interests are opposed to labour interests. Each class in the community always tends, when in power—whatever it may say to the contrary—to follow the line of its own interests; and while the political machine is run by Liberal and Tory capitalists and landlords, it will be run in the interests of capitalism and landlordism. The Labour Party is, therefore, an expression of the growing class-consciousness of the workers. It seeks to detach the workers from Liberalism and Toryism, into which they have been hopelessly divided, induce them to attend to their own business, and is so doing to make Parliament a fair reflex of the opinions and interests of the community.

The Chief Plank of the Labour Party.

"Right to work," says Mr. Barnes, "is the chief plank in the programme of the present Labour Party." The problem of unemployment is of special import to Labour because it perpetuates the dependent position of the labourer. While there are men seeking work, but not finding it, the employer of labour can always bring down wages. Owing to unemployment, "wages are depressed and conditions hardened by the competition for work at the factory gate." To relieve this pressure is the main objective of the Labour Party. And the Labour Party holds, that means must be found for giving adequate work to those who are willing to do it. And if such work cannot be found, the unemployed labourer must be provided with means of maintenance during the period of unemployment, means that should be free from the

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Poor Law, and free from degrading conditions.

"It demands work or honourable maintenance. It would apply the same principles to the industrial army as are now applied to the fighting services. When there is no fighting to be done, the men of these are maintained and trained for service when required by the nation. The Labour Party stands for the industrial army being treated on the same footing.

Or to put it in another way, it demands for men only the same treatment as is given to a beast of burden. When a man has a horse, he does not starve it when he has no work for it, but feeds it and strengthens it for the work which is in store. Labour demands that the unemployed man should be treated at least as well as the horse.

But no great statesmanship is needed to reduce the hours of labour on railways and public undertakings, or to distribute Governmental spending in such a way as to increase Governmental demand for labour in periods of industrial slackness. Much might be done in that direction but for the opposing interests of private shareholders in and out of Parliament. It is these opposing interests which really stand in the way, and not any inherent difficulty in the carrying out of such reforms. The Labour Party believes that these could be carried out without financial injury to anyone, inasmuch as they would increase the spending power of Labour, and, therefore, increase the economic efficiency of the nation. Labour's demand for work or maintenance stands unanswered and unanswerable. It will be put forward, with ever-increasing insistency and power until finally conceded. It is the central plank in the charter of the Labour Party.

(3) Of Indian Interest.

There are, practically, no articles of special Indian interest in the more important November Reviews. In the *Fortnightly*, Sir J. D. Rees, tries to review Mr. Chirol's articles in the *Times*, but Sir J. D. Rees knows little and understands less of Indian life and thought, despite his enormous conceit, and was not expected, therefore, to say anything fresh or illuminating on the theme he essays to discuss. Sir J. D. Rees tries to minimise the seriousness of the so-called unrest; and thinks that the *Times'* Correspondent "is inclined to overrate the general reaction against all that for which, not only British rule, but Western civilisation, stands"; but he is not surprised at this misconception, because no one who like the author of *Real India*, has not lived several years in close communication with the people can realise "how utterly remote from the masses are all the ways and words of the agitator brood." But the writer is however glad that the *Times'* Correspondent has exposed "the very shallow pretence that self-government on the Colonial pattern is a possible policy for India, and it is certain that the British army will never retain in power Brahmins and Babus in order that they may exclude British goods from participating in Indian commerce, and British subjects from taking part in Indian administration." The writer, with characteristic aptitude for making garbled quotations and fanciful statements, taking his texts out of their contexts, goes on to say what, in his opinion, the demand for self-government means as well as what the religious character of the Nationalist propaganda implies. He quotes (or misquotes) Babu Bipin Chandra Pal—"the ablest of our enemies," who is reported to have said that "if self-government is conceded his friends will refuse admittance to a British soul to India and will impose a prohibitive tariff on every inch of textile fabric from Manchester and every blade of a knife from Leeds." Your readers know in what connection and in what context Babu Bipin Chandra Pal said all this. It was in reply, I think, to Mr. Gokhale's plea for Colonial Self-government as against Swaraj, that this argument was used by Mr. Pal. And he pointed out that this was exactly what the British subjects were doing in Australia and South Africa. The Indian British subject has not the right of free entrance in the South African or the Australian Bitish Colonies; and Indian goods are excluded, and even British goods also, from participating in Colonial commerce. But all these things, Sir J. D. Rees very conveniently forgets. It is not necessary, however, to discuss these ancient falsehoods in any detail. I will simply quote a few of the most characterstic paragraphs from this article, and your reader will see from it in what venom this knighted Liberal dips his pen when discussing the men and movements of their country:

Then, turning to the general features of the unrest, the Indian reformers began by scoffing at their religion, in which they had really ceased to believe; but finding this bad policy, they have now decided to return to the ancient ways. It was a wise decision, and has strengthened their propaganda a hundredfold. No movement can succeed in India without the patronage and support of the Brahmins, and they who, as Bepin Chandra Pal admitted, now rule India under our close supervision, have become violently enamoured of a policy the success of which postulates the complete elimination of

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The Times correspondent sketches in a masterly manner the career of the notorious Tilak, the most bitter of our enemies, whose aggrandisement we ourselves so enormously assisted by an attitude of forbearance, which was on all sides attributed to fear, and as I write, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has congratulated "his friend, Mr. Banerji," on the opening of a new building for the Ripon College in Calcutta, an occurrence which can hardly be regarded as the apotheosis of appreciation of loyalty and friendship towards British rule in India. In democratic countries it is usual, and may possibly be necessary, for the Government to prefer the conciliation of enemies to the appreciation of friends, but such a policy is absolutely fatal in India, wherein even politicians of Sir Henry Cotton's stamp admit that the basis of society, whatever it ought to be in their judgment, is aristocratic. To quote from *New India*: "There is no more patrician *milieu* in the world than that which has for centuries flourished in India, and still is vigorous in spite of attacks upon it."

The spectacle of a Governor bespattering with praise a journalist who has spent his life in throwing mud at the British Government, produces in such an atmosphere as this feelings in which contempt, perplexity and stupefaction struggle for the mastery.

The great anti-partition of Bengal bubble was long since pricked and since its complete collapse in the Viceroy's Council last spring, hardly needed further attention, but the friend of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Babu Surendranath Banerji, was largely responsible for this fictitious and factitious agitation. Mr. Banerji combines the occupations of educator, editor, and agitator, and notwithstanding the Lieutenant-Governor's lead, it is probable that in the first capacity he has done most mischief. That is not to say that he has not been a considerable influence for bad as an editor, for, as *The Times* correspondent remarks, the champions of the freedom of the Press forget that in India there do not exist two parties, one of which to some extent corrects the extravagances and misstatements of the other, so that therein the debauching of the loyal by the disloyal continues unchecked. The Press Act with which our Government has at length and too late armed itself, is far less drastic than that which the native States, governed according to native ideas, enjoy and enforce, and its efficacy is impaired, if not destroyed, by the provision of an appeal to the courts.

In the course of these articles the deportation of Lajpat Rai is amply justified, though, in spite of his close communication with the anarchist and instigator of assassination, Krishnavarma, of the *Indian Sociologist*, efforts have been made in certain quarters to represent this individual as a victim of British tyranny. Indeed, I think he was compared by an ardent enthusiast in the House of Commons to the famous Nonconformist divine, Dr. Clifford!

The Indian Congress, though keenly dissected, comes out of the ordeal of examination by *The Times* correspondent less roughly handled than it was by M. Chailley. Nevertheless, the former agrees with the latter authority in thinking that it represents only one class, or rather a section thereof, the Western educated, middle, professional class, which consists mainly of lawyers, doctors, schoolmasters, and newspaper men; important and influential people, no doubt, but only an infinitesimal fraction of the population. The Congress, however, matters very little now, the motto of Surat, *risu solvuntur tabulae*, still fits the case and under the new constitution the activities of the protagonists will be transferred to the Council Chamber.

N. H. D.

PRAYAG OR ALLAHABAD

ALLAHABAD is situated at a distance of 514 miles from Calcutta and at an elevation of 328 feet above sea-level. Just before reaching it passengers from the Bengal side have to cross the Jumna by the Jumna Bridge, which is 3235 feet long. It was opened for traffic on August 15, 1865 and cost Rs. 44,46,300 to construct it.

Allahabad is the capital of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. According to the Census of 1901, it had a population of 1,72,032. From 1891 to 1901 there was a decrease of 1·8 per cent. in its population. There are in the U. P. four cities with a larger population than Allahabad, *viz.*, Lucknow, Benares, Cawnpore and Agra. In the Indian Empire in point of population Allahabad occupies the 14th place. As regards density of population among cities, Allahabad occupies the 26th place in the Indian Empire and the seventh in the U. P. It has 3,817 inhabitants to the square mile. Calcutta, with 42,390 residents to the square mile, is the most densely inhabited city in the Indian Empire, and Cawnpore, with 37,538 inhabitants to the square mile, is the most thickly populated city in the United Provinces. Of the inhabitants of Allahabad 91,762 are males and 80,270 are females. The following table shows the distribution by religion :—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Hindu	61,570	53,109	114,679

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	Males.	Females.	Total.
Jain	250	304	554
Musalman	26,101	24,173	50,274
Christian	1,981	2,326	4,307
Others	1,860	358	2,218

The principal language spoken is Hindi, with its Persianized form Urdu. A few thousand Bengalis speak Bengali. The number of those who speak Marathi, Gujarati or other vernaculars is much smaller.

Allahabad is the seat of the University which bears its name. Of educational institutions, the Muir Central College is the best equipped. The Allahabad Christian College comes next. From the national point of view the most important is the Kayastha Pathshala, founded by the late Munshi Kaliprasad Kulabhaskar of the Lucknow bar, with an endowment of property worth about 5 lakhs of Rupees. In spite of its princely endowment, however, which ought now to be worth perhaps seven lakhs of rupees, it continues to teach only up to the Intermediate-in-arts standard, to which it was raised so long ago as 1895. Perhaps no other richly endowed institution in India has shown such stagnation.

There is a law college, but no medical nor any technological institution or engineering college, in or near the capital of the U. P. There is a training college for teachers.

There are some good schools for boys. The Anglo-Bengali School is noteworthy as the outcome of Bengali enterprise.

Christian girls can receive education up to the Intermediate-in-arts standard, but schools for Hindu and Musalman girls are neither sufficient in number nor satisfactory as regards their equipment, though one or two of them bear high-sounding names.

There are some fine hostels in Allahabad, such as the Macdonnell Hindu Boarding House (raised mainly by public subscription), the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, the Musalman Boarding House, &c.

Besides the several College and School libraries, the one notable library in Allahabad is the Public Library, located in the picturesque Thornhill-Mayne Memorial Building, which is situated in Alfred Park. Though the number of books here is not very large, it contains a choice collection. As the library is situated in a very healthy and quiet spot, and as anybody can read any books there free, and as only a security deposit (returnable on cessation of membership) but no subscription is demanded from members for borrowing books it undoubtedly ought to be largely used, which unfortunately it is not at present.

From the national point of view, the Bharati Bhavan Library in the city, containing a fine collection of Sanskrit and Hindi books, is worthy of mention. It keeps a large number of newspapers on its table for the use of the public. The late Babu Brijmohan Lal left a handsome donation for its upkeep and its new building.

The Bengali community of Allahabad have a useful collection of Bengali books, periodicals and newspapers for their use in a hired house.

Allahabad has no museum, zoological garden or botanical garden, which are so useful as places of healthy recreation and education for the people and of research and study for the specialist.

The Pioneer is the best known (daily) newspaper published in Allahabad. It ably advocates Anglo-Indian interests and is opposed to Indian aspirations. *The Leader* (daily) is the only English newspaper published in Allahabad which is financed, edited and managed entirely by Indians. It is an ably edited exponent of Moderate Indian opinion.

Of Hindi newspapers, the *Abhyuday* is the best known and most widely circulated. There is no Urdu newspaper in the city of the same standing.

The Hindustan Review, one of the best monthlies in India, is published from Allahabad. *The Muslim Review* is an organ of Musalman opinion. Among vernacular monthlies, the Hindi *Saraswati* easily holds the first place. *The Adeeb* seeks to do for the Urdu-reading public what the *Saraswati* does for the lovers of Hindi. There is a Hindi ladies' magazine called "Stri-darpan" or The Woman's Mirror, which is edited and managed entirely by women.

Indian Thought is a scholarly quarterly review, edited by Drs. Thibaut and Ganganath Jha. As its name implies, it is devoted to the exposition of ancient Sanskrit wisdom and learning.

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There are several booksellers in Allahabad who also do publishing on a small scale. But the most noteworthy publishing house is the Indian Press, which publishes books in Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Urdu and English.

The Pioneer Press is perhaps the biggest printing establishment in Allahabad. But of purely Indian firms the Indian Press is by far the largest and best, and noted for its fine printing.

Among new religious sects the Arya Samaj has some activity in Allahabad. There is a *Satsang* of the Radhaswami sect. There are many mosques in Allahabad, but none of any note like those in the other Muhammadan cities of India. There are both Protestant and Roman Catholic Cathedrals.

There are a Musalman orphanage, a non-sectarian orphanage, and a home for the blind. There are some fine *dharmshalas*. One is quite close to the station. The Gokuldas Tajpal Dharmshala is near the Jumna Bridge. There are others in Daraganj and elsewhere.

There have been several prosecutions for sedition in Allahabad and a few papers have been proscribed. Nevertheless, Allahabad is not famous for its political activity.

It is not a manufacturing centre like Cawnpore or even Agra.

The name by which modern Allahabad was known in ancient Hindu writings and which is usually in use among present day Pandits and pilgrims is Prayag. It was so called because the God Brahma of the Hindu Trinity had performed many sacrifices (yags) here.

Prayag: Its etymological meaning.

Prayag bears the title of Tirtha-raj—the holiest of holy places. It acquired this title because, according to a legend, when all the holy shrines were placed on one scale of the balance and Prayag on the other, the former kicked the beam.

Why Prayag is called Tirtharaj.

The confluence of the Ganges and Jumna finds appreciative mention in the Rig-Veda—the earliest sacred record of the Aryan race. In the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the two great epics of the Hindus, Prayag has attained an established sanctity in the eyes of the saints and heroes whose deeds have been celebrated in those national encyclopedic chronicles.

Prayag Mentioned in the Rig-veda and other ancient works of Sanskrit literature.

Several of the Puranas—especially the Matsya and Padma Purana, speak eulogistically of the merits of a pilgrimage to Prayag.

The Prayag Mahatmya—"the greatness of Prayag"—a popular work which wholly dwells on the merits that the pilgrim gains by his pilgrimage to Prayag, is a portion of the Matsya Purana. It is in twelve chapters. Another and bigger work bearing the same name claims its origin to the Padma Purana. It is in one hundred chapters. But the genuineness of this latter compilation is doubted.

The Prayag Mahatmya.

The Prayag Mahatmya of the Matsya Purana on the other hand is accepted as authentic. It is the scriptural hand-book of the pious pilgrim to Prayag. It is his guide on the occasion of his visit to Prayag. If he can not read it himself in the original Sanskrit, it is read to him and explained in the vernacular by a professional Pandit who has daily audiences of groups of men and women who listen to his *Katha*—recitations with expositions—that he delivers from his platform. Most of the religious observances practised by the pilgrims have their authority in that book. And so long as the Prayag Mahatmya will hold sway over the Hindu pilgrims, Prayag will continue to be their Tirtha-raj.

The following from the Prayag Mahatmya is a favourite verse descriptive of the paraphernalia that attends that august sovereign of the holy shrines:—

सितासिते यव तरङ्ग चामरे
नद्यौ विभाते मुनि-भानुकन्यके।
नीलातपत्रं वट एव साक्षात्
स तीर्थराजो जयति प्रयागः॥

"Shines in his glory the King of shrines. Two noble born maids—Ganga and Jamuna—daughters of the ascetic Jahnu and of the Sun—wave their white and blue *chauris* (the woolly tail of the yak). The imperishable holy banyan tree serves as the azure coloured royal umbrella over Prayaga's head."

To understand this conceit of the Pauranik bard one has to bear in mind that in the winter and summer months the two streams are clearly distinguishable by their

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colours—the fair stream of the Ganges mingling with the blue waves of the Jamuna.

In some fine stanzas (Canto XIII, stanzas 54-57) of the Raghuvamsa, the poet Kalidasa dwells on this phenomenon.

The Chinese traveller Hiouen Tsang's narrative of his visit to Prayag in the 7th Century A. D.

The antiquity of the religious practises observed at Prayag enjoined in the Prayag Mahatmya has been testified to by a foreign chronicler of a different faith. The Buddhistic Chinese traveller Hiouen Tsang, who has left a record of his travels in India, visited Prayag in the middle of the seventh century of the Christian era. His observations confirm the fact of the existence of the Akshaya-Vata tree that was still standing and from the branches of which some pilgrims leaped down to die, it being the privilege of Prayag to impart impunity from the sin of suicide. The victims of self-slaughter cherished the belief that they would attain in their next mundane existence the object they desired at the time of their voluntary ending of their lives. The bathing at the confluence of the rivers and the alms-giving to Brahmans were noted by him, thirteen hundred years ago, as it is by the modern tourist.

The following extracts are taken from the Chinese traveller's account of Prayag as reproduced in the English translation by Samuel Beal in his "Buddhistic Records of the Western World":—

"The country is five thousand *li* in circuit and the capital which lies between two branches of the river is also 20 li. The grain products are very abundant and fruit trees grow in great luxuriance. The climate is warm and agreeable, the people are gentle and compliant in their disposition. They love learning and are very much given to heresy.*

There are several Deva temples. The number of heretics is very great. To the south-west of the capital in a *Champaka* grove is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka Raja. Although the foundations have sunk down yet the walls are more than 100 feet high. Here it was that Tathagata discomfited the heretics. By the side of it is a stupa containing hair and nail relics and also a place where he sat and walked.

In the city there is a Deva temple beautifully ornamented and celebrated for its numerous miracles. According to their records this place is a noted one for all living things to acquire religious merit. If in this temple a man gives a single farthing his merit is greater than if he gave a thousand gold pieces elsewhere. Again, if in this temple a person is able to contemn life so as to put an end to himself, then he is born to eternal happiness in heaven.

Before the hall of the temple is a great tree with spreading boughs and branches and casting a deep shadow. There was a body-eating demon here who depending on this custom (*viz.* of committing suicide) made his abode here. Accordingly on the left and right one sees heaps of bones. Hence when a person comes to this temple there is everything to pursuade him to despise his life and give it up; he is encouraged thereto both by the promptings of the heretics and also by the seductions of the (evil) spirit. From very early days till now this false custom has been practised.

Hiouen Tsang's account of Akshaya-vata tree.

To the east of the Capital between the confluences of the two rivers the ground is pleasant and upland. The whole is covered with a fine sand. From old time till now the king and noble families, whenever they had occasion to distribute their gifts or charity, ever came to this place and here gave away their goods. Hence it is called the great charity enclosure. At this time Siladitya Raja after the example of his ancestors distributes here in one day the accumulated wealth of five years. Having collected in this space of the charity enclosure immense piles of wealth and jewels, on the first day he adorns in a very sumptuous way a statue of Buddha and then offers to it the most costly jewels. Afterwards he offers his charity to the residency priests, afterwards to the priests from a distance who are present; afterwards to the men of distinguished talents. Afterwards to the heretics who live on the place, following the way of the world; and lastly to the widows and bereaved orphans and desolate poor mendicants. * * * * *

Harsha-Vardhana's charities at Prayag.

To the east of the enclosure of the charity at the confluence of the two rivers, every day there are many hundreds of men who bathe themselves and die. The people of the country consider that whoever wishes to be born in heaven ought to fast to a grain of rice and then drown himself in the waters. For bathing in this water, they say, all the pollution of sin is washed away and destroyed; therefore from various quarters and distant regions people come together, and rest. During seven days they abstain from food and afterwards end their lives. And even the monkeys and mountain stags assemble here in the neighbourhood of the river and some of them bathe and depart, others fast and die."

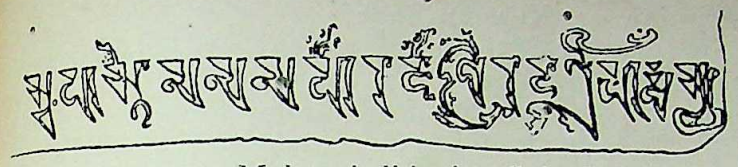
Mr. Vincent Smith in his "Early History of India" thus summarises the Chinese traveller's account of Harsha's charities:—

After the close of the proceedings at Kanauj, Harsha invited his Chinese guest to accompany him to Prayaga (Allahabad), at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, to witness another imposing ceremonial. The Master of the Law, although anxious to start on his toilsome homeward journey, could not refuse the invitation and accompanied his royal host to the scene of the intended display. Harsha explained that it has been his practice for thirty years past, in accordance with the custom of his ancestors, to hold a great quinquennial assembly on the sands where the rivers meet, and there to distribute his accumulated treasures to the poor and needy, as well as to the religious of all

* From the point of view of a Buddhist, Brahminism is 'heresy'. It was the prevalent religion of the people when the Buddhistic Chinese traveller visited India.

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Svahasto mama Maharajadhiraja Sri Harshasya.

AUTOGRAPH OF KING HARSHA.

denominations. The present occasion (644 A. D.) was the 6th of the series, which evidently had not been begun until Harsha had consolidated his power in the north.

The assembly was attended by all the vassal kings and a vast concourse of humbler folk estimated to number half a million, including poor, orphans, and destitute persons, besides especially invited Brahmans and ascetics of every sect from all parts of northern India. The proceedings lasted for seventy-five days terminating apparently about the end of April, and was opened by an imposing procession of all the Rajas with their retinues. The religious services were of the curiously eclectic kind, characteristic of the times. On the first day, an image of Buddha was set up in one of the temporary thatched buildings upon the sands, and vast quantities of costly clothing and other articles of value were distributed. On the second and third days respectively, the images of the Sun and Siva were similarly honoured, but the accompanying distribution in each case was only half the amount of that consecrated to Buddha. The fourth day was devoted to the bestowal of gifts on ten thousand selected religious persons of the Buddhist order, who each received one hundred gold coins, a pearl and a cotton garment, besides choice food, drink, flowers, and perfumes. During the next following twenty days, the great multitude of Brahman were the recepients of the royal bounty. They were succeeded by the people whom the Chinese author calls 'heretics,' that is to say, Jains and members of sundry sects who received gifts for the space of ten days. A like period was allotted for the bestowal of alms upon mendicants from distant regions; and a month was occupied in the distribution of charitable aid to poor, orphaned, and destitute persons.

'By this time the accumulation of five years was exhausted. Except the horses, elephants, and military accoutrements, which were necessary for maintaining order and protecting the royal estate, nothing remained. Besides these, the King freely gave away his gems and goods, his clothing and necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets, chaplets, neck-jewel, and bright head-jewel, all these he freely gave without stint. All being given away, he begged from his sister (Rajyasri) an ordinary second-hand garment, and having put it on, he paid worship to the "Buddhas of the ten regions," and rejoiced that his treasure had been bestowed in the field of religious merit.'

The strange assembly, which in general appearance must have much resembled the crowded fair still held annually on the same ground, then broke up; and, after a further detention of ten days Hiouen Tsang was permitted to depart.

From this independent account of Prayag given by a foreign traveller of note, the accuracy of whose statements has been verified in other instances, particularly in the matter of excavations, carried on by the archæological department, whereby the discoveries of Buddhistic remains have been proved to be due to the correct description by the Chinese traveller of what he had seen, it will be seen that Prayag has held sway over the Hindus from very old times. Buddha had preached at Prayag in the 6th century B. C. and his great royal devotee,

Buddha preaches at Prayag.

the Emperor Asoka, had visited Prayag in the third century before Christ, and raised *stupas* and held assemblies of learned men, for spreading the religion to which he had been converted. Prayag's repute as a Tirtha must have been great to have deserved a

Asoka raised stupas at Prayag.

visit and stay of those historical personages.

Though there have been many political changes in the country during these many centuries the administration passing from the hands of Kshattriya rulers of Vedic and Buddhistic persuations into those of the Mohamedan faith, first of the Pathans and then of the Moguls and from those into the East India Company of English merchants and from them to the direct Government of the English Crown, the spiritual sway of the Hindu scriptures as affecting their religious rites and pilgrimages continue uninterrupted in Prayag. The bathing goes on as before at the confluence of the rivers, the charity to the priests continues and though the open committal of self-destruction is not permitted, the authorities cannot prevent religious zealots from carrying out their vow in secrecy. And one hears occasional instances of self-drowning in the confluence of the Triveni.

Triveni is the name given to the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Jumna.

Triveni—its etymological meaning.

It literally means the three-braided or the three-streamed. Its two braids are visible in the streams of the Ganges and the Jumna but there has been the tradition of a third river Saraswati meeting there. No one can say when it flowed there and when it disappeared. From the ancient Rig-Veda to the mediæval Raghuvansa of Kalidas the playing of Ganga and Yamuna in mutual embraces

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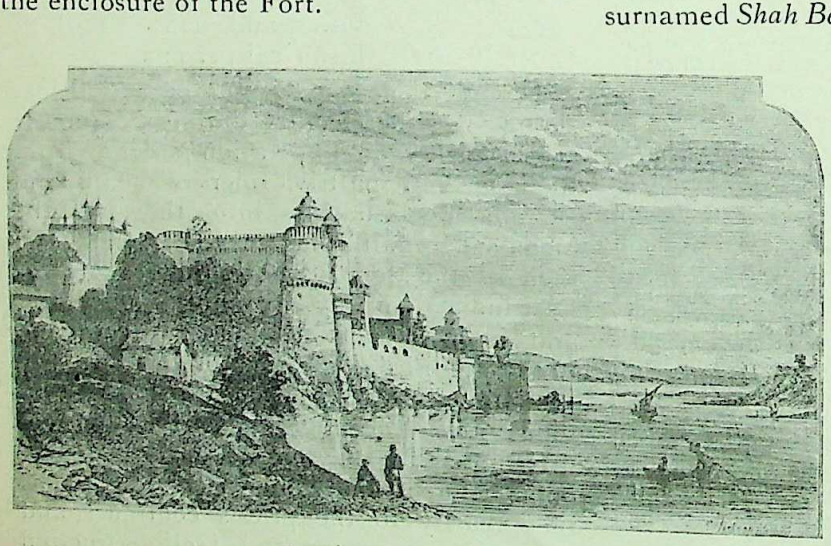
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has been the theme of the poet's description of Prayag. And Saraswati plays its part in the imagination of the believer and the name Triveni has helped the fiction to last for ever.

Prayag named Allahabad by Akbar.

The modern name of Allahabad was given to Prayag by Akbar the Mogul Emperor—who built the fort that stands near the confluence of the two rivers. The date of the construction is 1584 A.C. The strategic site on which the fort is built must have struck the military genius of the Mogul emperor and he carried out his plans and construction without creating any religious furore among the Hindus by the desecration of their Tirtharaj and the stoppage of the self-slaughter owing to the Akshaya-Vata coming within the enclosure of the Fort.

Allahabad Fort built by Akbar.



FORT OF ALLAHABAD,
From Hodge's Select Views in India.

The non-official alias of Prayag was at first Ilahabas—half Arabic and half Sanskrit—meaning the Abode of God. Subsequently Ilahabas was changed into Allahabad. Allahabad became one of the many Subas into which the Empire was divided by Akbar for administrative purposes. The Suba of Allahabad comprised the eastern districts as far as Behar. On the south of the Jumna the Suba extended as far as Kalinjar, on the west up to Kara Manikpur.

Allahabad made a Suba.

The area of the new Suba was larger than the present Allahabad Division.

Khasrau Bagh is of later date than the fort. Here there are three mausoleums. In the westernmost of these there is a vertical slab north of the head of the stone representation of a coffin, containing the following quatrain, with a fifth line giving the author's name :

Chun charkh-i-falak ze gardish-i-khud áshuft
Dar zer-i-zamin áina ba nihuft
Tàrikh-i-wafàt-i-sháh Begum justam
Az ghaib malak "Bakhuld shud Begam" guft.
Likàtiba Abdullah Mishkin qalam Jahángir Sháhi.

TRANSLATION OF EPITAPH IN KHASRAU-BAGH.

1. When the circle of the sky became perturbed at its own revolutions,
2. It hid the mirror (=the Sun) under the ground.
3. I sought the date of the death of Shah Begam,
4. And an angel spoke from the invisible world,

'The Begam has entered Paradise.'

[The numerical value of the italicised words is the date]

It is the tomb of Jahangir's first wife, surnamed *Shah Begam*, who was the daughter of Bhagwan Das and grand-daughter of Rajah Behari Mal of Jaipur. Married in 1584, she gave birth to Khusrau in 1587. In 1603 she committed suicide by taking opium in disgust at the quarrels between her husband and son. She died at Allahabad, where Jahangir was then living, and was buried in Khusraubagh. The numerical value of the letters in *Bakhuld shud Begam* (the Begam entered Paradise) is 1012, which year of the Hijera era corresponds to 1603 A.D. The scribe of the epitaph was Abdullah surnamed *Mishkin qalam* (Musk-pen) of the Court of Jahangir.

About two hundred years after the construction of the fort by Akbar it was garrisoned by English troops of the East India Company in 1765. About a hundred years later, the Queen's Proclamation was read on the outer parapet of the Allahabad Fort by Lord Canning, the first Viceroy of India, in assumption of the

Allahabad Fort first garrisoned by English troops in 1765.

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Queen Victoria's Proclamation read on the 1st November 1858 at Allahabad.

administration of the country under the direct control of Her Majesty's Government.

Legend of Mukund Brahmachari.

The Hindus have a curious legend in connection with the building of the Allahabad Fort by Akbar. A holy anchorite of the name of Mukund Brahmachari lived in Prayag long before Akbar built his fort there. The site of Mukund Brahmachari's abode is said to be on the south bank of the Jumna opposite the Fort. Till a few years ago an old dilapidated mosque used to be pointed out as standing on the very site, locally known as Mukund Brahmachari's *tilla* (mound).

That holy man lived on milk. It chanced one day that he drank it without straining it. The usual practice among Hindus is to strain the milk before it is used for drinking so that no hair of the cow be partaken with the milk. As fate would have it, he swallowed a cow's hair along with the milk. As beef is a prohibited food to the Hindus, so too is the hair of that animal. Mukund thought that he had committed a great sin and wished to expiate it by putting an end to his life. Suicide is a heinous sin according to the Hindu Shastras; but it is permitted at Prayag. He thought that his body had been defiled and he had become a *Mlechcha*. If that is so, thought he, why not become a Musalman Emperor in my next mundane incarnation. And with this wish in his heart he put an end to his life.

If the following Sanskrit verse which has had a local currency for generations be accepted as reliable, therein is the year noted and the manner of Mukund's death.

The sloka runs thus :—

वसु रन्ध्र वाण चन्द्रे तीर्थराजे प्रयागे
तपसि वहल पक्षे द्वादशी पूर्वयामे ।
नख शिख तनु होमे सर्व भूमाधिपत्यै
सकल दुरितहारी ब्रह्मचारी मुकुन्दः ॥

The year is 1508 evidently of the Samvat era, which is universally in vogue in this part of the country. It answers to 1451 of the Christian era. It was not in water but in fire that Mukund Brahmachari put an end to himself. The legend goes on to narrate that Mukund Brahmachari was reborn in the person of Akbar the Great who firmly established the mighty Mogul Empire in India.

It is also stated that Akbar's intimate favourite courtier, Birbal, in his previous incarnation was an old faithful attendant of Mukund Brahmachari. He had followed his master unto death and was reborn with him to share his royal master's fortune. But as he had not eaten the cow's hair he retained his Hindu caste. But that did not hinder his rise to eminence in the Mogul Emperor's Court, where Hindus had equal opportunities with Musalmans to imperial favour. It was this departure from the previous Mohamedan policy by Akbar that made him the idol of his Hindu subjects, who attributed his kind treatment of them to his knowledge of his racial relationship with them in his past incarnation.



AKBAR DRESSED AS A YOGI.

The legend continues that Akbar remembered the old spot of his former ascetic practices and to prevent others reaping similar fruit by their self-sacrifice at the Triveni he built the fort there enclosing the Akshaya-vata and the Kamya-kup

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('the desire fulfilling well' in which people threw themselves from the tree) within the walls of the Fort.

That Birbal, his constant associate, used to be a visitor to Prayag is borne out by an inscription on the Asoka pillar which is as follows:

"Samvat 1632 Sáke 1493 Margavadi Panchami Somvára, Gangadas Suta Maharáj Birbar Sri Tirtha Raj Prayág Ke Yátra Saphal Likhitam." *i.e.* "In the Samvat year 1632 in Marga, the fifth day of the waning moon on Monday, Ganga Dása's son Maharaj Birbar made the auspicious pilgrimage to Tirtha-raj Prayag. Saphal scripsit."

The samvat year 1632 in which Mukand died is equivalent to 1575 A.C.

One may not accept the legend as regards the motive attributed to Akbar for his demolition of the Akshaya-Vata lest other people might derive similar benefits to what he had attained by his own self-sacrifice but we may give credit to the Mogul Emperor that by building the Fort at the Triveni he indirectly put down the horrifying practice of self-sacrifice that was current under the sanction of religion at Prayag. Akbar discontinued the practice of Suttee—the burning of widows on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands. May it not be that he had an eye on the stoppage of the inhuman custom that prevailed at Prayag when he constructed the Fort there? The method he adopted to put an end to it was that of a consummate statesman. For the building of the Fort was an administrative measure, as the site was strategic. Who could take exception to such an Imperial measure? The disappearance of the Akshaya-Vata and the Kamya-Kup was effected without causing that religious excitement such as the fanatical demolition of Hindu temples by his great-grandson Aurangzib had done.

Suppression of self-sacrifice of Akshaya Vata followed the building of the Fort.

The religious observances of the pilgrim. The principal shrines which they visit in Prayag.

The following Sanskrit verse from the Prayag Mahatmya enumerates the chief places which the pilgrims are enjoined to visit.

त्रिवेणीं माधवं सोमं भरद्वाजञ्च वासुकिम्।
वन्दे ऽक्षयवटं शेषं प्रयागे तीर्थनायकम्॥

First in the list is the Triveni, the three-braided confluent stream. The two braids Ganga and Yamuna are visible. The third braid of Saraswati the Hindu pilgrim sees with the eye of his faith.

The pilgrim comes to Prayag to wash away his sins by bathing at the confluence of the rivers. But before he performs his ablutions he has to go through some purificatory rites.

The shaving of his head is the first act of the pilgrim. The Prayag Mahatmya says that the pilgrim enjoys celestial bliss for as many years as the number of his shaved hair. This accounts for the very large number of barbers, that ply their trade there. These barbers have to pay a tax of rupees four each for the license of shaving. The Mela authorities earn an income of many thousand rupees in some grand Mela year from this source alone.

Shaving, a religious observance of the pilgrims.

Male pilgrims shave their heads and faces clean. Female pilgrims offer only one lock of hair. But elderly widows get their heads shaved. The pilgrim is required to take a preliminary bath in the river and has to undergo the shaving in his wet clothing.

The shaving finished the pilgrim now repeats his bathing. His ablution has to be assisted by his priest. It is the privilege of the Prayagwal to perform this priestly function of leading the pilgrims through all the religious ceremonies from beginning to end. Of course he does it for a consideration. But his charges are not in the nature of wages for work done. The payment by the pilgrim partakes of the character of a religious gift The amount varies according to the pilgrim's means.

Bathing at the Triveni.

There is a good deal of haggling between the two at each performance of the many ceremonies at which the Panda has to assist. The Panda begins with the *Sankalpa* —a sort of religious resolution on the part of the pilgrim which he repeats just before bathing. Here is the *Sankalpa* in the original.

Sankalpa.

ओं विष्णुः विष्णुः विष्णुः नमः परमात्मने श्रीपुराण-पुरुषोत्तमाय इहैं अध-विष्णु-प्रजापतिचेत्रे जम्बूद्वीपे भरतखण्डे आर्य्यावर्त्तान्तर्गतं श्रीप्रयागचेत्रे श्रीश्वेत-वाराह-कल्पे वैवस्वतमन्वन्तरे अष्टविंशतितमे कलियुगे कालि प्रथमचरणे वौद्धावतारे असुकी श्रीविक्रमशकी असुकी मासे असुके पचे असुक तिथौ असुक वासरे असुक गोत्रोऽहं

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कायिक वाचिक मानसिक सकल पाप परिहारार्थं त्रिवेणीस्नानमहं करिष्ये ॥

The purport of the above is as follows: Salutation to Vishnu—the ancient and Greatest Primeval Being. I, so and so (here the pilgrim repeats his name and *Gotra*—the name of the Rishi to whose clan he traces his remote ancestry), perform my bathing ceremony at the confluence of the Ganga and Jumna, on this day of the bright fortnight of the month of—of the year —Samvat era of the cycle of the incarnation of Buddha of the Kaliyuga****.

As most of the pilgrims and Pandas are equally ignorant of the dead classical Sanskrit language in which the *Sankalpa* is read neither the recitation is correctly done by the priest nor the repetition by the pilgrim. The latter however has his firm faith in the religiousness of the rite and realises that he has earned the merit of his ablutions. He makes his first small gift to the Pragwal when he offers his flowers and milk and cocoanut fruit (if available—if not, its price in copper). The first two are poured unto the sacred stream. The fruit and the money go to the Panda. The pilgrim is also required to make a gift of a cow to his priest.

But as every pilgrim cannot afford to give a cow, he goes through the ceremony nominally. A cow is brought, the pilgrim touches the tail of the animal and a *Sankalpa* is recited by the Panda and the gift of the cow is thereby completed. A nominal price of the cow even so low as a few annas—is paid to the cowman who gets a small share of the nominal price, the remainder going to the Panda.

Gift of a cow by the pilgrim to his Panda.

A rich pilgrim will not only give a cow but a horse also or even an elephant, with all the saddle and Howda as an accompaniment of such gift of the animals.

Then comes the Pinda ceremony. This is the offering of cakes of rice or flour to his deceased ancestors. This is followed by the feeding of Brahmans.

Offering of Pinda.

The visiting of the principal sacred places is also a part of the pilgrim's duties. A list of these places have already been given in a Sanskrit quotation.

After Triveni comes Madhava. There is a temple of Madhava or Vishnu called Adi-Madhava on the south bank of the Jumna opposite the confluence. There is also a temple of Madhava in Daraganj. The pilgrims visit both the temples.

Temples of Madhava.

The third in the list is Someswara Mahadeva. The temple is situated on the south bank of the Ganges at a short distance east of Adi-Madhava. The temple of Bharadwaja is the next in order. It is situated in the quarter now called Colonelganj in the Katra Ward of the Municipality. The temple is named after the *Muni* whose generous hospitality Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, with his brother and wife, enjoyed when they halted at Prayag in their way to Chitrakut. Rama's brother—Bharata the prince-regent of Ayodhya—was also lavishly entertained by the *Muni* when he travelled with a large retinue through Prayag to meet his brother at Chitrakut with a view to bring the exiled prince back.

Temple of Someswar.

The *Muni* Bharadwaja was a *Kulapati*. A *Kulapati* of old was one who provided education to ten thousand Munis and gave them free board and lodgings. It would follow that the grounds around Bharadwaja's abode were the seat of a Local University at Prayag. What a coincidence that after so many centuries the neighbourhood of Bharadwaja Muni's temple has become the seat of the University of Allahabad and of the Premier Government College of the Province and of the Boarding Houses and Hostels of hundreds of residential students. The Spirit of Learning, an Indian poet may well sing, did not like to abandon her old haunts and has come back again.

The temple of Vasuki is the next in order. It is situated on the northern end of Daraganj. It is perhaps the only temple in India exclusively dedicated to the worship of the Snake god, Vasuki. Its position is so picturesque with broad bed of the Ganges surrounding three sides of it. A bathing-ghat was built nearly a century ago by a rich Khattri citizen. It has been damaged by the current of the Ganges. The heirs and representatives of Jhandimal, now residents of Cawnpore, have not shown any zeal to preserve their ancestral public work. The

Temple of Vasuki.

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Ghat is worth preserving as it is the only Pucca Ghat on the Ganges at Prayag. An annual Mela is held on the Nag Panchami in the rainy season. The citizens of Allahabad would be wanting in public spirit if they allowed that public Ghat to be totally wrecked and gone.

The Akshaya-Vata.

The Akshaya-Vata, though the seventh in the sloka quoted before, has been most prominently associated with Prayag from past ages. Its existence has been noted in more than one standard ancient work of Sanskrit literature. It is mentioned in the Ramayana as also in some poems and dramas of a later period. The Chinese traveller Hiouen Tsang who visited India in the middle of the seventh country A. C. mentioned it in his narrative of his travels. His account of it has already been quoted.

The construction of the Allahabad Fort by Akbar doomed it. But the unperishable tree—for this is what its Sanskrit name implies—still holds its own ground. Inside the fort in an underground building, pilgrims are shown its relics—an old stump or even a green branch is exhibited and passed by the Gossains in charge of the shrine as the relics of the old Akshaya-Vata. Though this be a fraud on the credulous pilgrims yet the site of Akshaya-Vata is genuine somewhere near the Patalpuri and the faith of the pilgrim helps him to conjure up the old tree in his imagination and venerate the spot.

Numberless human beings in past ages ended their lives by flinging themselves from that tree down below in the hope of acquiring what they wished for at the moment of death. To Akbar ought to be given the credit of putting a stop to the abuse of a Shastric permission of self-sacrifice which is applicable under every exceptional circumstances.

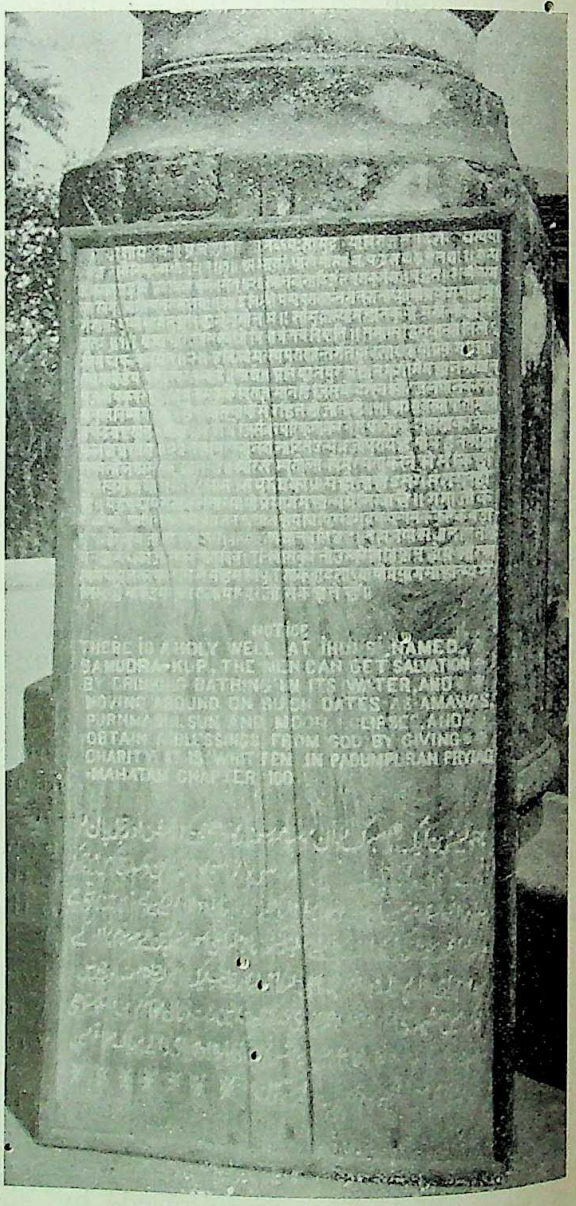
The temple of *Sesha*.

The *Sesha* is the Sesha-nag whose old temple stands in a village about three miles to the east of the Triveni on the northern bank of the Ganges. Its modern name is Chhatnaga—evidently a corruption of the Sanskrit word Sesha-naga.

These are the leading shrines noted in the Sanskrit verse that has been quoted from the Prayag Mahatmya.

There are also some minor ones mentioned in that book to which pilgrims pay their visit. The Samudrakup is a large well situated on the hillock on the other side of the Ganges opposite the fort. A fanciful tradition was current locally many years ago that the well was connected with the sea by a subterraneous spring. This belief was perhaps due to the name Samudrakup.

Samudra-kup.

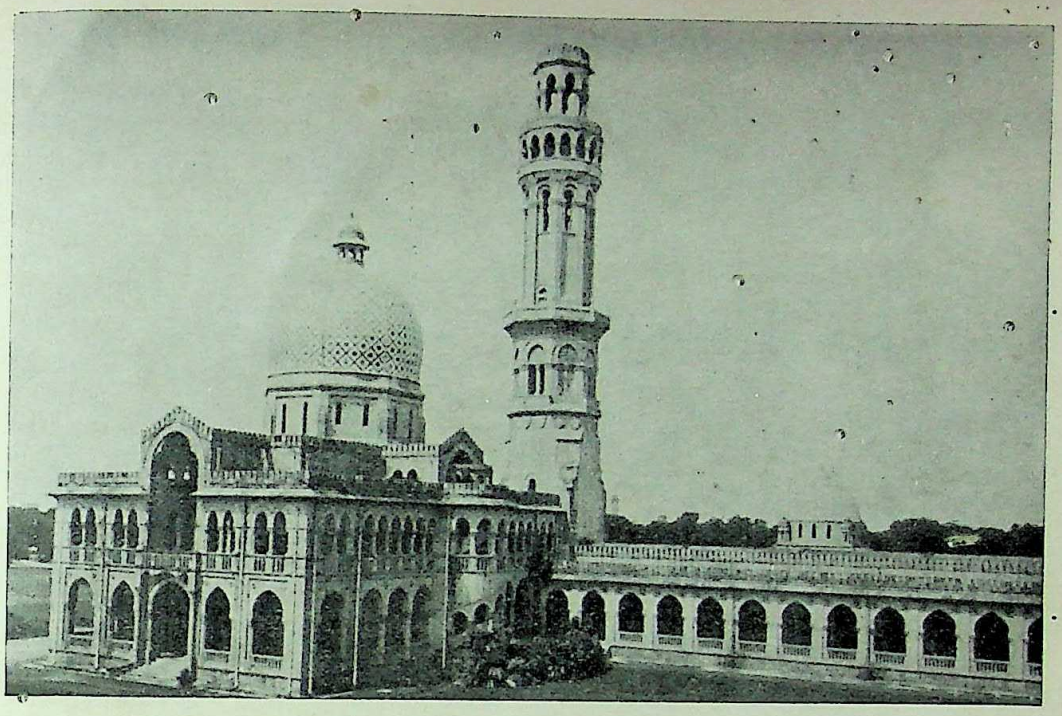


Samudra Kup Inscription.

Some forty years ago the well was filled with earth almost to the top. All enlightened and public spirited Sadhu came from Ajodhya and settled on the hillock. Baba

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MUIR CENTRAL COLLEGE, ALLAHABAD.

Sudarson Das—for that was his name—caused the re-excavation of the well. At first he was dissuaded by the local Pandas who said that the sea would drown the whole country by its rush of waters by the opening of the spring that connected the well with the ocean. But their story had no effect on Baba Sudarson Das. He went on with the digging for about a hundred feet deep when the water was reached. He also repaired the upper parapet and the restoration of the old shrine was made complete by the bold public spirit of that Vaishnava ascetic.

The Samudrakup very likely is a well named after Samudra Gupta, the mighty monarch who ruled over a large tract of country extending from middle Hindusthan as far as the Eastern and Southern India. Mr. Vincent Smith in his history of ancient India calls him the Napoleon of India. He lived in the third century of the Christian era. He was the first of the Gupta kings and the founder of the Gupta era. His capital was Kausambi.

Samudra Kup—named after Samudra Gupta, King of Kausambi.

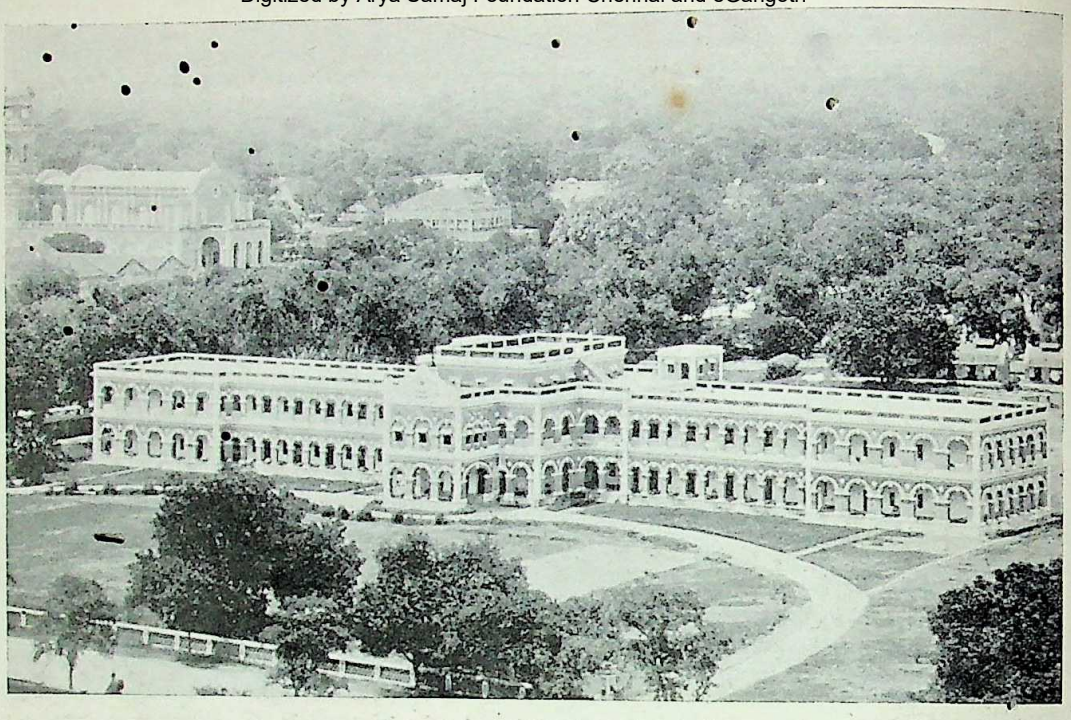
The village Kosam on the Jumna about 30 miles from Allahabad is all that is left of the once glorious Kausambi. It was this Samudra Gupta after whom the well situated on the hillock is named. Its *pucca* masonry structure has defied the ravages of ages. The hillock was an outpost citadel of Kausambi. Old brick foundations are still unearthed and all the brick houses of the neighbourhood are built of old bricks dug out from the mound. The *Pandas*, ignorant of history, invented the fanciful etymology of Samudrakup by its mythical connections with Samudra which is the Sanskrit word for the English word sea.

The name Samudrakup occurs in Prayag-Mahatmya. This is suggestive of either the modernness of the Purana or that the Prayag-Mahatmya is an interpolation. The critical Hindu finds himself in an uncomfortable situation. The Puranas are fathered on Vyasa who lived long before Samudra Gupta. If then the Matsya Purana is ancient then the Prayag-Mahatmya is an interpolation. In any case the Samudrakup is a very old well if we accept the derivation of its name as given above connecting it with the famous monarch who ruled over the kingdom of Kausambi near Prayag.

Down below the hillock on which the Samudrakup stands is a tomb of Mohamedan

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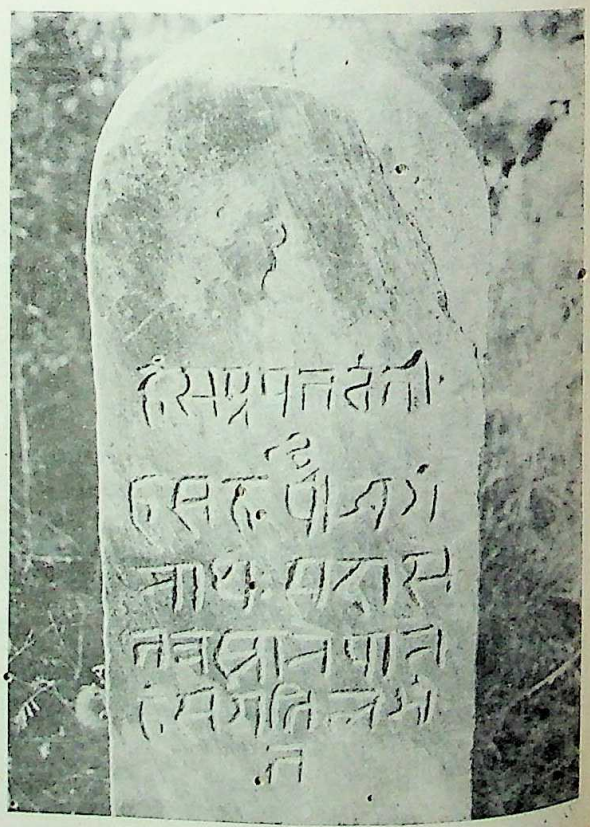
MACDONNELL HINDU BOARDING HOUSE WITH THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL IN THE BACKGROUND.

Tomb of a Mohamedan Fakir.

saint. Tradition says that this saint was a contemporary of Kabir, the founder of the wellknown sect of Kavir Panthis. Kabir is said to have been persecuted by this Musalman Fakir who incited the Pathan ruler of Jaunpore to kill Kabir. But the Governor of Jaunpore was at heart a believer in Kabir Saheb. At first he took measures against Kabir half-heartedly. But afraid of being reproached for disobedience of the Fakir's wishes and of being called a *Kafir* by the Shaikh he ordered Kabir to be thrown into the river bound hand and foot. Kabir miraculously escaped. He was then cast into a burning fire and was trodden down by an elephant but Kabir suffered no injury. The glorification of *Kabir* is chronicled in a Hindi metered tract composed by some admirer of Kabir. A Mela of low class people—Hindus and Mohamedans—is held every year at the tomb.

Another minor Hindu shrine is the *Hansa Tirtha*. It is at a short distance north of the Samudrakup hillock. A dilapidated well still marks old Hansa-tirtha. About forty years ago a Kshattriya Zemindar of the Bhagalpur district in Behar settled close by this well and erected a garden-house and gave it the name of Hansa-tirtha. The old

Hansa-tirtha.



HANSA KUP INSCRIPTION.

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KHUSRU BAGH.

neglected well is now ignored and the new nice-looking tirtha set up by Hansa Thakurprasad passes as the Hansa-tirtha. The restoration of the well ought to be the service of some pious Hindu.

In connection with these shrines of Prayag on the east side of the Ganges, a brief account may be given of the village that now goes by the name of Jhusi.

The Prayag-Mahatmya defines Prayag proper as lying between the Akshaya-vat on its west side, the Pratishthanpuri on the east side and the Alarka-puri in the south. The triangular ground is the holy of holies. Pratishthan is Jhusi situated alongside the Ganges opposite the Allahabad Fort, Akbar's bund and Daraganj. And *Alarka* is the modern *Arail*—the village on the south side of the Jumna and Ganges, opposite to Fort.

Pratishthan is mentioned in some of the oldest works of Sanskrit literature. It was the capital of the kings of the lunar race. King Pururavas resided there. He was the ancestor of the heroes of the Mahabharata. The great poet Kalidas lays the scene of his play Vikramorvasi in Pratishthan. How long Pratishthan continued to flourish as a capital of ruling kings one cannot say. In later time we find Prayag growing into importance and Pratishthan receding into obscurity till the very name is now all but forgotten and the village Jhusi is all that remains of Pratishthan. Prayag on the other hand developes into Allahabad thanks to its strategic position between the two rivers. It has from the time of Akbar gained in political importance and has not lost its religious value. There is a curious legend about the name of Jhusi. A Hindu King of the name of Harbong was notoriously imbecile and foolish. In his reign good, bad and indifferent were lumped up together. He had not the capacity to exercise discrimination in assigning worth its proper place. There was no justice nor law in his kingdom.

Pratishthan an ancient Capital of the Lunar kings

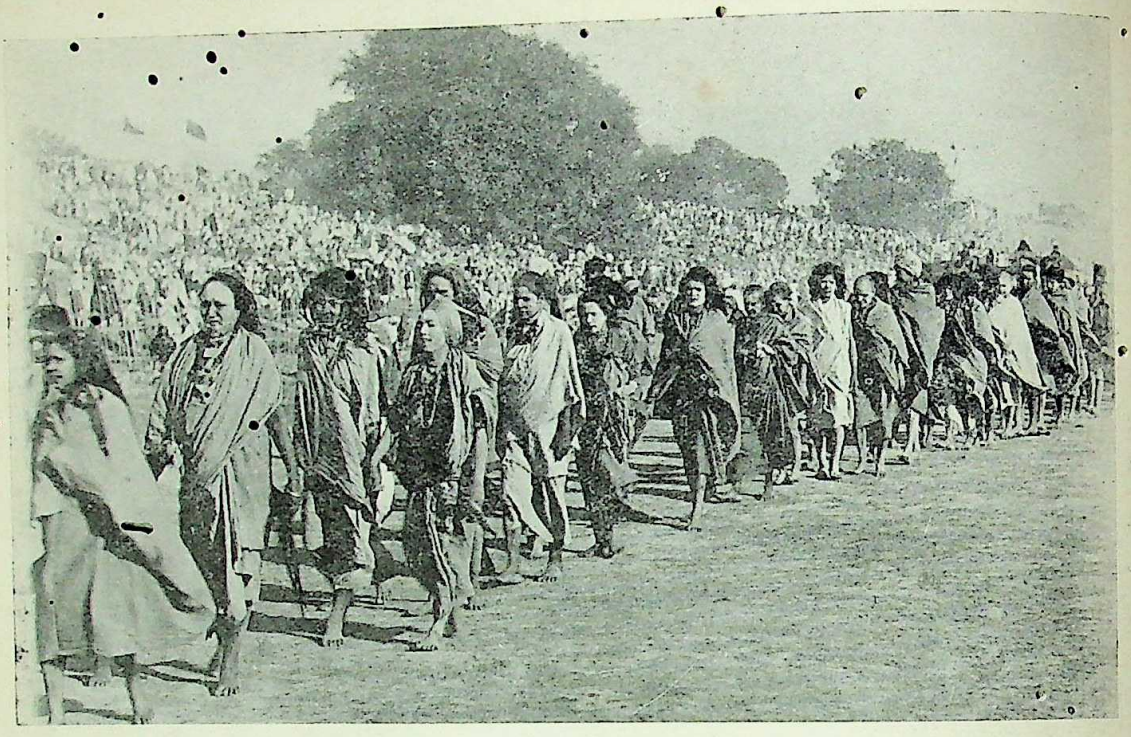
अन्धेर नगरी चौपट राजा।
टकासेर भाजी टकासेर खाजा॥

is the proverb that still survives in the folklore of the district commemorative of the character of Harbong Raj.

It is said that when the cup of his inequity was full there was an upheaval of the earth and the capital Pratishthan was turned upside down. There was conflagration which completed the destruction of

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PROCESSION AT KUMBHA MELA OF BHAIRABIS, AN ORDER OF FEMALE ASCETICS.

the city and the ruins went by the name of *Jhunsi i.e.*, burnt, from the Hindi root *Jhansna* to be burnt.

A political cataclysm must have overwhelmed Pratishthanpuri. There are traditions of the scattering of Brahman and Kshattriya clans abandoning their homes in Jhunsi and emigrating to distant places. There are Joshi families in Almora who point their old home in *Jhunsi*. The Benabansi Kshattriya of the Rewa State also remember that they migrated from Jhunsi to the jungles south of the Jumna and wrested the tract from the originals—to be vanquished later on by the Boghals whose suzereignty they had to accept.

Whether these emigrations took place owing to the conquest of the district by the Pathan Lodis of Jaunpore or before that time is not clear. *Jhunsi* at present is locally distinguished as old Jhunsi and new Jhunsi. A good percentage of the present population of old Jhunsi is Mahomedan. The majority of the population of new Jhunsi is Hindu. A very wealthy Agarwal banker has a Dharmsala and Sadavrata (alms house) for lodging and feeding poor travellers. A number of religious mendicants reside in *Jhunsi*, depending on the charities of the well-to-do of the place.

On the south of the tomb of the Mahomedan *Fakir* in old Jhunsi is *Akelà per.* It is an unique tree with an enormous girth. Fanny Parkes in her "Wanderings of a Pilgrim" written some 80 years ago, describes a huge tree stood at Phapamau in the vicinity of the *Sikote* temple. She writes that the tree grows in Africa and is called there Boabab. The botanic name is Adamsonia digitali. The falling down of that tree owing to its old age is recorded by Fanny Parkes. It was similar to the *Akelá per.* This too is an ancient tree. Many years ago a learned Brahmachari built a house and established a *Pathsala* close by the *Akelá per.* It is now tenanted by a pious Brahman Zemindar of Mirzapur who maintains a small *Pathsala.*

Akela per.

THE ASOKA PILLAR.

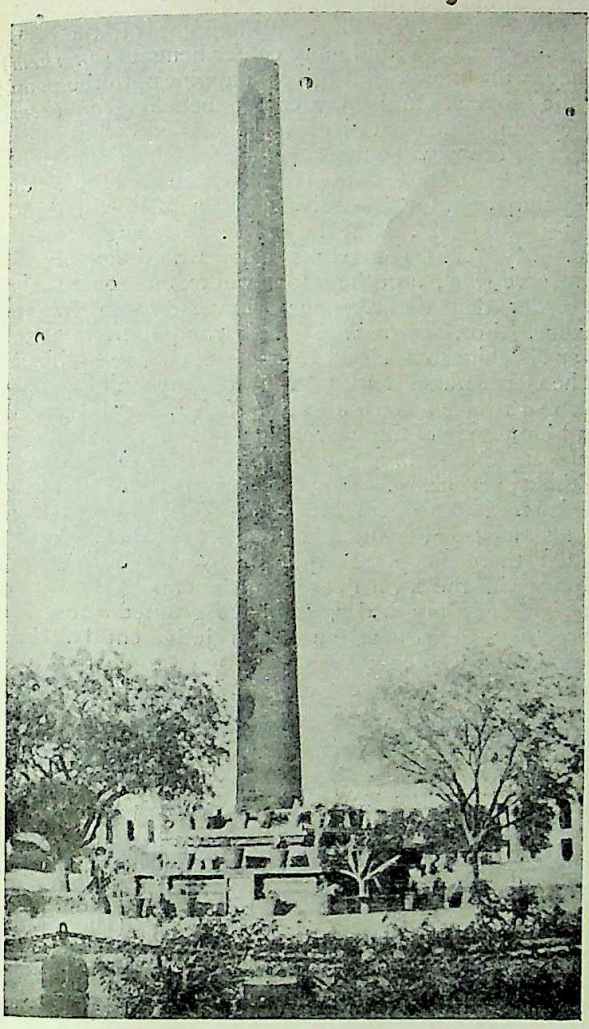
Though not religiously visited by the pilgrims the Asoka Pillar standing inside the fort is an object of interest to archæologists and ought to be visited by the tourist.

It is supposed to have been erected and set up at Kausambi one of the great cities of ancient India situated on the Jumna thirty miles above Prayag. Kausambi is now reduced to an

Kausambi, an old city of classical renown, now a small village called Kosam.

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Asoka Pillar (Fort, Allahabad.)

insignificant village called Kosam. It was the capital of Hindu reigning dynasties. It was founded by a descendant of the great Pandavas of Mahabharata celebrity, when their old capital Hastinapur was washed away by the depredations of the course of the Ganges. In many a standard work of Sanskrit literature Kausambi is mentioned as a flourishing city. The Asoka Pillar of Allahabad carries us back to the memories of those days for according to the view of writers on ancient India the Asoka Pillar was first raised there. Kausambi used to be the temporary capital of Asoka Vardhan second only to his permanent capital Pataliputra.

But there is nothing to prevent holding another view that the pillar might have been raised at Prayag. For here Asoka pilgrimaged and erected stupas in honour of Buddha. Buddha himself three centuries before Asoka had preached at Prayag and Kausambi.

Hiouen Tsang does not mention the pillar in his narrative of Prayag and that is brought forward as an argument that it was not there in his time. But Hiouen Tsang does not mention the pillar as standing in Kausambi in his narrative of the latter place. So that his silence militates equally against the theory of its birthplace and abode at Prayag as well as at Kausambi.

An inscription on the pillar recording the visit of Birbal, Akbar's boon companion to Prayag is however an evidence that the pillar was there in the year 1632 of the Samvat era. How it came there if not lying there since the days of its creator has not been ascertained.

The pillar contains edicts of Asoka. These edicts are moral and ethical instructions to that Emperor's subjects. Also personal records of his acts of righteousness. Time and vandalism have disfigured and erazed the inscription here and there. But the genius and labours of scholars and archæologists have brought to light from obscurity the deeds of Asoka that are inscribed in a language and character dead and forgotten.

The pillar edicts of Asoka.

The Asoka Pillar in the Fort contains

(a) 6 out of the 7 Pillar Edicts of Asoka.
(b) Samudra Gupta's record of victories.
(c) Two minor pillar Edicts.
(d) A Persian inscription by Jahangir to commemorate his accession.
(e) Many later inscriptions.

Minor Edicts.

The Kausambi Edict on the Allahabad Pillar:--

"His Sacred Majesty instructs the officials of Kausambi as follows.....The way of the Church must not be quitted.....Whosoever shall break the unity of the Church, whether monk or men from this time forth, shall be compelled to wear white garments, and to dwell in a place not reserved for the clergy."

[V. Smith.]

The Queen's Edict on the Allahabad Pillar:—

"By command of his Sacred Majesty the officials everywhere are to be addressed as follows:—

"Whatever donation has been made by the Second Queen, be it a mango-grove, pleasure-garden, charitable hostel, or ought else, is to be accounted as the act of the Queen. All transactions of the kind [? are

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for the acquisition of merit by] the Second Queen, the Káruváki, mother of Tivara."

(V. SMITH.)

PILLAR EDICTS.

I.

His Gracious and Sacred Majesty speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed 26 years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to gain except by the greatest love of the Sacred Law, the greatest circumspection, the greatest obedience, the greatest fear, the greatest energy. But, through my instructions, these have, indeed, increased day by day, and will increase still more (*viz.*) the longing for the Sacred Law and the love of the Sacred law. And my servants, the great ones, the lowly ones and those of middle rank, being able to lead sinners back to their duty, obey and carry out (*my orders*), likewise also the wardens of the marches. Now the order (*for them*) is to protect according to the Sacred Law, to govern according to the Sacred Law, to give happiness in accordance with the Sacred Law, to guard according to the Sacred Law."

(BUHLER)

II.

His Gracious and Sacred Majesty speaks thus:—(*To fulfill*) the Law is meritorious. But what does (*the fulfilment of*) the Law include? (*It includes*) sinlessness, many good works, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity. The gift of spiritual insight I have given (*to men*) in various ways; on two-footed and four-footed beings, on birds and aquatic animals I have conferred benefits of many kinds, even the boon of life, and in other ways have I done much good. It is for this purpose that I have caused this religious edict to be written, (*viz.*) that men may thus act accordingly, and that it may endure a long time. And he who will act thus will perform a deed of merit."

(BUHLER.)

III.

His Gracious and Sacred Majesty speaks thus:—"Man only sees his good deeds, (*and says unto himself*) 'This good deed I have done.' But he sees in nowise his evil deeds (*and does not say unto himself*) 'This evil deed I have done; this is what is called sin.' But difficult indeed is this self-examination. Nevertheless man ought to pay regard to the following (*and say unto himself*): 'Such (*passions*) as rage, cruelty, anger, pride, jealousy, (*are those*) called sinful, even through these I shall bring about my fall.' But man ought to mark most the following (*and say unto himself*): 'This conduces to my welfare in this world, that at least to my welfare in the next world.' "

(BUHLER.)

IV.

His Gracious and Sacred Majesty speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. My *Lajukas* [Commissioners] are established (*as rulers*) among the people, among many hundred thousand souls; I have made them independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments—Why? In order that the *Lajukas* may do their work tranquilly and fearlessly, that they may give welfare and happiness to the people of the provinces and may confer benefits (*on them*). They will know what gives happiness to the people of the provinces and may confer benefits (*on them*). They will know what gives happiness and what inflicts pain, and they will exhort the provincials in accordance with the principles of the Sacred Law,—How? That they may gain for themselves happiness in this world and in the next. But the *Lajukas* are eager to serve me. My (*other*) servants also, who know my will, will serve (*me*), and they, too, will exhort some (*men*), in order that the *Lajukas*, may strive to gain my favour. For, as (*a man*) feels tranquil after making over his child to a clever nurse,—saying unto himself 'The clever nurse strive to bring up my child well,'—even so I have acted with my *Lajukas*, for the welfare and happiness of the provincials, intending that, being fearless and feeling tranquil, they may do their work without perplexity. For this reason I have made the *Lajukas* independent in (*awarding*) honours and punishments. For the following is desirable:—What? 'That there may be equity in official business and equity in the award or punishments.' And even so far goes my order, "I have granted a respite of three days to prisoners on whom judgment has been passed and who have been condemned to death. Their relatives will make some (*of them*) meditate deeply (*and*) in order to save the lives of those (*men*) or in order to make (*the condemned*) who is to be executed, meditate deeply, they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts. For my wish is that they (*the condemned*) even during their imprisonment may thus gain bliss in the next world; and various religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow among the people."

(Buhler.)

V.

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—After I had been consecrated twenty-six years the following species were declared exempt from slaughter, to wit:—

Parrots, starlings, (?) adjutants, "Brahmani ducks," geese, *nandimukhas, gelatas*, bats, queen ants, female tortoises, boneless fish, *vedaveyakas, ganga puputakas*, (?) skate, (? river) tortoises, porcupines, tree-squirrels, (?) barasingha deer, "Brahmani bulls," (?) monkeys, rhinoceros, grey doves, village pigeons and all four-footed animals which are not utilized or eaten.

She-goats, ewes, and sows, that is to say, those either with young or in milk, are exempt from slaughter, as well as their offspring up to six months of age. The caponing of cocks must not be done. Chaff must not be burnt along with the living things in it. Forests must not be burnt, either for mischief or so as to destroy life. The living must not be fed with the living.

At each of the three seasonal full moons, and at the full moon of the month Tishya (December-January), for three days in each case, namely, the fourteenth and fifteenth of the first fortnight, and the opening day of the second fortnight, as well as on the fast-days throughout the year, fish is exempt from killing and may not be sold. On the same days in elephant-preserves and fish-ponds no other classes of animal may be destroyed. On the eighth, four-

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teenth, and fifteenth days of each fortnight, as well as on the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the three seasonal full-moon days and on festival days bulls must not be castrated, and he-goats, rams, boars, or other animals which are commonly castrated must not be castrated.

On the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the seasonal full-moon days, and during the seasonal full-moon fortnights, the branding of horses and oxen must not be done.

Up to the date that I have been consecrated for twenty-six years—in that interval the release of prisoners has been effected by me twenty-five times.

(V. SMITH.)

VI.

His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King speaks this:—After I had been anointed twelve years, I ordered religious edicts to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people (*in orde· that the people*) giving up that (*unrighteousness which they practised*) may obtain a growth of the Sacred Law (*in*) this or that (*respect*). (*Saying unto mys·lf*) "the welfare and happiness of the people (*is concerned*)," I thus direct my attention not only to my relatives, but also to those who are near and far;—why so? "In order that I may lead some of them to happiness." In like manner I direct my attention to all bodies corporate. I have also honoured men of all creeds with various honours. But I consider that to be most essential, what (*I call*) 'the approach through one's own free will'. After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written.

(BUHLER.)

The pillar is a silent witness of the political changes that have occurred since it was erected. If it had tongue to speak how many things it could reveal to its visitors.

A psycometrist like Danton might have a vision of old scenes of the erection of the pillar—of the hewers of the stone block—of their employer, by merely placing his forehead in contact with the pillar. He could see where it was first raised and when and by whom removed to Prayag if removed at all. But we not gifted with such occult powers, have to be content with what Prinsep, Cunningham, Fleet, Buhler, Senart and Vincent Smith and their fellow-labourers have brought to light history out of the almost ineligible characters cut on this tall block of stone.

PRAGWALS.

Story of the creation of the class of priests called Pragwals.

The priest who officiates at the ablutions and religious observances of the pilgrims at the Triveni are called Pragwals. The monopoly they enjoy of being the exclusive recipients of the gifts of pilgrims to Prayag was granted by Akbar, according to local tradition, to an ancestor of the Pragwals. It is said that the first attempts to lay the foundation of the Fort were unsuccessful owing to the floods of the rivers in the rainy season. The sacrifice of a Brahman was the remedy suggested to baffle the evil. A local Panda offered himself on condition that his clan should have the sole right of officiating as priests at the Triveni. After this human sacrifice the foundations defied the force of the streams and the Emperor ratified the grant to the representatives of the victim. The monopolists by their own accounts acknowledge to be a creation of Akbar.

In Hiouen Tsang's account of his visit to Prayag in company with King Harshabardhana of Kanauj, the Chinese traveller narrates the many gifts—on the occasion of his quinquennial pilgrimage to Prayag—there the king made to the Buddhists and Brahmans. The Buddhists had the place of honour. Mention is made of resident priests as being given preference over those who came from outside.

The Prayag-Mahatmya enjoins the bestowal of gifts to qualified Brahmans. It is thus clear from both foreign and indigenous records that donation of gifts has been an immemorial practice of pilgrims to Prayag. The great difference between the practice of former and present times is that whereas it is enjoined in the Shastras to patronise learned men devoted to religion, the present day monopolists of the palgrims' gifts are very unlike those who have been recommended in the Hindu scriptures. It is a pity that indiscriminate charity has created a class of professional recepients of the gifts of pilgrims who contribute very little to foster the decaying learning of the Brahmans or to practise Brahmanical purity and piety such as is enjoined to qualify for the privilege of receiving gifts.

Hindu Shastras enjoin charity to men of learning and piety.

These monopolists are reaping the benefits of the self-sacrifice of their ancestor who had earned an Imperial Charter that has its currency still though the Empire has passed away from the Mogul donor's dynasty.

These Pragwals have an organised method of work to procure and secure their

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Hindu India how divided territorially among Pragwals.

clients. The leading families claim allegiance of particular territories, districts and states and the inhabitants of such places are expected to patronise their own Pragwals. For example, one leading Pragwal family has the exclusive patronage of the ruler of Nepal and his subjects. Another of Kashmere. Others have the Rajputana chiefs. Central India States go to different families. Kathiawar chiefs and their subjects to some. Mysore and Travancore to others. Some Pragwals hold sway over Bengal pilgrims—others have the Punjabi clientele. The Taluqdars of Oudh form the portion of several Pragwals. The leading Pragwals maintain a large number of men who go round canvassing for their employers and securing new Jajmans (clients). Rival Pragwals have constant conflicts among themselves and their retainers and there are frequent criminal cases in the law courts.

Hooliganism pays better than learning and piety. Therefore there are few men who study the Shastras or patronise learning. They are given more to wrestling than to learning. Pax Brittanica has tempered their former turbulence. But still it is the *Lathi* and not the *Pothi* which commends itself to them as the instrument to increase the number of their clients. So long as the pilgrims will be blind believers in their Pragwals the latter will continue to flatter on their gifts which they know how to secure best.

Their perquisites are not in the shape of wages. They are gifts to earn spiritual benefits by the pilgrim. He finds accommodation in quarters arranged by the Pragwal unless he has means to arrange independently of the Pragwal. The Pragwal has a list of old and new customers and once the name of a pilgrim is entered in the list he and his descendants are claimed by the Pragwal on subsequent pilgrimages.

Cases of intimidation and extortion occur here as in other places of pilgrimages and as the pilgrim is a stranger and can not find witnesses to prove his case he prefers not to resort to the Courts of Law for redress. Besides the pilgrim is loth to adopt a line of action which would disturb the even course of his peaceful pilgrimage. He would rather not resist evil. It is so desirable that there were a society to protect pilgrims against coercion and extortion. Respectable representatives of the Pragwal community may also be enlisted for co-operation to help this society for the protection of pilgrims.

The Magh-Mela.

Mela literally means a gathering but usually denotes a religious fair. The great gatherings at religious places go by the name of Mela. The Magh-Mela is so called because the fair is held in the month of Magh, portions of January and February. The Mela begins from the *Makar Sankranti i.e.*, when the sun enters the capricorn. A month's residence at the Triveni from this day is considered by the Hindus to be an act of great religious merit.

The Prayag-Mahatmya enjoins it. This vow of dwelling for an entire month at the Triveni is called Kalpa-Vasa. Besides ascetics of religious orders many elderly men and women—especially the latter—of the respectable classes of householders take to Kalpa-Vasa, undergoing all the privations of an ascetic life during the period of their stay there. They dwell in straw huts set up temporarily on the Mela grounds. The destruction of these huts by fire and the burning to death of some unfortunate inmates of the huts is not an unheard of event in the annals of the Mela. But the Hindu pilgrim is not deterred from observing the vow of Kalpa-Vasa by such catastrophies of fire whether it be due to accident or incendiarism. The next year the Mela ground is as full of straw huts as ever.

Kalpa-Vasa.

The great Mela days are *Makara Sankranti*, *Maghi Amavasya* (the new-moon of the month of Magh), *Maghi Purnima* (the full-moon of Magh) and the *Vasanta Panchami* (the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Magh).

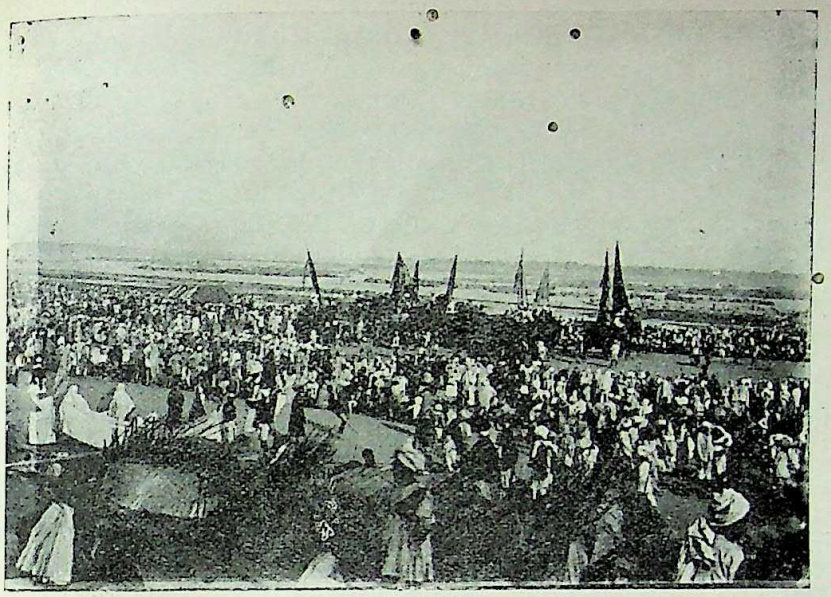
The great Mela days.

The Kumbha-Mela is held every twelfth year. The Adh-Kumbha is held every sixth year. On such occasions the number of pilgrim is much in excess of the ordinary Mela. The rush on such occasions is great and the crush is attended with loss of lives. The last Kumbha-Mela was marked with such a sad occurence. The number of the dead and

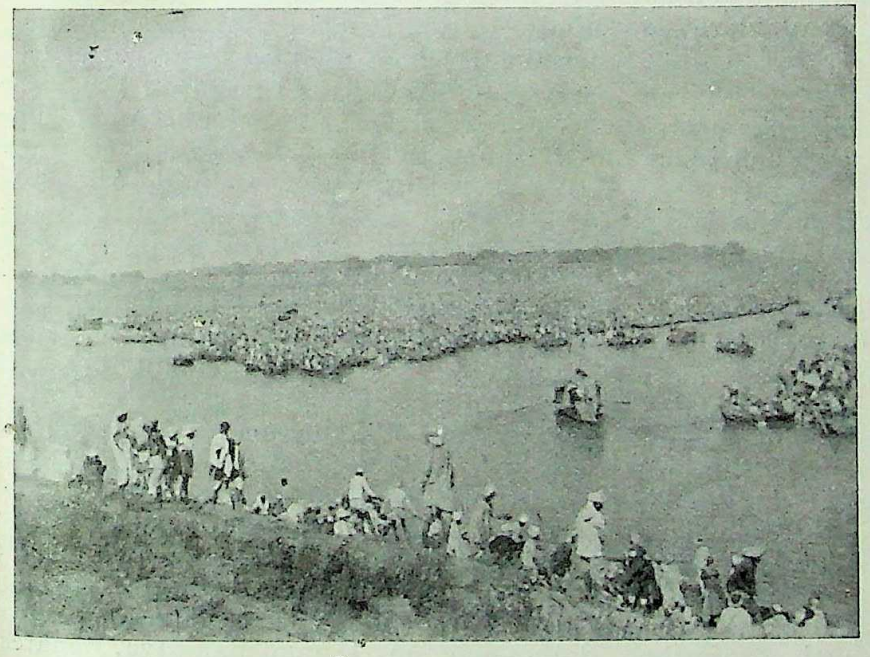
The Kumbha-Mela.

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A PART OF THE CROWD, KUMBHA MELA (1906).



KUMBHA MELA (1906).

injured according to popular calculation was above the limit of their figures.

The management of the Mela is not an easy task. The procession of *Akharas* (groups of different religious orders) have to be controlled. Questions of precedence have to be settled. And as the followers of these *Akharas* are somewhat unruly, conflicts arise among the rival parties.

On the great Mela days of the Kumbha, the Mela ground is full to overflowing. All Indian nationalities are represented from Cape Comorin to Kashmir—from Assam to Sindh,—from mountainous Nepal to the sandy plains of Marwar. Every pilgrim is dressed in his natural costume of different cut and several colours. It is a sight to see. These great Melas also serve the purpose of religious conventions — religious re-unions in a large scale. They bind all Hindu India together how-much-so-ever one Hindu sect may deffer from another.

Usefulness of the Magh-Mela.

Just as a pilgrimage to Mecca make the Musalmans of different countries and nationalities feel as one—though differing in appearance, language, customs and manners, so does the pilgrimage to holy shrines by the Hindus make them feel that they are one—though varying. The Tirtharaj Prayag is such a centre where Hindus of the vast Indian continent meet in the Magh-Mela on the common platform of the belief in the virtues of their pilgrimage to the Tirveni.

MARATHAS IN PRAYAG.

Baji Rao demanded the jagir of Allahabad along with that of Mathura and Benares in 1736. That Peshwa wanted to take advantage of the weakness of the Emperor of Delhi and of Maratha ascendency and wanted the restoration of these three holy places to the Hindus. But his ambition was not realized. From that time the Suba of Allahabad became subject to exactions and

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incursions from the Marathas. In 1739 Raghoji Bhonsla made the incursion as far as Allahabad, defeated the Mahomedan Deputy Governor and returned laden with booty. This raid was on Raghuji's own account. He had not the sanction of the Peshwa who however laid claim upon the revenues and tribute whatever was exacted and the Bhonsla submitted to the arrangement. After the battle of Panipat in 1761 the Maratha collectors were expelled from the Doab, and the dream of the three holy cities being wrenched back from the Mahomedans was for ever vanished.

Relics of Maratha influence still exist in the temple of Ahalya Bai and Bhonsla's Bada in Daraganj and in Baiza Bai's temple in Kotaparcha. This last-named lady lived for many years at Allahabad as an exile and pensioner. She was the widow of Maharaj Daolat Rao Scindia of Gwalior, who contested with the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, the memorable field of Assaye. She was a typical Maratha princess with Amazonian characteristics—one who rode with an infant in her arms in the battlefield.

When at Prayag she had the public spirit to offer to Government money to raise the Asoka pillar which was then lying near the Fort gate. She also offered to build a Pucca Ghat at the Triveni. Both these requests of Baiza Bai were not granted. There must have been political reasons for the refusal.

What is now called Akbar's bund, Fanny Parkes in her "Wanderings of a Pilgrim" invariably names as the "Maratha Bund". Perhaps it was the belief in the early days of the occupation of the Allahabad Fort by the English garrison that the high embankment along the Ganges was a barrier constructed to check the incursion of the Marathas. The Maratha Ditch of Calcutta bears some similitude to the Maratha Bund of Allahabad.

The visit and stay at Prayag of the great Vaishnava teacher of Bengal, Sri Chaitanya Deva of Nadia, is mentioned in the Chaitanya Charitamrita—a standard work in Bengali written by Krishnadas—a contemporary of the immediate disciples of Chaitanya. Chaitanya flourished four hundred years ago. The Chaitanya Charitamrita narrates the principal events of Chaitanya's life. It is recorded that the Vaishnava teacher taught the tenets of his faith to Sri Rup Goswami at Prayag staying for ten days at the Dasaswamedh temple. He also stayed on the other side of the Jumna and was the guest of Ballabh Bhatta. Now there is a temple of Ballabhacharya Sect of Vaishnavas near the temple of Someswar. It is very likely here that Chaitanya passed some days as the honoured guest of a fellow Vaishnava.

Chaitanya's visit and stay at Prayag four hundred years ago.

Bengalis in Allahabad.

Next to Benares and Brindavan Allahabad has become the home of many Bengali settlers in Upper India. To Benares and Brindavan Bengalis have pilgrimaged in larger numbers and settled there to pass their last days. The settlement in both these places of pilgrimage began before the administration of these places came under the East India Company in the latter part of the 18th century. Chaitanya Deva, the prophet of Nadia and his disciples Rupa Goswami and Sanatan Goswami and their followers restored modern Brindavan and since the revival of that shrine of Vaishnavism there has flowed a stream of Vaishnava pilgrims from Bengal to that place. Notable among these is the name of the great Lala Babu of Calcutta whose temple has kept his memory green even after the lapse of more than a century.

So at Beneras the many temples, tanks and the Panchacros road and the dharmashalas on that road constructed by Rani Bhavani of Nattore mark her as an illustrious daughter of Bengal who made the Bengali's name respected in Kasi. An entire Mohalla of *pucca* houses called Brahmapuri in Tripura Bhairava, Benares, was built by her and given to Brahmans of Kasi. She was called the incarnation of the goddess Anna-Purna. She lived in the middle of the 18th century.

Many Zemindars of East and West Bengal have built temples, established *satras* (alms houses where the poor are fed), and endowed them with permanent funds for their maintenance. A large number of settlers reside there independent of Government service.

The Bengali community of Allahabad on the other hand has grown since Allahabad

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passed into the hands of the English and the establishment of English Courts for the administration of Revenue and Criminal and Civil Justice. English officers were appointed from Calcutta and they brought their assistants and clerks with them. The Bengali Babu was the right hand man of the English official. He served his masters loyally in the newly acquired province. These newcomers became permanent residents of Allahabad and their children's children are citizens of their adopted province.

The Bengalis have co-operated in the spread of English education in Upper India. To impart English education they established seminaries and Hindustani children joined these institutions to share the advantages of English education with their Bengali neighbours.

Raja Jainarain Ghoshal of Calcutta founded an English School at Benares in 1813 and placed it under the management of Christian Missionaries. Jainarain School once rose to become a secondary college affiliated to the Calcutta University, but now sends its students for the Matriculation of the University of Allahabad. Similarly private schools were started at Allahabad by subscriptions in Kydganj and Colonelganj which with the Jumna Mission School provided the educational wants of Allahabad till the middle of the sixties of the last century when a Government Zillah School was established and located in the building which once was the Kotwali and is now the Octroi Office. The late Babu Nilcomul Mittra of Lalkothi near Alopibag and the late Babu Kali Charan Banerji of Colonelganj respectably helped the maintenance of the two schools mentioned above. In the forties of the last century there existed a Government seminary at Allahabad located in Kotaparcha near Baiza Bai's temple whose history is so little known. But this much is known to old residents of Allahabad that the late Babu Kali Charan Chatterje, Treasurer of the Residency of Lucknow, who suffered for his loyalty to the Government as much as the English officials in the troublous times of the Mutiny, the late Babu Kannulal, Deputy Collector, the late Baba Madhodas the saintly recluse of Kydganj, the late Pandit Lakshminarain Vyasa who would have risen very high in the educational department if he had cared to remain in service and many other worthies of the last generation, all of them owed their education to a Government institution that became defunct in the fifties of the last centuries. The reason of the abolition of such an useful institution is not known.

The Muir Central College came into existence in 1872 and among the signature of the memorial to Government praying for the establishment of a college at the seat of the Government were some of the leading Bengalis of the day.

Referring to the movement for establishing the Muir Central College, Sir William Muir, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, after whom the college was named, said in a speech :—"The names of Lala Gaya Prasad, of Babus Peary Mohan [Banerjee] and Rameshwar Chaudhuri, have been mentioned to me as foremost in this movement."

The first Pacca Ghat on the bank of the Jumna in Kydganj was built by the late Bahu Ramdhan Mukerji more than half a century ago. It was called Babu Ghat. The Ghat has now disappeared, having been washed away by the overflowing of the Jumna in the rainy seasons. Another Bengali townsman of Allahabad, the late Rai Rameshwar Chowdhury, made large donations to the Alfred Park and the Thronhill and Mayne Memorial Building (now the Public Library). The city Municipal Market owes a great deal to his liberality.

But the Bengali who did more to raise his community in the estimation of the Government for loyalty and great service in the dark days of the Mutiny of 1857, was Babu Peary Mohan Banerji who as civil officer of Manjhanpur in the Allahabad District fought the rebels and earned from Lord Canning an appreciative mention in his Despatches. Lord Canning called him the "Fighting Munsiff."

Mr. F. Thompson, the then Magistrate of Allahabad, spoke as follows of Babu Peary Mohan in his report to the Commission of the Division on the conduct of loyal Indian subjects :—

"Babu Peary Mohan was appointed a Moonsif at Manjanpur in this district in November last, and has since been indefatigable in his exertions to drive back the rebels in his part of the district. Though not actually in his province of duty, he offered himself

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to the Commissioner to assemble the well-affected Zemindars, to engage and conciliate the doubtful, and thus create a government party against the disaffected. He has succeeded so well that he has been able gradually to restore the Police authority in all but a few villages now held by the rebels. In one instance he fought a pitched battle with the rebels and gained a victory, his report of which I enclose."

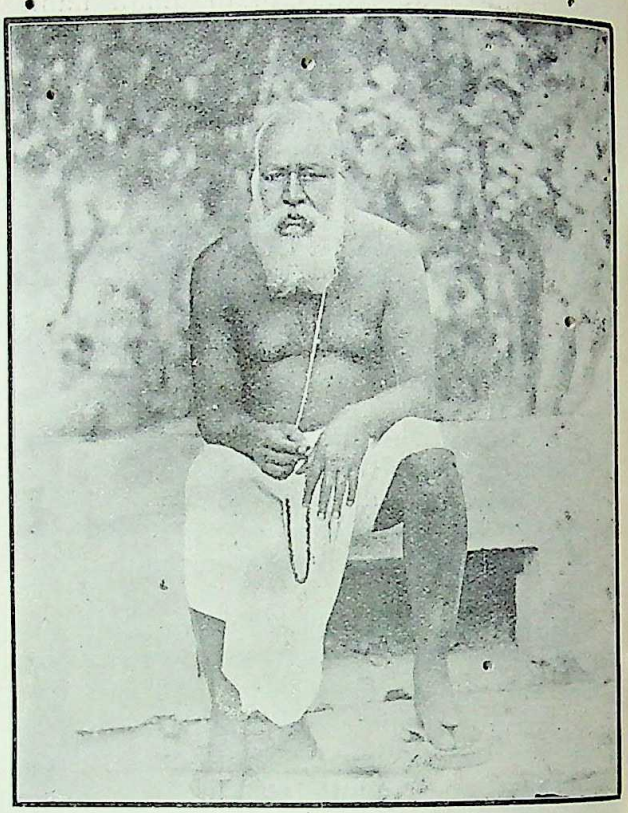
When it was proposed to transfer him from Manjhanpur, Mr. Thornhill, the Commissioner of Allahabad, wrote to the Government:—

"Babu Peary Mohan has established so high a reputation for personal courage and determination that his presence has, I believe, hitherto prevented an irruption of the rebels from the right bank of the Jumna and the Magistrate is of opinion that his withdrawal at this time would be shortly followed by much disorganizations, &c. &c. In this opinion I entirely concur."

He was awarded a Khil'at (dress of honour) worth Rs. 1,000 and a grant of Zemindari for his having "distinguished himself by his intrepidity and the vigour of his attacks upon the insurgents." Several years later he became Government pleader in the High Court of Allahabad. Poor man! He did not live long and was not destined to be its first Indian Judge. There is some consolation to his community that his relative Babu Pramoda Charan Banerji has been elevated to that eminent position which he has been occupying these many years with ability and enjoys the confidence of the bar, of his colleagues in the Bench and of the public.

Among Bengali notabilities of the last generation was Baba Madho Das. His scholarship, especially in Persian Sufi literature, and his broad views in religion made his *Asram* in Kydganj the resort of enquiring visitors of all religious pursuations, Hindus, Musalmans, and Christians. Pandits, Maulvies, Padries and Theosophists were his admirers and Mohamedan-Sufis from distant Hydrabad and Afghanistan came to him to enjoy his सत्सङ्ग (blessed company). A revered personage he was—Baba Madho Das of Kydganj.

Perhaps the oldest Bengali at present living, born and bred at Allahabad, is Pandit Benimadhab Bhattacharya of Daraganj. He served in the Arsenal of Allahabad in 1857 and in his printed testimonials is a certificate of loyalty from the then Commissary of Ordinance. After his retirement from the Government service he has served his



BABA MADHO DAS.

native town both as a Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate for a quarter of a century. Though nearly an octogenarian he is still in harness in Honorary Courts.

A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF OLD ALLAHABAD FROM THE NARRATIVE OF AN OLD ANGLO-INDIAN RESIDENT.

"Wanderings of a Pilgrim" by Fanny Parkes.

Fanny Parkes, a lady of literary culture and a lover of the picturesque, which she had the skill to sketch, has given a faithful account of Allahabad as she saw it more than three quarters of a century ago. Her "Wanderings of a Pilgrim" in two volumes contain a mass of entertaining information about men and things Indian as they struck her in the early days of English rule in Upper India. The period covered in her diary extends from 1822 to 1848. The greater part of her Indian sojourn was spent in Allahabad, where her husband occupied an influential office in the service of Government.

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A CUTCHERRY.

From Fanny Parkes's Wanderings of a Pilgrim.

Her pictorial sketches are exact representation of some buildings that still exist in Allahabad, for example, of the Dharmasala and temple of Dasaswamedh on the bank of the Ganges in Daraganj and the temple of Alopi in Alopibag. She gives an account of the Magh-Mela and the Ramlila as she witnessed them eighty years ago. The Mela was in a flourishing condition. Traders from distant places from Kashmir and Nepal, used to bring their marchandise to the Mela.

The Ramlila was held on the fort parade ground, where it still continues.

Allahabad, on her first arrival, became very interesting to her. But she suffered very much from its heat. She writes that Allahabad had the reputation of being the "Oven of India" and "the Chhota Jehannam" (the little hell). She however preferred its general salubrity to the damp and malaria of Calcutta. Society—Anglo-Indian Society—was so small compared to what she had seen in the metropolis of Bengal. She was fond of the society of Indian ladies and her knowledge of the inner life of the zenana was intimately acquired by her visits to Indian acquaintances of distinction and high rank. The *mem saheb* of the period was a less exclusive person and mixed familiarly with her Indian friends.

Allahabad "the Oven of India".

She had access to the harems of the King of Oude and the Emperor of Delhi. One has to read her book and to wonder how many puerile marriage customs mostly adopted from the Hindus are in vogue in the zenana of the highest Indian Musalmans.

Travelling in those days was so wearisomely slow. It took her about three months to reach Allahabad from Calcutta by boat. She made a boat trip from Allahabad to Agra and it took about two months to reach there. Anglo-Indians travelled in Palki and some unfortunate passengers were taken dead out of their Palki succumbing to excessive heat and exhaustion.

Troops of servants were employed by Anglo-Indians and a list of the usual domestics is given with the amount of their wages. Our authoress had fifty-four paying Rs. 250 per month. A darzi (tailor) and a carpenter were a part of the regular establishment of the time. Such were the "Nabobs" whose riches and lavishness Macaulay depicted so graphically in one of his Indian essays. Stray Anglo-Indians like Col. Gardner of "Gardner's Horse" married

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Musalman ladies of rank. Their male issue taking to their father's religion—the female to that of the mother.

Hukka smoking was the fashion of the times in Anglo-Indian society and in a pictorial sketch of a Court of Justice where a Thug is being tried by a European Judge, the *Hukka* finds its proper place by the side of the Saheb.

Hukka smoking among Anglo-Indians

It is an interesting study this retrospect of Anglo-Indian life in Allahabad and elsewhere in Upper India.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Evolution and Religious Thought.

"The Spark in the Clod" or "The Effects of Evolution upon Religious Thought" by Rev. J. T. Sunderland. Published by American Unitarian Association, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, U. S. A. Pp. 162. 80 cents net, by mail 89 cents.

The author justly claims to have shewn "that the Doctrine of Evolution is not a destroyer but a conserver and a builder, that the evolutionary theory of the divine creation is giving us a new theology which is not only incomparably more rational and more true to facts than the old, but far more ethical and vastly richer in spiritually contents". The ends which the author has had in view in writing the book is religious, not scientific but the scientific side of the book has not been neglected or lightly considered. No statement has been made relating to the subject of Evolution which is not borne out by the latest and best scientific writers and investigators. The book has seven chapters, *viz*:—(i) Introductory Survey. (ii) The Evolution of the World. (iii) The Evolution of Man. (iv) The Evolution of Religion. (v) The Problem of Pain and Evil in the Light of Evolution. (vi) Immortality in the Light of Evolution. (vii) The Bible, Jesus and Christianity in the Light of Evolution.

Mr. Sunderland rejects the popular deistic idea of an absentee God. God, according to him, is not only transcendent but also immanent. "Men who have never learned to see God anywhere except in the past, are always afraid of any new truth that bears upon religion. Is God a God of the past only? Are his revelations ended? Is there to be progress in everything else connected with man's life except that which is highest of all the moral and spiritual? .....The foundations of religion are not in a book. They are rather in the soul of man. And if they are in the soul of man, the acceptance of the belief that God's creation is perennial, continuous, eternal, can not disturb them or do anything except deepen and strengthen them.

"It is asserted by some that Evolution is atheistic; that it puts God out of the universe and leaves us only law instead. True, there are possible forms of the Evolution theory which are atheistic. But there are other forms of it which are profoundly theistic—which fill the universe full of God, as no other theory known to man does, certainly far more than the Genesis theory itself does. That makes a Creator from without. This makes a Creator within—His creative power operates in all things from atom to sun. That makes Him a Creator of the world once; then He withdraws and so far as creative function is concerned, is for ever thereafter an absentee God. This makes Him a Creative Intelligence and Power that never sleeps and never withdraws from any atom of the Universe. Thus it is the doctrine of Evolution ought to fill, and rightly understood does fill, all the universe with God, as the meaning and the ever-living never-sleeping creative power of it all. As to the fear that Evolution will dethrone God because it enthrones *law*—what is law? What *can* it be but the sign and manifestation of One without whom law could not exist? Is law a Power? Rather is it the path along which a power—the Eternal Power—marches to the attainment of its great ends".

As regards the Evolution of Man, the author writes—"Man is not yet fully man. He is only in the process of being created. Even his body has not reached anything like that perfection of health and strength and that degree of longivity which it ought to reach and will reach sometime.... Our faculties are only half-formed. Our characters are scarcely more than the embryo of what they ought to be. In so many respects we are only babes where we ought to be men!" "Our true work in the world is that of co-operating with one another and all good men, and all regenerating forces around us and with God, to carry on and ever on the work of spiritual creation in ourselves, in society and in the world. It is the work of struggling upward by every means in our power and helping others to do the same, from the brute beast, which is our starting point, towards the angel, the free pure strong son of God which is our goal."

WHAT ARE PAIN AND EVIL?

"They come out of a thousand centuries of lower animal life. They are the traces of the beast surviving in man. They are the heritage of untold ages of selfishness and greed and blood and slaughter in that brute world from which man has sprung and of hundreds of thousands of years of fierce semi-human life while he was climbing toward the full human. In the light of Evolution evil is relative, as good is. Evil is an incident, not a finality if we can understand the expression in a large enough way, evil is good in the

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making; it is the green apple; it is the partly painted picture; it is the building in the process of erection."

The work is of singular literary finish and will be read with pleasure and profit by all intelligent persons who take an interest in the subjects.

MAHESH CHANDRA GHOSH.

Bombay in the Making: by Phiroze B. M. Malabari, Deputy Registrar, Appellate Side, High Court, Bombay. T. Fisher Unwin, London. 1910. Price 12s. 6d.

The book consists of over 500 pages, and contains an introduction by Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay. Mr. Malabari embodies in it the results of his researches in the archives of the Bombay High Court on the origin and growth of judicial institutions in the western presidency during the period 1661—1726 A.D. In the preface the author promises to bring the history down to modern times in three more volumes to be published hereafter. Hitherto Cowell's Tagore Law Lectures, published by the Calcutta University for the use of law students, was the only book available to scholars on this side of India for the study of the growth of judicial institutions under British rule. The present volume is narrower in scope but treats of the period covered by it in much greater detail. It is impossible, within the space at our disposal, to give a *resume* of the subjects dealt with in this book. But the headings of some of the chapters may be quoted to explain their scope, *e.g.*, 'The acquisition of Bombay and its cession to the Company,' 'The administration in the town and island of Bombay', 'The working of Judicial Institutions in Bombay', 'The barbarity of the age', 'Some interesting trials', 'Landed property in early Bombay', 'Gleanings from an old record'. An elaborate index enhances the value of the rather lengthy volume. In the preface Mr. Malabari expresses the hope that the pages describing the administration of justice under the Portuguese in India will be found to contain something original and specially interesting. But if he refers to Sir William Hunter's posthumous *History of British India* (London, 1900), of which we find no mention in the list of books consulted, he will see that he has been largely anticipated by that learned historian who has given an elaborate account, quoting chapter and verse, of the gross inhumanities and oppressions practised by the Portuguese, as also the immorality, which prevailed among them. Similarly, the chapter on Surat might be improved by referring to the articles on the subject in the early volumes of the *Calcutta Review*. We are glad to find that Raja Benoy Krishna Deb's "History and Growth of Calcutta" has been occasionally alluded to. A cursory glance through the pages of the book shows how barbarous were the punishments inflicted by the early administrators of Bombay on minor offenders—flogging being as common in the western presidency as hanging was in England up to the end of the seventeenth century. The English law of capital punishment was imported to India to suit the occasion, *e.g.*, in the trial of Maharaja Nandakumar for forgery. The author says: "Looseness of morals prevailed everywhere. There was no control over the factors, for there was none over their masters. It had become the fashion to be vicious and reckless, and the man who was neither the one nor the other was an exception. Intemperance was rife to a degree". (p. 227). "It was not, we infer, an unusual sight for some of the honorable members to come out of the Council Chamber, after a particularly warm discussion, 'with their heads cut open, their arms in slings, and their eyes bunged up'!" (p. 232). The author rightly observes in his preliminary remarks: "It would be difficult, without some knowledge of the circumstances and influences prevailing in those days to account for the fact that men in high authority were found guilty of malpractices, that even Governors were proceeded against for corruption and that the Judges whose duty it was to suppress crime were themselves found to be implicated in serious offences. The loose morality of the age may be urged as an excuse for such a discreditable state of affairs." It were well if English historians were to judge Indian historic characters of the age with equal charity. Referring to the date-tree tax in Bombay, an interesting conversation of Norman Macleod is given on page 422, where he is reported to have said, 'Oh India! the very hairs of your head are numbered!' Here and there allusion is made to Kanhoji Angria, 'whose influence on the sea was unsurpassed: but even on land his name struck terror in many a staunch heart.' 'The man who gave the English most trouble during the first quarter of the eighteenth century was Kanhoji Angria, the famous pirate.' 'English, Dutch and Portuguese, each tried to lay him low but they all had to acknowledge defeat'. One would like to have some account of the fleet and the naval manouvres of this celebrated sea-captain, as an illustration of the naval skill of the Indians at this period. But as might be expected, the book is more an account of Englishmen in India than of the Indians themselves, and this probably accounts for the omission. Altogether, Mr. Malabari is to be congratulated on the amount of scholarship and research he has brought to bear on the performance of his task. He has ransacked every available book and manuscript record in search of material, and produced a most interesting volume on the early history of Bombay. The mass of information which he has thus succeeded in collecting is sure to be largely drawn upon by the future historian of the western presidency.

Dadabhai Naoroji's Speeches and Writings: Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 2. Pp. 208.

This neatly printed and handsomely bound volume purports to contain an exhaustive collection of the speeches and writings of the Grand Old Man of India, who entered on his 86th birthday on the 4th September. The book requires no introduction to the public. Messrs. Natesan & Co. excel in this line of publication and in the present instance they have done their work with their usual care and judgment. The book deserves and is sure to obtain a large sale, as it is offered at a remarkably cheap price. It is a storehouse of valuable information on political, financial, economical and statistical matters.

Glimpses of the Orient today: by Saint Nihal Singh. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Re 1. Pp. 239.

This is a collection of 22 articles on Japan, China, Burmah, India, Afganistan, Persia, and Egypt. The author has personally visited all the lands about which he writes and this fact alone lends a value all its own to the volume before us. The book has been specially designed for students, and we fully share the author's

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hope that it will inspire them to work for the uplift of their native land. The main lesson which the book inculcates and illustrates by reference to facts and figures is that Asia is no longer content to remain in an attitude of servility and that throughout the continent a desire for Self Government is manifesting itself which tries to seek satisfaction in a variety of healthy activities. "It is a travesty of the holiest of holies in human nature to talk of the unrest in India in terms other than the most reverent. In every sense of the word, this discontent is divine. In its essentials, it is cosmic in character, evolutionary, constructive, uplifting." Referring in particular to the Swadeshi movement, Mr. Singh says that the spirit lying behind it is destined to prove the country's salvation. "Swadeshi is the culmination of India's industrial revolution and forms the foundation on which Hindustan's well-being will be established. It is sad to contemplate that such a virile, constructive, uplift movement as that which is going on in India should not be noticed by the outside world merely because of the political unrest in the land". A chapter is devoted to the woman's movement in Asia. There is only one word of comment which occurs to us. Mr. Singh has, it seems to us, laid too much stress on the material side of the evolution in India, and has touched rather lightly on the spiritual forces which lie behind it. The book is written in an attractive style, and is bound to be popular.

Visitor's Guide to Baroda: by G. H. Desai, B.A. LL.B., Superintendent of Census Operations, Baroda State. Bombay, printed at the Times Press, 1910.

This nicely got up brochure of about 80 pages is more interesting than a novel. It is adorned with a map of the city, and ten excellent illustrations. There is an appendix containing a list of the oil paintings and statues in the picture gallery of Baroda by some western masters, *e.g.* Raphael, Murillo, Andrea Del Sarto, Titian, Botticelli; there are also two paintings by Ravi Varma and J. P. Gangooly. A perusal of the book shows us at a glance how enlightened the State of Baroda is. The museum of Baroda is one of the best in India. Its college, market place, courts of Justice, hospital are among the finest public buildings in India. The Luxmi Vilas palace and gardens, built at a cost of over sixty lakhs of rupees and the Makarpura palace and gardens, may also be classed among the public buildings, for they are open to the public when His Highness does not reside in them. The State has some historic and costly jewels. There is a good public library, and the town possesses extensive waterworks and tramway lines. The Kala-Bhavan of Baroda, its bank, factories and mills, speak of its industrial prosperity. The Maharaja goes out in procession on the Dusserah and the Mohurrum, though the latter is a purely Mahomedan festival. Numerous public squares and pavillions, big tanks, bridges, theatres, temples, regimental grounds and a race-course add to the beauty of the city. The booklet is likely to increase the stream of visitors to Baroda.

Sir William Wedderburn; Netesan & Co., Madras. Price annas four.

This little sketch forms one of the 'Friends of India' Series now being issued by Messrs. Natesan & Co., and contains besides a short biographical account of Sir William Wedderburn, extracts from his speeches and writings. As President of the Fifth Indian National Congress, Sir William said in 1889: "I have passed a quarter of a century among you, and during that period of time I have not known what it was to suffer an unkindness from a native of India. During that period I have been in the service of the people of India and have eaten their salt. And I hope to devote to their service what remains to me of active life". How thoroughly he has acted up to this promise is known to all. It is Englishmen of Sir William's type who have really held us in bondage. When we contemplate a career like his, and think of his self-sacrifice and of his courage to do the right in face of opposition and of his courage to do the right in face of opposition and obloquy, we cannot but feel that we have still much to learn from the English race.

Recent Indian Finance:—by D. E. Wacha. Natesan & Co. Price annas four.

This little book by the ablest of non-official financial critics in India deals with such subjects as the case for financial reform; the growth of expenditure; enhanced taxation; revenue and expenditure; reason for the deficit. The book is prefaced with a criticism of Mr. Montagu's recent Indian budget speech in the House of Commons. By quoting facts and figures Mr. Wacha has shown that public expenditure in India is running at double the speed at which revenue is growing and that Indian finance is thus in a bad way and in view of the fact that the limits of taxation have been well-nigh reached, there is no reason for the optimistic outlook of responsible officials. The remedy lies in a serious and determined attempt at curtailment of expenditure and one of the chief ways, we may add, of bringing about this reform is the subscription of indigenous for foreign agency in the public services in a far greater degree than has hitherto been the case.

A financial chapter in the history of Bombay City by D. E. Wacha, Bombay, 1910.

In this volume the writer gives the history of the rise, growth and collapse of that colossal speculation popularly known in Bombay as the "share mania" which forty-five years ago proved more disastrous in its ultimate consequences than the notorious South Sea Bubble. Mr. Wacha was an eye witness to the speculation, and none will deny that his insight into matters financial makes him peculiarly fit to give an impartial account of the event for the benefit of the backing our mercantile community. The book is printed in bold type on thick paper, and should prove of interest to those for whom it is intended.

Co-operative Credit Societies: by Panchanandas Mukherjea B A.

This paper was read by the writer before the Calcutta University Institute. It gives within a short compass the main principles underlying co-operation and Peoples' Banks and should prove useful to students.

The eighth annual report of the Ramkrishna Shebasram: Kankhal, Hardwar, 1910.

The number of patients treated in this Shebasram during the year under review reached the high figure of 10,390 belonging to all castes and creeds including Mahomedans and Christians. Homeless ascetics of the Himalayas, pilgrims coming from every part of

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India, and poor people of the villages situated within a radius of forty miles of the Hospital, are constantly under treatment in this institution. The crying need at present appears to be a ward for infectious diseases, specially pthisis, and an extension of the resthouse. Nearly nine thousand rupees are required for this purpose and in view of the revived religious consciousness of India it should not be difficult for the authorities of the Shebasram to procure this amount. Contributions for this purpose, however small, will be thankfully accepted by the Manager, 'Udbodhan', 12 & 13 Gopal Neogi's Lane Bagbazar, Calcutta.

The thirtysecond annual report of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj: S. B. Samaj Office, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

The report gives us a glimpse of the excellent work that is being quietly done by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Preachers and missionaries did uplift work in the mofussil and among depressed classes, schools and colleges for boys and girls imparted education to the rising generation, charity found scope in famine relief, newspapers carried the principles of pure theism into the home circle. The finances do not appear to be in as satisfactory a condition as might be desired. We wish the Samaj every success.

Directory of Indian Goods and Industries: Office of the Industrial Conference, Amraoti. Fourth Edition. 1909. Price Rs. 1/8/0. postage extra.

The phenomenally rapid sale of the previous editions of this valuable directory has encouragrd Mr. R. N. Mudhalkar to bring out this very handsomely got up reprint, in which all new industries started since the publication or the last edition have been incorporated. The value of the compilation has been enhanced by three copious indices, giving the names of the articles manufactured, the places where they are manufactured, and the persons by whom they are manufactured and sold. The authorities of the Amraoti Conference are to be congratulated on their solid piece of work done by them in the cause of India's industrial regeneration.

Spiritual Education.

Spiritual Education and the Religion of the Brahma Samaj by Doctor Prasannakumar Roy, Inspector of Colleges and Fellow of the Calcutta University, Late Principal and Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta, Member of the Council of the Brahmo Samaj Committee and Late President of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj. Pp. 39.

This pamphlet contains (1) three addresses delivered at the annual meetings of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj held in 1903, 1909 and 1909, and (2) also three notes, two of which were read at the Executive Committee of the said Samaj.

The questions raised by Dr. Roy are of vital importance to the Brahma Samaj and, we hope, Brahmos will not remain indifferent to the welfare of their community.

Mass Education.

Kumar Parivrajak Series No. 5. A simple means of Mass Education. Pp. 16. For free distribution. To be had of the Manager Yogasram, Benares City.

The writer says that to educate a nation, some 27 crores of whom are returned as illiterate, appears to be a Herculean task. "But," says the writer, "this apparently impossible work can be easily done by our earnest and energetic students if even one in ten among them begin it as a labor of love".

This is no doubt true to some extent. But those who are themselves students cannot properly be entrusted with so gigantic and onerous a task. Have the other classes no duty to the masses?

Unitarianism.

Annual Report of the American Unitarian Association for the fiscal year May 1, 1910—April 30, 1910. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, U. S. A.

"The financial record of the Associatlon has been one of large encouragement. The total receipts of the treasurer amount to $ 283,446. The Publication Department reported a total sale of the publications of the Association amounting to 12,505 volumes, the largest of any year. The distribution of the free literature for the year shows a remarkable growth; namely from a distribution last year of 364,000 tracts and pamphlets to 542, 500 copies this year and this does not include the various reports, bulletins and circulars which are also freely circulated. During the year fourteen new societies were added to the list of churches; five new church buildings have been dedicated; twelve others have been planned or are in process of construction; seven parish houses have been built or otherwise provided for; three personages have been acquired. Three lay centres have been organised and preaching stations and circuits have been established which will furnish liberal religious ministries to a dozen or more towns or settlements."

There are eleven departments of the Association *viz*:—(1) Publication Department (2) Department of Foreign Relations (3) Department of Church Extension (4) Publicity Department (5) Department of New Americans (6) Department of Comity and Fellowship (7) Department of Education (8) Department of Social and Public Service (9) Ministerial Aid Fund (10) Church Building Loan Fund and (11) Library.

All the departments are doing excellent works and we congratulate the Association on the success it has attained during the year.

MAHESH CHANDRA GHOSH.

History of India.

A History of India: Part I. The pre-Musalman period: by K. V. Rangaswamio Aiyangar, M.A., with illustrations and maps. Longmans, Green and Co., 313, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1/4/0.

We have much pleasure in welcoming this new school-history of Hindu India. It is written in a simple and interesting way, and there is no overcrowding of dates and names, and yet the conclusions of latest scholastic research have been embodied in it on all controversial points. For instance, it has been pointed out that according to Mr. Tilak, the original home of the Aryas was in the Arctic regions, that though occasionally the wife followed her husband to the pyre, widows were generally allowed to remarry in Vedic times, that the Kshatriyas were formed of a mixture of the Saka, Hun and the Pahlavi races, that Kalidas flourished in the Court of Chandragupta II (375—413 A.D.) who assumed the title of Vikramaditya, that the decline of Buddhism in India was due to

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natural causes and not to any vigorous persecution (except by Sasanka in Bengal about 600—620 A.D.) The history of the Deccan has been given in some detail. Regarding the Pal and Sen Kings of Bengal, the writer says 'it is doubtful if they were Rajputs'. It does not appear that the researches of Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra have been explored in this connection. The only Indian scholars consulted are Dr. Bhanderkar, and Messrs. Tilak and Ranade. Bakhtiar Khiliji is stated to have seized Lakhnauti, which has been identified with Gaur, and Nudiah. In this respect the writer follows Vincent A. Smith, but is apparently ignorant of the researches of Babu Akshay Kumar Maitra. Nowhere in the book do we find any mention of the fact that some of the arts and sciences, *e.g.* Chemistry, Geometry, Trigonometry, the decimal notation, Astronomy, &c. originated and received their early development in India. The idea of metempsychosis, according to the writer, was found in many half civilised tribes (p. 30). He seems to forget that it was a cardinal doctrine of Pythagoras, who being a celebrated Greek philosopher, was certainly not half civilised. The benefits of the caste-system in early times and its present drawbacks have been ably summarised. The book is well-printed and handsomely illustrated and should prove popular to those for whom it is intended.

Laws of Manu and Theosophy.

The Science of Social Organisation, or, the Laws of Manu in the Light of Theosophy: by Bhagavan Das, M.A. The Theosophist Office, Adyar, Madras, 1910.

This handsomely got up volume of 358 pages by a wellknown theosophical writer has been lying on our table for sometime. We had a mind to make a detailed review of the views and opinions expounded in this book, but we find that it deals with such an immense variety of subjects and is so full of esoteric exigeses that limits of space will not allow us to do so. Texts from Manu and other sacred writers are liberally interspersed, and the auther foresees the objection to his method of exposition by reading new meanings into old texts. Mrs. Annie Besant, in her introduction, no doubt concedes that Manu's precepts cannot be blindly followed in this age, but along with this concession to modern requirements she makes the assertion that his *ideas* contain all the needed solutions. For a statement of this kind 'faith abundant' is necessary and the author assures us that this 'has not been lacking', so much so that he has preferred to hold his judgment in suspense rather than make an adverse comment. We must accordingly be prepared for some vague and fantastic presentations of ancient thought and in some places we are inevitably led to suspect that Manu himself, *minus* the light of modern wisdom which the writer has imbibed, would not dream of giving the interpretations which the writer has done. There is, however, nothing surprising in this. Naturally enough, the author has not succeeded in totally eliminating the influence of the age he lives in, and there may be even those who would go the length of saying that his ill-success in this respect makes his book all the more valuable.

To say all this, and not to recognise the serious purpose of the book, would however, be doing the author a great injustice. The great drawback of theosophy is that it makes men too credulous, and this in a land where liberty of thought and freedom of enquiry have long been subordinate to authority. But the little that we know of theosophy emboldens us to say that its great merit lies in its insistence on purity of thought, charity of disposition, and a life of rigid self-control and spirituality—lessons which are badly needed in this materialistic and luxurious age. Theosophy has also done something to popularise the sacred books of India and lay bare their core of wisdom and beauty. The author of the present volume has given us a thoughtful analysis of the peaceful, and from this point of view thoroughly consistent organisation of ancient Hindu society, of its life of purity and self-abnegation, of the plain living and high thinking which characterised it. The purpose, the justification and the wisdom of many ancient rules of life have also been expounded with considerable insight and earnestness, and the philosophical tone of the author in treating of these serious subjects, deserves thorough commendation. It is not necessary to agree with all or even much of the writer's views to perceive that they deserve thoughtful consideration, and are not to be laid aside with a cursory glance merely because they do not happen to harmonise with the trend of the reader's own thoughts.

Moslem Politics.

A Talk on Moslem Politics: by Moulvi Muhamad Aziz Mirdha, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League, Lucknow. 1910.

This is one of a series of pamphlets originally written by the author in dialogue form in Urdu and translated into English (and also in the various Indian vernaculars) with the express purpose of popularising the principles of the Muslim League and for the political education of the masses of the moslem community. We are glad that our Mahomedan *fellow* subjects, if in view of their 'political importance' they will allow us to call them so, have come out of their shell and now frankly avow the necessity of political education for the masses. As the Moslem League concedes that the Government is all that it should be, Naseruddin, the exponent of the principles of the Moslem League in the pamphlet, is naturally asked about the need for the organisation, and in reply he states 'you know that even the mother does not feed the child unless it cries.' So political agitation is after all not without its justification in the scheme of the universe, and for this admission the non-Moslem section of the Indian community should be grateful. The cardinal points of the Muslim League creed as expounded in this brochure are—(1) the right of separate representation in accordance with the political importance of the Moslem Community (2) the maintenance of the British Government in India and (3) the cultivation of friendly relations with the other communities, without prejudice to (1) and (2). As to (2), the writer truly says that Indians of all sections are bound to recognise it, at least none may openly dissent from it.

But the first and the third points are clearly antagonistic. The preservation of good relations with other communities, on which the writer so largely dwells towards the end of the brochure is impossible so long as the Islamic section claim superiority over them, not on the ground of superior intelligence, education, ability or even numerical strength, which

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all could understand, but because they were once the rulers of the country. You cannot insult a man and claim his friendship at the same time. Besides, if the Mahomedans were once the rulers of the country, it is also an undoubted historic fact that the British won India not from them but from the Hindus. We are told in this pamphlet that if the British rule were withdrawn, Moslems would be the subject of the non-Moslems, and that 'it is much more galling to be ruled by one's quondam subject than by a foreign nation'. If Mahomedans revive racial hatred by drawing such fancy-portraits, may not the Hindus justly retort that the insistence on the fact that the Mahomedans once ruled the country and the claim for preferential treatment on that account are equally galling to them. Sentiments like these obviously do not promote good feeling. Equal and not preferential treatment can alone lead to good fellowship. Swaraj in the sense of self-Government on colonial lines the writer considers to be a visionary and impracticable ideal, but he is discreetly silent as to what his own ideal is. To us it seems obvious that the extension of representative Government and the appointment of Indians to high executive positions are meaningless unless they have self-Government for their objective. The *Mussalman* of Calcutta, commenting on the pamphlet under review, rightly says that "if these are the ideals of the Indian Mussalmans, and not any real and effective participation in the Government of their own country, we think their life is not worth living." The writer sympathises with Swadeshi movement, but advocates moderation, and adds that Government itself is a warm supporter of honest Swadeshi. We suspect that the writer's support of Swadeshi is prepared to go only so far as officialdom lays down as proper and no more. If some persons in authority were to say that it is disloyal to the country of our rulers to prefer home-made cloth to the product of Lancashire mills, we believe a section of the League would say ditto. As the *Mussalman* says: "Is Islam to be condemned for the misguided zeal of certain of its followers? If not, why should the Swadeshi movement which is fraught with immense potentialities be dubbed 'a concerted revolt against the Government'?"

It is not to be understood, however, that we are not in agreement with much that finds place in this brochure. With the writer's recognition of the need for greater education, along general as well as technical and industrial lines, and his plea for co-operation in all questions which affect the agricultural, commercial and social progress of India, we are in hearty agreement. We also admit the painful truth that the Hindus are broken up into a thousand different sects and castes, all making for disunion, and that their treatment of the depressed classes is both 'unbearable and inhuman.' The writer says in one place: 'It is quite possible that in the distant future religious and racial differences may be so softened that they may not, as in the highly civilised countries of Europe, conflict with harmony in political views.' If that hope is ever to be realised, it will not be by dwelling too emphatically, as the Muslim League appears to do, on the various elements of disintegration. One of the main ways to overcome those elements of discord and remove them from the body-politic is to ignore them as much as practicable, for this itself will make the work of fusion much easier. The writer says 'sagacious statesmanship keeps the present always in view,' but he is the greater statesman whose patriotic imagination can mould the present in the light of the glorious vision of an united India that is to be. We trust that the authorities of the Muslim League will devote greater attention in future to this aspect of the question.

Hindu Conference.

Report of the First Punjab Hindu Conference, held at Lahore on the 21st and 22nd October 1909. Price annas six. Lala Gopal Chand, Pleader, Secretary, Punjab Hindu Sabha, Lahore.

We welcome this report of the proceedings of the Punjab Hindu Conference and recommend its careful perusal by educated Hindus all over India. In view of their importance, we propose to give a *resume* of the contents in some detail.

The resolutions passed at the Conference dealt with the following subjects: (1) Desirability of strengthening the feeling of Hindu nationality and Hindu unity (2) Encouragement of the study of Sanskrit and Hindi (3) Encouragement of *kathas* from Hindu literature on nonsectarian lines to improve and strengthen indigenous culture and morality (4) Celebration of Hindu national festivals (5) Desirability of writing a true history of the Hindus (6) Protection of cows (7) Encouragement of the Ayurvedic system of medicine (8) Protest against the Punjab Land Alienation and Pre-emption Acts by which the superior castes were legally debarred from holding land (9) Adequate representation of Hindus in government service (10) Hindus and the Reform scheme (11) Raids on frontier Hindus (12) Desirability of holding an All India Hindu Conference. Pundits, barristers, pleaders, zemindars, doctors, vaidyas, bankers and traders belonging to the Hindu community including Sikhs and Jats, attended the deliberations of the Conference. Of the speeches delivered at the Conference three deserve special notice, those of Lala Lajpat Ray, Rai Bahadur Lala Lal Chand, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Sir Dr. Pratul Chandra Chatterjea, President of the Conference. The first two speeches in particular deserve to be printed in pamphlet form and distributed broadcast.

Lala Lal Chand began by quoting the Shastric equivalent of the Biblical precept 'the race is to the swift and the victory is to the strong' which is embodied in verses 28-29 of Chapter V of the Code of Manu—'the immobile are the food of the mobile, the toothless are the food of the toothed creatures, the handless of those who had hands, and the timid of the brave'. If other communities are willing to join hands with the Hindus in matters of common interest, they are welcome, if not, the Hindus need not fall on their knees and crave for union. It is essential not to permit the least inroad on the moral sentiment which binds together the community even if the desire to form a wider community by co-operation with other communities were to be sacrificed for its sake. Caste-conferences are useful in so far as they aim at reforming social abuses peculiar to those castes, but if they stiffen class distinctions and keep alive minor differences and create a sense of self-glorification they are mischievous. The sub-divisions of the four main divisions of Hindu Society are

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unshastric and should be abjured. In order to survive the struggle going on everywhere in nature, the community must as the first and foremost step evolve a consciousness of self-existence as an independent and separate entity coupled with a desire to maintain and continue such existence and while co-operating with other communities for the general welfare and progress of humanity to oppose a united front whenever and wherever its interests are threatened.

According to Sir P. C. Chatterjea, the Hindu Sabha, abstaining as it does from politics properly so called (though it reserves the right to submit representations to Government against particular measures actually in force or in contemplation), is not likely to retard the growth of the sentiment of nationality in the country. 'Politics should form the peculiar province of an undenominational body like the Congress and political concessions should be sought equally for all ranks, creeds and races of His Majesty's Indian subjects and not for one section only. We should eschew the self-seeking and aggressive political creed of the Moslem League.' 'For twenty-five years', observes the cautious ex-Judge, 'the National Congress, run mainly by Hindus, has been agitating for the rights of all Indians alike without reference to creed, race or locality and scrupulously avoiding discussion of all matters in which the interests of minorities are likely to clash with those of majorities. It got itself branded as disloyal and seditious but continued to work nevertheless until the advent of the present Liberal ministry which has sanctioned certain reforms. But a Mahomedan political association has suddenly sprung into existence and straightway leaped into fame and claimed the premier position for its co-religionists. Its success is phenomenal and the Anglo-Indian papers in India and those in England, with a few notable exceptions, while bitterly opposing the reforms proposed by the Secretary of State, have given effusive support to all its demands, however prejudicial to other communities. The reforms are intended by the Secretary of State to give the people some hand in the management of their affairs, but they are coupled with the concession of Mahomedan superiority and claim for the creation of separate electorates. The National Congress stood up for the principle of Indian nationality which is nascent and deserves to be encouraged, but the separate electorates would apparently give it a deadly blow. Though the Congress has all along acted with a scrupulous regard for the rights of minorities and there is nothing in the past to justify the aspersion, Hindus have been credited in the Anglo-Indian journals with Machiavellian designs to appropriate all the power to themselves when the concessions are made. As there is no historical evidence that our Mahomedan brethren have done anything in the past for the British which Hindus have not done, the current opinion that the preference shown for Mahomedan interests by their Anglo-Indian friends is due to a desire to "dish" the Hindus for the political agitations of the National Congress appears to me to receive considerable support.' On this futility of political agitation Sir P. C. Chatterjea bases his justification of a nonpolitical organisation like the Hindu Sabha.

The speech of Lala Lajpat Ray was the speech of the session. He began by propounding an answer to the question—Who are Hindus? The Hindu Sabha does not exclude Sikhs, Jains and 'our friends of the Brahmo Samaj.' Anyone who is prepared to sail under the Hindu flag and take the credit or discredit which attaches thereto is a Hindu. Those who are prepared to maintain the distinguishing features of Hindu culture in their thought and life are Hindus. There are some—the speaker probably referred to England returned Hindus—who think that they will be better off by dissociating from those who bear that name. Lala Lajpat Ray was not one of those who were ashamed of their national parentage, who refused to share the glory, the pride, and the temporary obloquy of the Hindu name. But some would object to such a wide extension of the definition of the word 'Hindu' on the ground that people who have so little in common cannot make a common cause, and that it is impossible to raise euthusiasm in such a heterogeneous community. But this objection is fallacious and misleading. For according to the canons of political philosophy, the Hindus are a 'people' and as such a political unit. According to an eminent German writer, "A people comes into being by a slow psychological process, in which a mass of men gradually develop a type of life and society which differentiates them from others and becomes the fixed inheritance of their race." According to the same writer, community of spirit, and community of interests and customs determine the individuality of a people. Religion is no longer an element of nationality, nor is a common language indispensable. Neither is purity of race an essential element, but if it were, as a great French writer, M. Jean Finot, observes, owing to the caste system of the Hindus, there is no nation on the face of the globe which can claim greater purity of blood. But the hope of India lies today in breaking up the aristocratic organisation of castes. Sanskrit is in a sense the common language of Hindu India. The spirit of Hindu culture is reflected in our literature, specially in our epic poetry, in our festivals and social practices. "If our continuance as a separate people depends on the continuance of our separate culture, it is absolutely necessary in our collective interest as a people that we should not allow that culture to be materially changed in its essence and spirit." To maintain our national individuality should be our ambition. "Let me in conclusion say that by aiming at unity and solidarity amongst the Hindus we do not contemplate a blow at Indian unity. I am firmly convinced that it is impossible to build an Indian nation from above. The structure must be built from below. It is rather putting the cart before the horse to expect the Hindus and Mahomedans to unite and make a common cause, before bringing about a sense of unity and solidarity among the different sections of the Hindu community itself. The attempt to bring about a political union between the Hindus and Mahomedans has so far met with scant success, if it has not disastrously failed. The reason is obvious. Not because the cause was unholy, but because it was based upon false ideas and in utter contempt of facts and existing conditions. The revolt first came from the Mahomedans.....While the Mahomedans have gained in unity and solidarity by uniting their brethren and making a serious effort to close up their ranks, the Hindus have lost ground in every direction." "I cannot too often repeat that the best way to bring about Hindu-Mahomedan unity is to

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strongthen the Hindu community *inter se* and to make it impossible for anyone to slight it....If there are anyone among the cosmopolitan Hindus who think that the extinction of the Hindus as a separate community or people is likely to facilitate the natural evolution from a political point of view, the least that I can say of them is that they are grievously mistaken. The extinction of the Hindus as such will not bring them nearer the millenium... Let the Hindus cease to be Hindus, the Mahomedans shall be Mahomedans, for all time to come....In the present struggle between Indian communities, I will be a Hindu first and an Indian afterwards, but outside and even in India against non-Indians, I am and shall ever be an Indian first and a Hindu afterwards. That is in short my position in matter." The Lala concludes his able address by quoting the memorable words of Yudhisthir when he was approached by the enemies of Duryodhan :

वयं पञ्च वयं पञ्च वयं पञ्च शतं च ते ।
अन्यैः सह विवादे तु वयं पञ्च शतञ्च वै ॥

Five are we, five are we, five are we, and a hundred are they. But at the time of dispute with others, we are hundred and five.

As we write news comes of a great Hindu Conference at Multan presided over by a Sikh leader who said in his presidential speech : "A Hindu is a Hindu, whether he be a Sikh or a Sanatainst, an Arya or a Brahmo." According to the *Bengalee*, this growing sense of solidarity among different sections of Hindus is due to the feeling that they are not a favoured community, and in life there is not a stronger bond of union than the sense of a common misfortune.

We do not expect every Hindu to agree with these views. But they deserve to be deeply pondered by every well-wisher of Hinduism. X.

Modern Criticism and the Bible.

The Origin and Charactor of the Bible and its place among Sacred Books by Jabez Thomas Sunderland. Published by American Unitarian Association, 25, Beacon Street, Boston, U. S. A. Pp. 322. 1 dollar 20 cents, net ; by mail 1 dollar 34 cents.

In the present book, the author has set forth clearly, definitely, and comprehensibly the Modern View of the Bible. The origin of the Bible, its authorship, its growth, the circumstances under which it arose, the causes which produced it, its relation to God, its relation to man, its inspiration, the changes which its various writings have undergone, its reliability, its place among the sacred books of mankind, its transitory elements, its enduring elements, its permanent value—all these questions the author has endeavored to answer frankly and without evasion, yet with a spirit of humility and reverence. In every particular the book is up-to-date and embodies the results of the best and latest Biblical scholarship. The author arrives at the conclusion that the Bible can no longer be accepted as an infallible scripture. But "this does not mean that either the Bible or its religion is less divine than the past has believed ; rather it means that the truly and really divine is larger and its ways are larger, than has been understood. As man and the world are not less from God because they came by the path of evolution, so the great truths of the Bible are not less from God because they entered men's thought and life through the development of his own powers, through his deep experiences and his own spiritual growth, through centuries of moral struggle, of battling with his lower self, of aspirations after that which was above and beyond him, of gropings—often blind and painful, but never wholly fruitless—after truth and right and God."

Mr. Sunderland's book is one of sterling merit and we give a warm welcome to it. It should prove very useful to the inquiring student.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

Vedanta.

The Sacred Books of the Hindus, Volume V, Part I, (No 14).

The Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana with the commentary of Baladeva translated by Babu Srisha Chandra Vasu and published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad, pp. 96. Price Re. 1-8 Annual subscription, Inland Rs. 2, Foreign £ 1.

It contains 56 Sutras (up to 1. 2. 25) with :—

(i) Sanskrit Text of the Sutras.
(ii) Pada patha with meaning of every word.
(iii) English Translation of the Sutras.
(iv) Translation of Baladeva's Commentary.
(v) Sanskrit Text of the passages quoted by Baladeva in his Commentary.

Baladeva's Commentary is considered as an authoritative exposition of the Vedanta Sutras by most of the orthodox followers of Chaitanya and we give it a warm welcome in its English garb. The book is being ably edited and translated.

BENGALI.

Japan.

Japan : by Suresh Chandra Bandopadhyaya. Chatterjea & Co., 203-4 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1/8/.

The lovely get up of the volume—its neat printing, good paper and beautiful binding—is in keeping with the excellence of its contents. We have read a good many books on Japan by European, American, Japanese, and Indian writers, but we do not remember to have come across one which is so interesting and so well-written from the Indian point of view. The writer knows the art of bringing out the core of the matter in a few short sentences. His style is exceedingly charming, and he writes from intimate personal knowledge. The beautiful illustrations with which the book abounds are a treat in themselves. Two chapters on education in Japan and the history of Japan round off the author's personal experiences and impressions. We learn from this book that the men of Japan are neither handsome nor very cultured or intelligent, their towns and cities are a mere conglomeration of wooden huts without any pretence to architectural beauty ; their women are not much better treated than ours ; and the impression one gathers from it is that the Japanese are superior to the Indians in nothing but patriotism, freedom and the happy accident of castelessness, if we may coin that term. But these make all the difference in the world, and they fully explain the phenomenal success of the Japanese. A. B. C.

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GUJARATI.

Drishtanta Shatak by Chhotalal Narhheram Bhatt, published by Mohanlal Mansukhram Shah, Bookseller of Baroda, printed at the Lakshmi Vilas Printing Press, Baroda. Second Edition. Thick paper bound. Price Rs. 0-10-0. Pp. 118 (1910).

As the commentator of that monumental series, *Gujarati Prachina Kavyamala*, Mr. Chhotalal Bhatt's name is not unknown in the field of literature. With his happy knack of writing Gujarati he has translated the above work from Sanskrit and originally written by a Jaina Pandit. It contains a mixed assortment of precepts on ethics culled from the Panch Tantra, the Hitopadesha and other kindred compositions. It is simple, instructive, and the elucidatory notes, particularly valuable. Young boys and girls are sure to be pleased with it.

K. M. J.

Sari Ritbhat by Govindbhai Hathibhai Desai, B.A., LL.B., Census Superintendent, Baroda. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co, Bombay. Thick boards. Pp. 48. Price Rs. 0-4-0 (1910).

The writer needs no introduction, as he has been always present before the public eye by means of his many manuals, written at intervals, snatched from an exacting public State Service. This little book contains a collection of a set of rules of conduct, which on account of their incongruity has already formed the subject-matter of various skits in the well-known weekly paper called "*The Gujarati*". The incongruity lies in the fact of the rules—a majority of them, we should say—being primarily and wholly applicable to those who lead an English sort of life or to those who attend Government offices. *E.G.* The admonition that calls should be made between 9 and 10 A.M., as that is the hour suitable to Indians, wholly ignores the fact that many Indians are shop-keepers or non-Government service men, whose day begins with 7 or 8 o'clock and not with 11-30 A.M. (Standard Time). Similarly about the way in which conversation should be carried on or dress should be worn. The manners intended to be inculcated in this part of the composition are suitable more for observance between English men and English men or between English-knowing gentlemen and Europeans. And for them the book would be a redundancy, as they are sure to have read their lessons in manners in English books. But the other part which deals with our customs, in case of caste dinners, marriage invitations &c., is more to the point and it is very desirable that what is said there should be taken to heart. The publication is a mere tentative effort and Mr. Desai has asked for suggestions. We should therefore wish that it should be revised in its former part dealing with Anglicised manners.

K. M. J.

NOTES

India, Lord Morley and Lord Minto.

Writing on Lord Morley's Indian administration, *The Daily News* of London says :—

> The Indian Councils Act with its very considerable foundation for reform, was unpalatable enough to the bureaucratic school, and the bureaucracy on the spot have done what they can to divert and pervert its carrying out. The Liberal school, on the other hand, cannot but regret very sincerely his sanction of the deportations, and not less, perhaps, his sanction of that very complete scheme of coercion which is now being carried out by the Government of India, and under which freedom of the Press, freedom of speech, the right of public meeting, and the right of combination have completely disappeared.

If, as *The Daily News* says, "freedom of the Press, freedom of speech, the right of public meeting" "have completely disappeared" from India, or, to avoid any possible unconscious exaggeration, let us say, disappeared to a very great extent, in what light are we to take the newspaper estimates and eulogies of the Morley-Minto regime that we have been reading in the papers in India? What are we to think of the adulatory farewell addresses which have been heaped upon Lord Minto?

The exponents, in the Press, of the Physical Force Extremists are now defunct, —any Government would have been bound to suppress them. The organs of the Academic Extremists have also disappeared;—a more liberal administration than that of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy would have tolerated them. Repressive legislation has made the advanced wing of the Moderate party sing very small. The moderately Moderate papers still indulge in prayers for the removal of grievances in the guise of criticism. The extremely moderate journalists alone dare to lay bare their hearts,—such hearts as they may be presumed to possess,—hearts on which the surgeon may find on a post-mortem examination the facsimile of the adored feet of Lords Morley and Minto, as, to compare things profane to things sacred, the holy name of Rama was found on the heart of

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the monkey-general Hanuman, or, rather, as the breast of the god Vishnu bears the foot-print of the sage Bhrigu.

So taking the most charitable view of the case, we may say that it is only one side of the shield that has been presented to us. The other side has still to be presented. But who will present it? Echo answers "Who?".

It is said that the repression-*cum*-conciliation policy has been a great success. Time will show. And much depends, too, on the meaning of the word success. We who have had the privilege, the honour and the pleasure (we hope this is the correct phrase) of living under the progressive and benign rule of Lords Morley and Minto, cannot properly judge of its quality. We are too near the times. Whether real success has been attained or not, silence at any rate has been produced. The only question is whether this silence is the sign of contentment or of fright. One party cries, "We have been conciliated," it cannot be known with what sincerity or intelligence. And there is no other fully articulate party.

The Daily News makes the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy responsible for the retrograde, reactionary and mischievous features of the Indian Councils Act, with its Regulations, by saying that "the bureaucracy on the spot have done what they can to divert and pervert its carrying out." We do not know: though it is certain that at one time Lord Morley was of opinion that the Musalman minority should not have any representation in excess of its numerical proportion. If he has weakly yielded to the views of the man or men on the spot, he must bear his full share of the blame. For the partisans of both the Lords have been striving to give to either the whole credit of the "Reform Scheme." So it is but fair that the blame should go with the credit. We were about to forget, however, that Mr. W. T. Stead has brought forward the claims of a third party. He wrote at the time of the inception of the Act:

> It is no sudden outpouring of Pentecostal grace upon the Indian Civil Service. The conviction that is now resulting in action, is due to the agitators who are being imprisoned, and exiled, by their pupils. Does any one imagine that the supremely self-satisfied bureaucracy of the Indian Civil Service would ever of its own motion have opened this new chapter in Indian reform? Those who can answer the question in the affirmative little know the nature of bureaucracies. Officialism 'in self-adoring pride securely mailed' never discovers that reforms are necessary, by the workings of its own conscience. As the Apostles said of old that the law was the schoolmaster to lead us to Christ, so it may be said without irreverence that the agitators were the teachers who led Lord Minto and Lord Morley to seek salvation in a policy of reform. It may be and often is necessary for the pupils to imprison their tutors when the latter go too far in their impositions, but they must ever do it as if they loved them. If Mr. Gladstone never could quite bring himself to express his gratitude to Mr. Parnell when he employed the resources of civilisation in locking him up in prison, we need not wonder that Lord Morley refrained from paying his debt to Tilak and his colleagues when he introduced his Reform Bill. Those of us who are in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility should the more feel it incumbent upon us to do homage to the real heroes of the new era in India, and we should do so all the more whole-heartedly because for the moment the inexorable exigencies of maintaining law and order in India have necessitated the temporary removal of these useful and public spirited pioneers from the scene of their political activity.

The agitators who never were deported or sent to jail ought to send a humble memorial to Mr. Stead to consider their claims, too.

Let us come to the point, however. As the fame of the Morley-Minto regime rests principally on the "Reform Scheme," our remarks will be directed principally to that measure. The consideration of any human action, to be complete, must include both the motive and the deed. But we must not discuss the motives of Lord Morley or of the men on the spot. We shall neither take it for granted that their motives were absolutely above reproach, nor that they were bad. The first point to be considered is, does the Indian Councils Act with the Regulations more than outweigh "that very complete scheme of coercion which is now being carried out by the Government of India, and under which freedom of the Press, freedom of speech, the right of public meeting and the right of combination have completely disappeared"? (What of these the people still enjoy, they enjoy by sufferance of the Executive and the Police, not by virtue of unassailable legal right.) Our deliberate opinion is that it does not. The repressive measures have deprived us of more valuable and a greater number of elements of a free and progressive civic life than the Indian Councils Act has supplied

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us with. And this they have done *unnecessarily*, too.

The second point to consider is, has the "Reform Scheme" given us in an embryonic form (for a full-fledged one we must not, it seems, even dream of having) a representative assembly with legislative and administrative functions, controlling the executive, and dealing with all questions which are limited in their scope to India, a representative assembly, that is to say, which will gradually pave the way to a fully developed parliamentary form of Government? Our opinion is that it has not. Nay more, it was not meant to. Lord Morley said distinctly that he had no moon to give us, that even if he had, he would not give it; the moon being self-government of the colonial type. He added that he would not have introduced the Reform Bill if he thought it would gradually lead on to a parliamentary form of Government. His opinion is that India must have personal rule till a remote future beyond whose thick veil his imagination could not pierce, and that self-rule of the colonial form was a fur-coat which would not suit the torrid climate of India.

We must not be understood to say that the Reform Scheme will for ever bar the way to representative government;—representative government India will certainly have. What we mean is that such popular government will not be the natural evolutionary outcome of the Scheme.

The third point is, do the "Reforms" help or hinder the growth of an Indian nation, do they or do they not promote national solidarity? The answer must go against the "Reforms".

The fourth point is what have we gained by this Act? (1) A theoretical admission that in the Provincial Councils there should be a non-official majority. We say "theoretical" because a considerable number of the non-official members nominated and elected under the Regulations cannot but be of such a type that with their votes the officials are always sure to gain their object. (2) The power to move resolutions. Owing, however, to the reasons set forth under (1), resolutions disliked by the Government, can seldom if ever be carried, and even if carried, Government is not bound to give effect to them. We admit they may have a "moral effect." But the time has gone by when we could rest satisfied with mere "moral effects." (3) Greater facilities for discussing the Budget before and after presentation. But as such discussions can produce only a "moral effect," we cannot call them satisfactory. (4) A larger number of non-official members. But as the quality is in inverse ratio to the number, we are not satisfied. (5) The awakening of the Indian Musalmans to take an interest in the politics of their country. This has been the only substantial gain; but at what a price?

These are, so far as we can recollect, the chief gains.

The fifth point is what harm and wrong has the Act done us, or is likely to do us? (1) These "Reforms" will prevent even the consideration of any real reform for years to come. (2) Against the practice and principles of representation recognised in the most politically advanced countries, the "Reform Scheme" introduces the retrograde, reactionary and mischievous principle of representation by classes and religious sects. We will not here discuss to what extent class, race or sectarian animosity existed in India, or whether it was greater here than in the civilised West. We only want to say that India wants legislative enactments which will tend to obliterate class, race or sectarian distinctions, to bridge the gulf where it exists, instead of producing the opposite effect. But this Act is not such an enactment. The mischief it does is all the greater as there is no animosity greater than religious animosity. (3) The Scheme creates a favoured class and humiliates all non-Musalmans by relegating them to the position of an unimportant class who were conquered at first by the Muhammadans and then by the British, but who never had any political or other greatness to boast of. And thereby (4) it falsifies history; as at the time of the establishment of British rule in India, the Musalmans had ceased to be her rulers, nor is it true that they ever were dominant throughout India. (5) It gives the right to vote to very poorly qualified Musalmans, but denies that right to non-Musalmans possessed of very much higher qualifications. (6) It has driven a wedge between class and class, particularly between Hindus and Musalmans, creating

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greater jealousy, distrust and animosity between them than ever existed. The injury done to the nation in this respect is immeasurably great. (7) It strikes a blow at the justly acquired political influence and power of the educated class. (8) Formerly the number of members chosen by the people was small, but their voice, however ineffectual and feeble, could be clearly discerned as that of the popular party. But now the "non-official" members, though a larger body, are such a motley crew that we hear only a confused sound of many voices. We may call the voice of a few of them the opinion of the people, but the Government is able to set off the other voices against them, giving to the latter the name of public opinion. This is a distinct advantage to the bureaucracy which it will never fail to turn to the best account.

The creation of the Executive Council in Bengal and the nomination of an Indian member of the Imperial and the three Provincial Executive Councils, must be set to the credit of the two Lords. But the circumstances and surroundings are such that even if the sturdiest and most patriotic Indians were nominated to the Councils, they could do no positive good to India. And we know that in the majority of cases, only invertebrate creatures have been chosen.

A London Institution for Indian Students.

The Empire says :—

We have seen such a dear little picture of the Indian students in the Recreation Room at 21, Cresswell Road, that it will not be surprising if wise parents send their children by the dozen to South Kensington. In the illustration, two students are playing chess and a third is looking on quite meekly (this is so un-Indian : he should be criticizing and doing most of the playing). Then there is a youth reading a newspaper, and another is immersed in a bulky tome, his hand to his forehead in the style of Shakespeare, Hall Caine, and other great minds. The sixth young man is a puzzle—he is idle and yet has a military bearing: perhaps he belongs to the C. I. D. But the whole is charming and there is not even a cigarette to be seen anywhere.

It is very wicked of *The Empire* to suggest that such a purely philanthropic institution is used for the purpose of police espionage.

The Hon. Mr. Syed Ali Imam's Appointment.

As the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam is an able man, his choice to succeed Mr. S. P. Sinha as the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council ought to give satisfaction. It is true he is not the ablest among Indian barristers, but it should be remembered that after Mr. S. P. Sinha's resignation, abler men than Mr. Ali Imam might not have been in the running at all. Nor could the Government take the risk of appointing a barrister with immense practice; for the salary attached to the post not being an inducement for him to stick to it, there would be a chance of his throwing it up after the novelty of the thing had worn off.



The Hon. Mr. Syed Ali Imam.

An Anglo-Indian journalist has criticised the appointment by saying that though Mr. Ali Imam is an able criminal lawyer, his immediate work will be to deal with factory and insurance legislation, of which he knows nothing. Now, this journalist should remember that the English barristers who are generally tempted by the salary to come out to India are not walking encyclopaedias,

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they are not masters of every possible subject of human legislation. They pick up knowledge in the course of their work. There is nothing to show that Mr. Ali Imam is less able than the ordinary run of English Law Members. Why should not he then be able to master the subjects of Insurance and Factory laws sufficiently well to draft bills relating to these matters? The airs that some Anglo-Indians give themselves are ridiculous. Because they are masters of India now and can hold Indians down, it does not follow that every Anglo-Indian is a giant and any Indian is a dwarf by his side.

We do not at all complain that the ablest Indian barrister after Mr. S. P. Sinha has not been chosen to succeed him. We think it rather fortunate that it is so. For what has even Mr. Sinha been able to do for his country? He may have been able to prevent some mischief, but the public do not know about it, nor do the public know what positive good he has done to his country. On the contrary, we find him holding almost the same views as are held by officials. He not only supports the existing repressive measures but seems to lay down an impossibly, absurdly and unnecessarily slow process of evolution for representative institutions in India. Now, we do not want our ablest men to be officialised. It is better that office should have no temptatiion for them.

Nor do we complain that whereas the Moslem League men are chosen to fill high offices, Congresswallas are given the cold shoulder. In the first place, this statement is not quite accurate, for some High Court Judges have been prominent Congresswallas. In the second place, we think it is good for the popular cause that the work of an agitator should not bring him any earthly or official rewards, and that a servant of the public should not become a Government servant. In countries where the people govern themselves, it may not much matter whether a man is an honorary servant of the public or a paid servant of the Government which derives its power from the people. But here in India it is idle to profess to believe that in the majority of cases there is not a vast difference between serving the Government and serving the nation.

Though it is a wrong principle to appoint a man to a post because of his religious faith, we do not see any reason why we should take it for granted that Mr. Ali Imam owes his appointment to his creed. We are glad that the choice has fallen on him and not on some other Muhammadans whom we could name, as he is not an extreme Separatist as some prominent members of the Moslem League are. He is one of the worthy band of Bihar Muhammadans who think that India is their country and who do not wish to cut themselves off from the other inhabitants of India. His brother Mr. Hasan Imam is a prominent nationalist.

Hindus and the coming census.

If the Moslem League and Mr. Gait would kindly tell us at what figure exactly they want the Hindu population of India to stand at the next census, we could easily tell them what tests should be applied to reduce the present politically inconvenient figure to the one required. Undoubtedly it is very bad of the Hindus to be in an overwhelming majority in the land of their birth. Why can't they call themselves by some other name,—even then they would smell as—seditious, shall we say?—as now.

That the Moslem League should try to look big and enhance the importance of its own community is perfectly legitimate. But it has simply no business to meddle in the affairs of the Hindus. Nor is Mr. Gait's meddlesomeness more justifiable. Neither the *Mullah* nor the *Padri* need feel called upon to interfere in the social affairs of the Hindus. The Hindus alone can give the *Vyavastha* as to who is a Hindu and who is not. To think of the Musalman or the Christian playing the role of the Brahman, would be, to say the least, unspeakably droll. The motive of the Moslem League and Mr. Gait is quite transparent. We are sorry the League has thought fit to adopt the familiar Western trick of disguising its real selfish object in the garb of philanthropy. If it really feels pity for the depressed classes of the Hindus, let it convert them to Islam, and thus reduce the Hindu majority, too. That would be a perfectly legitimate method. And Mr. Gait, too, as a Christian, may try to reduce the Hindu majority by converting the lower castes of the Hindus to Christianity,—with the help of the Government, if need be, as suggested by Mr. Chirol. That

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would be a far more legitimate and straightforward method than the one under contemplation.

But if Mr. Gait must needs play the Religion-Examiner, why set a question paper to the Hindus alone? Surely there are nominal Christians and nominal Musalmans, too, in India. Why not try to find out real Christians and real Musalmans, as well? Why take it for granted that all persons professing to be Christians and Musalmans have obtained diplomas or certificates from God giving them the inalienable right to call themselves such, but that, on the contrary, Hindus must not call themselves by their own names unless they can pass a test. The Census is neither a political nor a religious document, and the Census Commissioner who wishes to play Father Confessor to the Hindus has surely mistaken his vocation. Nothing can be more preposterous than for him to try to fix a man's religious denomination for him.

Every man has the indisputable right to call himself by whatever sectarian name he chooses, and the only party which has the right to object is the sect whose name he uses to describe himself. If a Pariah or a Chamar calls himself a Hindu, the right to call in question the accuracy of the description rests with the other Hindus, not with Musalmans and Christians. The Brahmans and other high caste Hindus have never denied the "untouchable" castes the title of Hindu.

Mr. Gait has laid it down that certain Sikhs and Jainas are not to be returned as Hindus even if they desire to be so returned. Why, pray? One may as well refuse to admit that a man belongs to the house of his parents. To those who are Hindus, the Hindu name is as dear as the name of Christian is to a Christian or the name Muslim to Musalmans. It is injurious and insulting that anybody should propose to take away from any Hindu the dear Hindu name, however lowly his position in the Hindu social scale may be.

For non-Hindus must never forget that it is an essential characteristic of the existing Hindu social organism that some members are considered higher and some lower, some clean, some unclean. One may call this sort of social constitution irrational, unjust, self-destructive, fatal to national solidarity and progress, wanting in humanity, &c., &c., but one is bound to recognise the fact as a fact. The orthodox *Pauranik* Hindu thinks that all who are not twice-born or *dvijas* sprang from the feet of Brahma. Now, in the human body, the feet are very useful but not essential to life, a man lives after his feet or legs have been amputated. But none but an idiot would say that the feet or legs are not a part of the human body. Such in the estimation of the Hindus are the non-*dvijas*. We think they are absolutely wrong in this view. But at the same time what we assert is that they have within their own body social as perfect a right to hold this view, as we have the right to criticise their view. As to clean and unclean castes, the Hindu view may be illustrated as follows. Among Hindus, as among many other peoples, the palm of the hand is considered cleaner, more touchable, than the sole of the foot. One prepares and takes food with the hand; food or water touched with the fingers is taken, there is no objection to water in which a finger has been dipped. But the toes are not considered, in actual fact or "ceremonially", as clean as the fingers. But the palm of the hand and the fingers, and the sole of the foot and the toes, are all considered parts of the human body. Similarly, all castes, whether clean or unclean, are Hindus.

In his circular on the Census Returns of Hindus Mr. Gait says:—

> There are, however, many other tribes and castes whose beliefs and customs are of the Animistic rather than the Hindu type. A case in point is the Paraiyan of Madras. Mr. Thurston writes:—"Brahman influence has scarcely affected the Paraiyan at all, even in ceremonial. No Paraiyan may enter any Vaishnava or Shaiva temple even of the humblest sort. They are neither Vaishnavites nor Shaivites." They acknowledge a supreme deity whom they call Kadavul, but do not worship him. Their worship is confined to various mothers (amma), such as the goddesses of the boundary, bamboos, cholera, etc. The ceremonies attending their worship are similar to those of the Animistic tribes.

It seems to be forgotten that what are called Animistic beliefs and ceremonies are held and practised even by illiterate Brahmans and other high caste people in villages. They, too, worship the "mothers," the goddesses of cholera, small-pox, &c. In Bengal they call small-pox "máyer dayá" or "the mother's mercy," in Upper India they call it simply "mátá" or

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"the mother." Are they too non-Hindus? Besides, how would Messrs. Thurston and Gait explain the presence of the images of Paraian Saints in Hindu temples in Madras, where they receive worship? Hinduism and the Hindu social structure are very complex things. Mr. Gait's question paper may serve the political purpose of reducing the number of Hindus by "plucking" a large proportion of that community; but his proposed tests, as printed below, are neither exhaustive in their entirety, nor are they clear and adequate taken singly.

(1) Do the members of the caste or tribe worship the great Hindu gods?

(2) Are they allowed to enter Hindu temples or to make offerings at the shrine?

(3) Will good Brahmans act as their priests?

(4) Will degraded Brahmans do so? In that case, are they recognized as Brahmans by persons outside the caste, or are they Brahmans only in name?

(5) Will clean castes take water from them?

(6) Do they cause pollution, (*a*) by touch, (*b*) by proximity?

(1) Will Mr. Gait give an authoritative list, based on the Shastras, of the *great* Hindu gods? What place do the goddesses occupy? Vaishnavas do not generally worship Kali or Sakti. In ages not long past Vaishnavas and Saktas of the same caste would not generally intermarry and interdine: they hated each other as Protestants and Roman Catholics do in Europe. The feeling still survives to some extent. Which of them are Hindus, which not?

(2) The custom as to entering temples differs in different parts of the country. In some places, private temples can be entered only by Brahmans. As to the great public temples, the temple of Bisweswar at Benares, of Baidyanath at Deoghar and of Jagannath at Puri, may be entered by any Hindu of any caste. In the last named place, there is no pollution of food by the touch of any Hindu caste. Any Brahman can without loss of caste eat food touched by a man of any low caste. As to making offerings, it is not clear what is meant by it. One fact is clear,—no one but the officiating Brahman priest is allowed to touch an idol or worship it directly.

(3) Who is to determine who is a good Brahman? obviously the Hindus themselves. Why not then leave it to the Hindus also to determine who are and who are not Hindus? The real objection is that that will not be politically convenient.

(4) What is meant by a degraded Brahman? Does it refer to classes, or may refer to individuals also? Is an excommunicated Brahman who has been to England a degraded Brahman? Is he or is he not a Hindu? Or taking the word degraded to refer to classes, are these "degraded Brahmans" themselves Hindus? If they are, why should not those whose priests they are, be reckoned as Hindus?—for Hindus never officiate as priests to non-Hindus. If they are not, we have the curious spectacle of men calling themselves Brahmans and wearing the sacrificial thread denied the name of Hindu.

(5) As to taking water, there are thousands of Brahmans in Upper India who do not take water from the hand of any non-Brahmans, however high their caste may be. Are these non-Brahmans non-Hindus? Bengali Brahmans take fish and sometimes meat. For this reason many Hindustani and Madrasi Brahmans (including Mrs. Annie Besant) do not take water from them or food cooked by them. Are the Bengali Brahmans non-Hindus? In many places Ganges water may be taken from certain low castes but not any other water.

(6) In Bengal and in Upper India generally no one, not even a *mehtar* (sweeper), causes pollution by proximity; that queer idea seems to be a monopoly of the Southern Presidency. As to pollution by touch, ideas differ in different provinces. In Bengal, for instance, no Brahman who goes to a *chamar* (shoe-maker) to order a pair of shoes considers himself polluted by his touch when he measures his foot. Similarly no Brahman considers himself polluted by the touch of his tailor, generally a Musalman, or, maybe, a man belonging to some unclean caste.

We think Mr. Gait would do well to admit every one to the title of Hindu who calls himself one. If he does not, it would be desirable to bring the question before the law-courts. We think it would be a good plan for any individual or caste ordinarily classed among Hindus but not entered by Mr. Gait as Hindu to sue him for damages in a civil court. If necessary public subscriptions may be raised for the purpose. It should not be forgotten that with the Hindu name is indissolubly

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connected the personal-law of the Hindus,—the law of succession, &c.

We think it our duty to observe in this connection that the higher caste Hindus have been greatly to blame in their treatment of the so-called "untouchable" castes. It is their irrational, unjust and, sometimes, cruel conduct that has given a handle to their opponents. What can be more foolish and idiotic than to think that the touch of any human being can pollute another human being? The touch or proximity of cattle, of sheep and goats, of cats, horses or monkeys, does not pollute the 'holiest' of Brahmans. Is a human being worse than these lower animals that his touch or proximity should pollute anybody? The grouping together of all castes as Hindus in all past censuses has not made the Hindus a compact unit, efficient for all purposes of self-defence and triumphant advance, because of the defects inherent in their social constitution. The official lopping off on paper of some members of their social organism cannot weaken the Hindus if the higher castes can secure the heartfelt attachment of the lower by justice and generosity and the saving love that uplifts. We long for the day when the distinction between "clean" and "unclean," "touchable" and "untouchable," and "higher" and "lower" castes will vanish by all occupying an equally high spiritual level. May we all strive in our lives to hasten the approach of that day!

Farewell Banquet to Sir W. Wedderburn.

Seventy persons were present at a farewell banquet given in London to Sir William Wedderburn, President-elect of the Indian National Congress, prior to his departure for India. Lord Courtney was in the chair, and a number of Members of the House of Commons were present together with the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali, Sir Charles Dilke, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Sir Henry Cotton. Lord Courtney, welcoming the King's visit to India, pointed out the danger of the people of India expecting more than a constitutional monarch was able to give. He eulogised Sir William Wedderburn's services to the cause of India. We think no living Englishman has deserved such eulogy better than Sir William.

Sir W. Wedderburn, replying, said that the principal object of his visit was to help in the work of reconciling warring communities. He was betraying no confidence when he said that H. H. the Aga Khan was in agreement with his aims. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and the Right Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali proposed that a friendly conference be held in Bombay to compose the differences btween the Moslems and the Hindus. Sir P. M. Mehta was convinced that Sir William Wedderburn's mission would achieve a higher feeling of comradeship than ever before. While we sincerely desire that there should be amity among all classes inhabiting India, we confess we do not in the least relish Mr. Amir Ali's posing as a peace-maker. Of all prominent living Indians, he has done most to embitter Hindu-Moslem relations; we can only hope he has done so unintentionally. It would be best for his reputation for sincerity (?) if he confined himself to his usual role. Long before the issue of Mr. Gait's circular on the census returns of Hindus, it was he who contended that the lower class Hindus were not Hindus at all. So it is quite clear who has been Mr. Gait's inspirer in the mischievous idea which is at present agitating and embittering the minds of Hindus more than anything else.

Sir Charles Dilke thought that the element of danger in India was obviously exaggerated.

The King's visit to India.

It has been settled that the King will visit India in 1912 and hold a Coronation Durbar. Of course, he will be cordially welcome and there will be a big *tamasha*. The ruling chiefs will vie with each other in the display of rich robes and splendid equipages. Some of them will all but pauperise themselves in according to His Majesty a suitable reception. All this is obvious. But thinking men must also consider the results to be achieved by all the lavish expenditure that will have to be incurred. So far as the ruling chiefs are concerned, they will be profoundly grateful for any enlargement of their liberties, if any, that they may obtain. In any case, they will certainly have cause to pray sincerely and fervently to God to bless His Majesty with his grandmother's boon of longevity, both from the feelings of loyalty which they must

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entertain for him as well as from the less exalted motive of self-interest. For Coronation Durbars coming oftener than once in a generation would be too ruinous.

As for lesser folk, we cannot divine what their feelings or their gain will be. In Great Britain the old world personal sentiment called loyalty has ceased to exist. There loyalty means simply giving one's personal adherence to the constitution. In India the sentiment called loyalty still exists. It must be plain to the meanest understanding that this sentiment owed its origin to the kings themselves recognising their duty to their subjects in a certain way; so that when kings either through the absence or loss of constitutional power or through negligence fail to do their duties, the sentiment of loyalty cannot long survive. The question is whether a constitutional monarch like King George V. can satisfy the demands of Indian loyalty. It is perhaps a doubt like this that crossed Lord Courtney's mind at the farewell banquet to Sir W. Wedderburn, when he "pointed out the danger of the people of India expecting more than a constitutional monarch was able to give." Many Englishmen who at all think of India demand that, though in Great Britain it was all right that loyalty should become a cold business-like affair, in India it should retain its old world sentimental character unimpaired. They forget that if the King's power is hedged in by the constitution, making it impossible for him to do more for his Indian subjects than issue proclamations and messages and exert moral pressure on his ministers, when so minded, the *sentiment* cannot remain unimpaired, though loyalty in the sense of obedience to the constituted authorities need not be affected.

There is no doubt that British monarchs, understanding the character of the Indian people and also understanding their own interests, and feeling that their real empire is in India, would do more for India if they could. This we recognise. We recognise the desire to do good wherever it is present. At the same time we think it our duty to observe that the educated community cannot in their hearts accept gorgeous pageantry as a substitute for civic rights nor can pageants make the dumb millions forget the tyranny of subordinate officials, the excessive land revenue, the pinch of hunger or the misery caused by epidemics. Literate or illiterate, Indians are not children. They can appraise the worth of pageantry and of more substantial things at their proper value.

British Indians in South Africa.

The London correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" makes mention of a report which has come to his notice that the Imperial Government have at last come to an understanding with the government of the South African Union on the question of the grievances of the British Indians in South Africa. Reuter also has cabled a similar report to India. The Union Government have decided to introduce soon into the House of Assembly a measure to repeal the Asiatic Act of 1907, and abolish all the objectionable features of the subsequent restrictive legislation. The mere repeal of the 1907 Act would not of itself provide a satisfactory solution of the difficulties, because the Registration Amendment Act of the following year was so framed as to render the previous Act unnecessary, and since it came into operation the 1907 Act has really fallen into desuetude. But it is understood that the settlement which the Union Government now propose is a substantial improvement on that offered on behalf of the Transvaal Government last year, and virtually means that the differential provision in the Immigration Law for European and Asiatic immigrants will be swept away. With this will go the system of finger-prints and other derogatory regulations. It is understood that the promised legislation will also provide for the extension of the benefits of the Natal Pensions Law to Indian school teachers in that province. This will remove another real grievance. It is said that in place of the existing restrictive laws, an education test similar to that which is in use in Australia will be imposed on all immigrants alike, whether European or Asiatic. Immigrants will be, for example, asked to read something printed in some European language. If this means that the language is to be chosen by the immigrant, then it will be an honest test, though it will still be a hardship and will place Asiatics at a

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disadvantage; for whereas a European will simply have to read something in his own mother tongue, the Asiatic will have to read a foreign language. But, if our memory does not play us false, in Australia the language may be chosen by the examiner of immigrants, so that an Indian may be asked to read German or Russian. In that case the test cannot but be prohibitive and dishonest.

Since the arrival of Reuter's telegram containing the above-mentioned report, the news of the death of a passive resister named Mr. Narainswamy under very painful circumstances has been received. *Indian Opinion* calls his death "legalised murder." This paper has not been known to write in anger. There must, therefore, be good grounds for the use of such an expression. Mr. Narainswamy is the second martyr to the cause of honour and justice. The first was a boy named Nagappan.

Deportation and imprisonment continue to be in full swing. A recent and more painful development is the prosecution of Indian women residing in the Transvaal. Failing to break the spirit of the men, the Transvaal Government has now adopted the cowardly and dishonorable method of fighting the women, hoping thereby to subdue the spirit of their fathers, brothers, husbands and sons.

It is a hopeful sign that several ruling chiefs have contributed to the fund for the relief of the South African Indians. Every heart must bleed to hear of their sufferings. Every Indian heart must glow with pride at the thought of their heroic persistence in the struggle for honour and justice. Not every man is fortunate enough to be placed in a situation which brings out the hero in him in a conspicuous manner. But every one can sincerely admire heroism and show in a practical manner that this admiration is genuine.

Reader, has the tale of the doings and sufferings of your sisters and brethren across the seas, reached you? Are you moved by it? Then come to their rescue.

The Allahabad Congress.

If, as is said, there is a genuine desire to have a united congress of all Indian political parties, barring of course the Physical Force Extremists, there ought to be a large attendance from Bengal.

Count Tolstoy.

One of the world's greatest personalities has passed away from human ken in the person of Count Tolstoy. He will be seen no more in bodily form, but as years pass his influence is sure to grow more and more far-reaching. His novels appeal even to people who are not given to serious thinking. But all who are interested in human progress, cannot but bestow deep thought on what he has written on peace and war, on non-resistance, and on philosophical anarchism, the anarchism which says that government, all governments, are bad and unnecessarily fetter human liberty, but which does not advocate any resort to violence to subvert any government; though all may not subscribe to all his views.

Two or three of his stories have been translated into Bengali. Many other works of his will bear translation.

The Chinese Assembly.

Reuter wires from Peking that on the 25th November the Assembly unanimously passed a resolution in favour of applying to the full the measures against opium and deprecating a renewal of the agreement with Britain. A later telegram goes on to say that the Assembly is still sitting and adopting a most independent and liberal attitude. It has triumphed over the Grand Council which recently shelved its proposals by threatening to impeach it. The Assembly has now resolved to memorialise the Throne, demanding that it either make the Council responsible to the people, or that it create a regular Cabinet.

To friends of human progress all over the world, all this is encouraging news.

The Bengal Executive Council.

The Bengal Executive Council has at last been formed with Rai Bahadur Kishori Lal Goswami, M.A. B.L., as the Indian member. This gentleman may be taken as a representative of the landed aristocracy of Bengal. Though he is himself an educated man, he cannot claim to voice the opinions of the great educated middle class which has led the struggle for political

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rights. And it is of course at present out of the question to think of a member of the labouring and agricultural classes representing them in Council.

The choice of Mr. Goswami is better than that of one or two other men of his class who were mentioned in this connection. But we think the nomination of Raja Peary Mohan Mukherji or of Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy would have given greater satisfaction, supposing the choice to be confined to land-holders.

We hope Mr. Goswami will try to do good to his country. We do not know him to be unpatriotic, and he has been a benefactor to his native town of Serampore.

Turkey and Persia.

Telegrams from St. Petersburg describe a good deal of sharp fighting on the road from Urumiah to Salmas between Turks and Persians. The former have been strongly reinforced and hold the road. A deputation of landowners, merchants and the clergy is endeavouring to get into telegraphic communication with Teheran to ask the Government to take effectual measures against the Turks, otherwise they will appeal to the Powers.

This to us is deplorable news; though it will console those who have been frightened by the bogey of Pan-Islamism.

The thing is, Persian Nationalists mean well, and have shown remarkable capacity for dealing with the situation. But they have no money. We, therefore, strongly support the following appeal contained in a leader which appeared sometime ago in "The Musalman":—

> We have something to say to our co-religionists in this country. There is not the least doubt that the sympathy of the whole Mohamedan community goes forth to the Persian Government, and that moral sympathy has no doubt its value. But can not the Persian Nationalists expect something more from their Indian brethren in faith? The Indian Mohamedans have largely contributed to the funds of the Hedjaj Railway and similar other funds started by our co-religionists of Western Asia, and thus they have shown practical sympathy to the cause of Islam. Now, want of funds is the principal difficulty with which the Persian Government is confronted and if only money is forthcoming everything would be set right and thus a great Mohamedan country would be saved from impending ruin. Under these circumstances we suggest that the Indian Musalmans, and it would of course be well if the other communities join them, should start a fund, collect as much money as possible and send it to the Persian Government. We are confident that if leading men all over the country exert themselves, a respectable sum may be collected in no time. Exertions of our contemporaries, especially of the *Watan* and the *Paisa Akhbar* of Lahore, in this direction, are sure to be fruitful. We throw out this suggestion in the hope that all true followers of Islam who are interested in the preservation of a Moslem country like Persia and all friends of constitutional government in the East will take it up in right earnest and thus try to materially help the Persian Government in such a great crisis.

The Parsis are a rich community. Though their ancestors had to seek safety in flight to India they are still attached to Persia and some of their co-religionists still live there. Cannot the rich Parsis help the Persian nationalists? The establishment of a progressive constitutional government in Persia cannot but promote the welfare of the Zoroastrians in that land. Moreover, as that country is very sparsely populated, it will be an excellent thing for some Parsis to colonise and develop the land.

Russians in Persia.

Reuter wires from Teheran that six hundred Russian troops are reported to have landed at Enzeli and to be en route for Kazvin. The opinion is gaining ground among diplomatists that the Russian occupation is assuming a character of permanency.

We expected to hear as much.

Great Britain has done well in withdrawing her troops from Linga; though she has not withdrawn her Note threatening, in case of anarchy, to police the disturbed areas at the cost of Persia, in order to protect the lives and commercial interests of British subjects.

Mr. Asquith at the Guildhall banquet said:—

> "The Government has done nothing in Persia inconsistent with her independence or integrity. If the Persian Government seek the goodwill of her neighbours their advances will meet with a ready response, but if their attitude is helpless and hostile, confusion and chaos will ensue which will endanger Persia herself and every interest there. In such an event we must reserve the right to adopt measures necessary to protect British interests."

All this is plain. But what one cannot fail to note is that justice does not govern international relations, might does. Also, white men obtain the consideration which the weaker "colored" races cannot obtain. Indian and Chinese merchants and traders are deported, imprisoned and ruined in

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South Africa. Nobody lands troops there to protect their interests, because the South African whites are a self-governing people. Well then, if one must have so much respect for the *semi-sovereign* rights of the South Africans, why not respect the *sovereign* rights of Persia? If European lives and property are not safe in Persia, the best thing is come away from the land. This will sound quite idiotic to European ears; for they have the power to coerce Persia to accept their terms. But what we say is that either foreigners have or have not any rights to reside and carry on business in a country. If they have, why not allow the Indians and the Chinese to reside and trade in South Africa, Australia and Canada. If they have not, why assert this right in Persia at the point of the bayonet?

We are afraid if Russia permanently occupies North Persia. that will be used by Great Britain as a plea for occupying the southern region "for safeguarding her own interests."

The New Viceroy and some reflections.

We offer our respectful welcome to His Excellency Lord Hardinge, our new Viceroy, and earnestly hope that his reign will be characterised by internal progress, and by peace, which is necessary for that progress. But the following extract from the *Bengalee* announcing his Excellency's arrival at the Howrah Station suggests some sad reflections in our mind. Let us give the extract first :—

Lord Hardinge's Arrival.

Among those present on the platform were Mr. D. J. Macpherson, Commissioner of Burdwan, Mr. J. B. Wood, Foreign Secretary, Mr. R. Sheepshanks, Legislative Secretary, Mr. McLaughlin, Revenue Secretary, Mr. Meston, Financial Secretary, Mr. Brunyate, Military Finance Secretary, Mr. Earle, Home Secretary, Mr. Jacob, Public Works Secretary, Mr. Maxwell, Secretary, Commerce and Industry, Colonel Brooke and Colonel Maxwell, Military Secretaries, Generals Scallon and Mahon, Major Swanston, Major Vaughan, the General Officer Commanding Presidency Brigade and staff, Mr. Halliday, Commissioner of Police, Mr. Maddox, Chairman of the Corporation, Mr. Dowding, Sheriff of Calcutta, Mr. Payne, District Magistrate of Howrah, Mr. Plowden, D. I. G. of Police, Mr. Dally of the C. I. D. and Mr. Stevenson Moore, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

His Excellency appeared to be in the best of health as he stepped out of his saloon and was received by the Secretaries to the Government of India, the Military Secretary and the Viceroy's A. D. C. A royal salute was fired from the ramparts of Fort William immediately His Excellency alighted from the train and the Calcutta Volunteer band struck up.

His Excellency shook hands with those who received him and then inspected the Guards of Honour. A few minutes were spent in conversation, after which His Excellency, attended by his personal staff, the Secretaries to the Government of India, the Military Secretary and an Aid-de-camp of the Viceroy, proceeded to the Government House in the Viceregal carriage escorted by the Battery of the R.H.A, a regiment of British Cavalry and the Calcutta Light Horse.

It will be seen from the above that however diligently the Indian reader might scan the list of the dignitaries who were present on the railway platform to receive His Excellency, he would not be able to discover the name of a single countryman of his, whom he might mentally picture as being honoured with the cordial handshake of the august representative of the King-Emperor, and whose presence on such a memorable occasion might inspire him with the assurance that the Indian, too, counts for something in high official functions. Such a thought would have given him a sense of dignity and responsibility all its own and made him feel that he too through his representative had a share in welcoming the ruler of the country to the capital of the Empire. It must also have struck the new Viceroy as peculiar that though he had come to preside over the destinies of a dusky Empire, the distinguished assembly on the platform did not contain a single dusky face. If it be said in reply that only high officials could be permitted to be present on such an occasion, this answer would in itself furnish an eloquent commentary on the number of high offices held by Indians under the British *regime*. The fact is, though a few high posts in the shape of memberships of executive councils have been thrown open to Indians, the number of Indians in the Indian Civil Service from which almost all the high officials are recruited, is actually going down, or at any rate is not increasing. Formerly, Indians of tolerable ability could pass the Civil Service examination, but now very few succeed, though many more, and some of them possessing better academic distinctions, compete. This is no doubt partly due to raising the age-limit for the I. C. S. Examination which allows graduates of English universities to enter into the

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competition, but we shall presently show that if success for Indian candidates was already very difficult, under the new rules it will be more difficult still, thus justifying Lord Curzon's dictum that the Indian Civil Service should for ever remain a *corps d'elite* for the English middle classes. Most Indian students who go to England with a view to compete for the I. C. S. would like to have a second string to their bow, for certainty of success in a competitive examination cannot be counted upon, and in order to qualify for the Bar from one of the Inns of Court one must be a graduate of the Indian universities. The minimum age-limit for the matriculation examination in India having been fixed by statute, even brilliant students will not be able to take their B. A. degree before they have passed their teens and they will thus have only about one chance left for competing in the I. C.S. Examination. There are also certain artificial restrictions which unduly handicap the terms of the competition for them: they cannot take up an Indian vernacular, though an Englishman can take up English, and though after passing the examination the Civilian's whole period of service shall have to be spent in India; Sanskrit and Arabic carry less marks than Greek and Latin; questions on ancient European philosophy are set in original Greek and Latin and are not understood by Indians who may nevertheless possess a very good knowledge of the subject. It cannot be said that Indian students of to-day are inferior to their predecessors in intellectual power, as their record of success in the Universities of Europe and America amply demonstrate. The net result of all the tendencies pointed out above is that while high posts have increased largely since Lord Curzon's time, the number of Indians occupying them is likely to diminish steadily. It is well known that certain services are absolutely barred to Indians, *e. g.*, the naval, the military and the diplomatic; and the superior ranks of some other services are also all but barred to them *e. g.*, railway, telegraphs, opium, salt, education, police, &c. The recommendations of the Public Service Commission have been honoured more in the breach than in the observance, so much so that even the Report of the Commission cannot now be had for love or money. The resolution passed by the House of Commons on the motion of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the simultaneous examination in England and India of candidates for the I. C. S. has been quietly shelved. From time to time suggestions are made in the daily press for reserving a certain proportion, one-third or one-fourth, of the Civil Service appointments for natives of India. Considering all things, if the all but total exclusion of Indians from high offices is not to be emphasised by the presence of one or two solitary dark figures amidst a sea of white faces in all high functions of state, the time has indeed arrived for throwing open a certain proportion of them to Indians, as was convincingly shown by the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Rao of Madras in the reformed Imperial Council. The present financial depression also points to the same remedy, for the substitution of European by Indian agency will make for economy. Till that is done, while high European officials will form the entourage of Viceroys and the provincial rulers, Indians will always be like skeletons in the feast, and the only part they will be called upon to play will be to admire the same from a distance. It is not difficult to understand that co-operation under such terms is not easy, and that so long as they are kept at arm's length the people of India cannot feel that sense of oneness and sympathy with the Government which is so necessary for efficient administration.

V.

Mr. Lloyd George on the Lords.

In a recent speech Mr. Lloyd George, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, spoke as follows on the House of Lords:—

No free country in the world would look at our system. He pictured an imaginary mission to Australia to recommend our system of the House of Lords. If Australia asked how to get an aristocracy he would reply, "I give you our oldest, consequently our best stock, because the aristocracy is live cheese, the older the higher (Laughter). Our first quality was derived from a few Norman filibusters, who killed property-owners and levied death-duties at a rate of one hundred per cent. I say to you, Australians, have you anything like that? They will reply we had Bushrangers but hanged the last of them before there was a chance of their founding a family (Laughter). I could give them a second quality, who are living on the proceeds of the Church poor-boxes which their ancestors robbed. "If Australians declined these I might spread out a few more of these goods, for the Peer-

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lge is created out of the ignoble indiscretions of Kings. But it would be hopeless, as Australians would say that they would rather have a Senate of Kangaroos. (Laughter). If I went to Canada I should be told that it already had an ancient and idle aristocracy, but it was shut up in reservations to keep it out of mischief. It was no use going to the Colonies to recommend the adoption of such a ludicrous Senate as the Lords. It was no use trying to tinker with the reform. They were past it. Even the Commons moved tardily in the matter of social reform. Why then have an artificial drag? "Let us clear the road so that justice may have as easy access to the grey homes of the people as to the palaces of the mighty."

We suppose this is the latest style in criticism of one's political opponents.

We have no doubt that it is the right thing for England. But how shocked Anglo-Indian bureaucrats and their proteges, the Indian land-holders ("the natural leaders of the people"), must have been to find such an irreverent pronouncement on the "natural leaders of the people" of England telegraphed by Reuter to India! Had Mr. Lloyd George been an Indian speaking in India he could have easily qualified for prosecution, under section 153A of the Indian Penal Code, for setting one, section of the community against another.

The Allahabad Exhibition.

The Indian Daily News has been very cruel to Sir John Hewett and the other people who are promoting the Allahabad Exhibition. In an article in its issue of the 28th November which is more than one column long, it says:—

> On Thursday the United Provinces Exhibition will open its doors and one of the biggest experiments in popular amusement ever attempted in India, eclipsing even the Minto Fete of Calcutta, will commence.

Again:—

> In the cold weather the big cities of India are self-supporting as far as amusements are concerned and there is plenty of work also to keep the Englishman within easy distance of town. He will be very reluctant indeed to take a long journey to Allahabad to see a miniature Shepherd's Bush with Imre Kiralfy left out.

Elsewhere it is called "an expensive show." It is treated throughout as an ambitious *tamasha*. Nowhere is there an inkling of the fact that it is going to be the industrial regenerator and saviour of the United Provinces, if not of all India.

Why is *The Indian Daily News* so perverse?

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

N.B.—Contributors to this section are requested kindly to make their observations as brief as practicable, as there is always great pressure on our space. We cannot as a rule give to any single contributor more than two pages. A page in small type contains 1200 words approximately.

The Northern Tirtha.

Sister Nivedita has rendered great service to the readers of this Review by bringing to their notice a vast known yet most important part of India by contributing a series of articles on "The Northern Tirtha" which is situated in my dtstrict of Garhwal in the Himalayas.

I regard it my duty to point out a few mistakes about some facts and names that I have been able to detect in the papers that are already before the public. To begin in the order of the "pilgrim's diary," speaking of a most useful Sanyasi Kalikamli-wala she calls him "Kombol" Swami. He is not called 'Kombol' Swami but Kalikamliwala Swami or 'Kamliwala Baba'. The word "chappays" is wrongly used for *chhappars* (huts). There are no "mud-walled" houses in the hills. The houses in fact have stone-walls. Stone-built walls plastered over with mud seem to have misrepresented their own case.

The terrible Gohna-Flood devastated the valley of the Alaknanda from Birahi where the river of that name meets the Alaknanda, to Hardwar, from where she assumes the name of the mighty Ganges. The pilgrim calls the "Gohona Flood a great epoch-making event throughout the valleys leading upto Badri Narayan."

After "upto" '*40 miles below*' should have been added. The unfortunate flood was caused by the damming-up of the water of 'Birahi-Ganga' by a land-slip. The water was collected in a valley. It took the form of a lake 6 miles long and 2 miles broad. After 6 months half the volume of water leaked out and caused the flood not "up to Badrinarayan" but up to 40 miles below Badrinarayan. The flood could not climb up the hill as the pilgrims can do. So the shrine of Badrinarayan was never reached by the flood, which to the pilgrim is a "cleansing" blessing from the "sanitary point of view." I never dreamt that a sympathetic lady like the writer of the Pilgrim's Diary of the Northern regions could call that a blessing which has proved a great calamity to the people of the Gangetic valley in Garhwal and the pilgrims who go there. I cannot persuade myself to believe that she has seriously written: "one cannot but mourn the loss of historic remains of priceless interest, but at the same time one suspects that, from a sanitary and cleansing point of view, this flood may have done more good than harm."

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There are no disease germs in our thinly-populated towns and *chatties*. If there be germs in the native quarters, the chatties, those who are afraid of germs can put up in Dak-Bangalows. No one, not even the "living men and women on the pilgrim-roads have cause to bless the memory" of the devastator of their ancestral dwellings and properties. The pilgrims of the present and future also have no reason to congratulate themselves. The flood has shifted the pilgrim route from the bank of the Alaknanda to *khads* and *charhais* (descents and ascents). Several of the "*Pre-Sankaracharyan Sivas*" also have been swept away. We would like to hear some grounds for the existence of "*Pre-Sankaracharyan Sivas*" in the Himalayan valleys and the differentiating quality of the "pre" from the 'post' Sankar Siva—to which the pilgrim has referred so often.

At Srinagar the pilgrim found some food for her imagination. The pilgrim says:—"If the tradition is to be trusted, human sacrifice was practised here, (at Srinagar), and there is a story of the splendid indignation of Sankaracharya, who hurled the stone of sacrifice upside down into the river, and left to the sight of future generations only its bottom." The legend to which the pilgrim refers I heard from my old grandfather, who was then 70 and I 15.

It was night time. The winter fire was burning. We boys were sitting round it with our Grand-old-papa in the middle of the circumference. He told the story thus: "Once upon a time this place Srinagar, was infested by *daityas*. The Goddess fought but could not overcome them. Then the gods gave her a jantra (amulet) with this *Srijantra* on her arm. She vanquished the leader of the Daityas, *Mohidanav*. This town of Srinagar is so to say built upon the body of Mahidanav and derives its name from 'Srijantra' (the amulet of victory). The jantra was placed on the opposite side of the town beyond the river (Alaknanda). Since every day one [illegible] used to die in the town, people thought that this was the effect of the Srijantra When Sankar came here the people approached him to improve their lot. He took compassion on the people and turned the stone (jantra) upside down. And by his kindness since we have been saved from lossing one man every day". This is the *tradition* or *legend*. I am not prepared to accept the explanation and I do not see any reason to turn this simple legend into the tale of 'human sacrifice'.

From Srinagar the pilgrim passed to *Chhantikhal* and not to "Chatikal"

"Akhi math" ought to be "Ukhi math." It is called after Ukha or Usha, one of the famous heroines of the Mahabharat. Usha is said to have been the daughter of Banasur, whose capital was *Ukhi math*. In Fata *the pilgrim* was lodged, it is said in "The room...(which)...was the most perfectly proportioned chamber I have ever inhabited." But this beautiful piece of architecture was not supported on mud walls, I believe.

MUKANDI LALL.

P. S.—Since the above was written the third part of the diary has come out in which some mistakes, mostly in the spelling of the names of places, occur, which are corrected below.

Akhi for Ukhi again occurs.

It is not "Mongol" but *Mandal*-cheatti, not Thoom Nath but Tungnath.

"Golupkoti" should be Gulabkoti, "Canoti," Khanoti, Pandukeswar, which is named after Pandu, is very wrongly spelt as "Pandrakeswar."

The pilgrim is again wrong when she states it, as a fact, that "The Gohena flood entered the valleys we know somewhat above this point, so Pandrakeswar is the only village on our line of march that escaped it." That is a myth. The pilgrim has been misled by the Panda or the guide. The flood took its rise from the Birahi Ganga, which is about 30 miles below Pandukeswar. And there were many villages below Pandukeswar fortunate enough to "escape it," though my own ancestral houses were swept away at two places at Chamoli and Srinagar. It is a great mistake to say that the Gohna Flood went up to Pandukeswar.

Not *Boshidhara* but Basudhara, which is not four miles but only about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Badrinarain, is a most magnificent fall which is visited by old pilgrims also. But our pilgrim and the party could not, though I know they were not so old as not to be able to go to this splendid fall. They have missed a great experience. It falls from such a great height that its water falls down in small drops of water, which are carried away by the wind hither and thither, and seldom falls upon its snowy base. It falls over a glacier. It is difficult to know when and where it will come upon us. Men get wet even at a distance of half a furlong before they can undress themselves to bathe. At the same time many do not get its water at all. It is said that when men of impure descent approach Basudhara it does not pour its waters upon them. This place is not worth missing if one but reaches Badrinarain. We can have a very good view of glaciers from this place and to reach Basudhara men have to pass through beautiful pasture fields, and pass by ravines, gorges and caves. One of the largest villages of the district *Mana* also falls on the way to Basudhara. Mana-pass also is close to Basudhara and if one feels inclined to pass into Tibet he can leave the party behind and go to see the Kailas and the Mansarovar. Let us hope old age will not stand between Basudhara and the old people in future.

MUKANDI LALL.

N.B.—"Chronos"'s reply to Sardar Madhao Rao. V. Kibe Saheb's comment on his article on "The Ramayana in the Jatakas" is held over for want of space.—*Ed.*, M. R.

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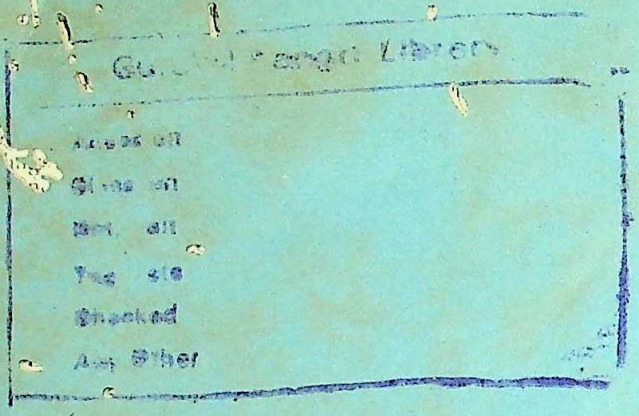
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